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MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF SPAIN

OF THE

HOUSE OF BOURBON,

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE FIFTH

TO

THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE THIRD:

1700....TO....1788.

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DRAWN FROM ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

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BY

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.

ARCHDEACON OF WILTS, AND RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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TO

THE MOST NOBLE

ARTHUR WELLESLEY,

MARQUESS, EARL, AND VISCOUNT OF WELLINGTON;

BARON DOURO AND WELLESLEY;

KNIGHT OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH,

AND

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN THE PENINSULA.

MARQUEZ DE TORRES VEDRAS, AND CONDE DE VIMIEIRO,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST ANTIENT ORDER OF THE TOWER AND SWORD,

AND

MARSHAL GENERAL OF THE ARMIES OF THE PRINCE REGENT

OF

PORTUGAL.

GRANDEE OF SPAIN OF THE FIRST CLASS,

DUQUE DE CIUDAD RODRIGO,

KNIGHT OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE,

COMMANDER OF THE ORDER OF SAN FERNANDO,

AND

GENERALISSIMO OF THE ARMIES

OF

SPAIN:

Agincourt, and Blenheim; and Britain exults in associating with her EDWARD, her HENRY, and her MARLBOROUGH, the immortal name of

WELLINGTON.

I have the Honour to subscribe myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient

Humble Servant,

WILLIAM COXE.

Salisbury, Jan. 1, 1815.

PREFACE.

IN the History of all nations, no epochs are more important, than those which are marked by the introduction of a *new* dynasty, by which *new* connections are formed, *new* principles established, and *new* systems of administration introduced. In the modern History of Spain, two such periods occur; the accession of the Austrian dynasty in the person of the emperor Charles the fifth, and of that of Bourbon in the person of Philip the fifth.

It was once my intention to write the History of these two dynasties; that of Austria, to complete the Work I have already given to the public, and that of Bourbon, to trace the various and important transactions which have materially affected Europe in general, and England in particular, in consequence of the transfer of the spanish crown to a prince of France. But as the first of these periods has already been illustrated, either in the whole or in part, by able pens; and as few authentic materials exist within the reach of an individual, which have not been already employed, I relinquished, or at least suspended, my design. In my researches, however, for the compilation of the political state of Europe, which I formerly proposed to give to the public, I collected a great variety of unpublished and interesting documents, relative to the transactions of Spain under the Bourbon family, of which I drew up a rapid sketch, to form a part of that

work. When I relinquished that publication, I intended, as I have done with regard to Austria, to expand this sketch into a more general and regular narration.

THE burst of patriotic enthusiasm which the usurpation and perfidy of the French ruler excited among the Spaniards, and the deep interest which the british public took in the exertions of a brave and magnanimous nation, combating in the sacred cause of freedom and independence, drew my attention to the modern period of Spanish History, which commenced with the contest between the two Houses of Austria and Bourbon for the succession. In that contest, as in the present, England took an active share, to arrest the encroachments and usurpations of a rival power, and to prevent the two monarchies of France and Spain from being united in the family of a prince, whose ambition knew no bounds, and whose projects of universal dominion threatened no less than the subjugation of Europe.

THE great and unparalleled efforts which were made, first, under the guidance of William the Third, and afterwards under that of Marlborough, were on the point of being crowned with the most signal success; when England herself, by the impolitic desertion of her allies, and the iniquitous sacrifice of British blood and treasure which was consummated at the peace of Utrecht, rendered vain the labours of her great warriors, and the views of her patriot statesmen; and left a power, already too mighty for the safety of other states, to rise with new strength from its depression, and to realise under other pretexts, and with other means, designs which would have startled even the aspiring mind of Louis the Fourteenth.

THE various relations and events which arose out of the accession of a Bourbon prince in Spain cannot fail to be highly interesting, at a period when a revolution far more important in its nature and effects than any change of dynasty, has united us in the same cause with the spaniards, and when an intimate connection between two nations long and reluctantly at enmity, may produce new changes, in the situation, circumstances, and political interests of both.

WITH this impression I composed, and now deliver to the public, these Memoirs of the Spanish Kings, of the House of Bourbon; principally drawn from original and unpublished documents. The work is preceded by an historical sketch of the most material events under the Austrian dynasty, calculated to exhibit the situation of Spain before the change of sovereigns, and to develope the progress of those wars and intrigues which produced the transfer of the crown to a french prince. I have terminated my narrative with the death of Charles the Third, at the end of 1788; from the same motive which induced me to close my History of the House of Austria with the death of Leopold the Second. It is difficult to obtain authentic information on recent periods; it is also an invidious task to write the History of passing events, and trace the conduct of living characters, amidst the misrepresentations of prejudice, interest, and passion. Indeed the death of Charles in itself forms an epoch; because it took place at the very moment when that tremendous revolution began, which has changed the face of continental Europe, altered the characters of nations and of individuals, and swept away the established institutions of moral and political society.

My authorities are printed, manuscript, and oral.

As the Printed Authorities are cited at the periods and facts to which they relate, it is needless to detail them. I shall confine myself to the enumeration of the works from which I have derived the most valuable assistance.

Desormeaux Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne. Paris, 1758, 12mo. This history is agreeably written, but teems with inaccuracies and french partialities; and is extremely brief and incorrect in the short portion which relates to the Bourbon dynasty.

Compendio Cronologico de la Historia de España, desde los tiempos mas remotos hasta nuestras dias, por D. Josef Ortiz y Sanz. Madrid, 1795, 8vo. Of this the last volume contains the reign of Philip the fifth, with whose death this compendium closes.

Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick, ecrits par lui-même. Paris, 1780, 12mo.

Memoires politiques et militaires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV et de Louis XV. Composés sur les pieces originales, recueillies par Adrien Maurice, Duc de Noailles, Maréchal de France, &c. par M. l'Abbé Millot. Paris, 1777, 12mo.

Memoires et Lettres du Maréchal de Tessé. Paris, 1806, 8vo.

Oeuvres complettes de Louis de St. Simon, &c. pour servir à l'Histoire des Cours de Louis XIV, de la Regence, et de Louis XV. Strasbourg, 1791, 8vo

Vie du Maréchal duc de Villars, ecrite par lui-même, et donnée au public par M. Anquetil, &c. Paris, 1785, 12mo.

Memoires de M. l'Abbé de Montgon, publiés par lui-même. Contenant les differentes negotiations dont il a été chargé dans les cours de France, d'Espagne, et de Portugal, et divers evenemens qui sont arrivés depuis l'année 1725. Lausanne, 1753, 12mo.

Commentarios de la guerra de España, e Historia de su Rey Phelipe V. el animoso, desde el principio de su reynado hasta la Paz general del año de 1725. Por D. Vincente Baccalar y Sanna, Marques de San Phelipe, &c. Genova, 4to.

This work was translated into french under the title of Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Espagne, sous le regne de Philippe V. &c. Amsterdam, 12mo. 1756, which I have generally cited, because I could not for a considerable time procure the original.

This interesting biography commences with the struggle for the succession in the latter part of the reign of Charles II, and terminates in 1725, and is the work from which Ortiz and subsequent writers have chiefly drawn their materials.

Of the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth no historical memorial has been given to the public, worthy of notice; and for the reign of Charles the third I can only cite Storia del regno di Carlo III. di Borbone, Ré Cattolico delle Spagne, &c. Corredata degli opportuni *documenti. Per l'Abbate Fr. Beccatini.* Venezia, 1790, 8vo. Of this a great part relates to his early life and reign, as king of Naples.

With respect to Manuscript Authorities, I trust, without incurring the imputation of vanity, I may boast, that for number, authenticity, and interest, they yield to none ever committed to the inspection of any individual writer. They comprise the diplomatic correspondence of the british government with the courts of Europe in general, during the greater part of the last century, of which I availed myself in composing the Memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole, and the History of the House of Austria; the correspondence and papers of our ministers and agents in Spain; and a great variety of plans, reports, and communications, from numerous

individuals, either directly or indirectly connected with the british government.

I SHALL proceed to specify the collections which I have principally consulted.

THE letters from Torcy and Harcourt, relating to the Testament of Charles the second, in the Hardwicke Papers, to which I obtained access by the permission of my noble friend the Earl of Hardwicke, whose kindness I can never sufficiently acknowledge.

I AM indebted to my venerable friend H. P. Wyndham, esq. late member for the county of Wilts, for the communication of the correspondence of Mr. Bubb Dodington, afterwards earl of Melcombe, envoy in Spain from 1714 to 1716. This has furnished rare and valuable information on the character, conduct, and designs of Alberoni; and has enabled me to place in a new and distinct point of view the short but brilliant period of his administration.

LETTERS from sir Luke Schaub and earl Stanhope, both of whom were deputed to Madrid in 1717 and 1718, to prevent or suspend a rupture with Spain.—In the Hardwicke Papers.

THE diplomatic correspondence of Mr. William Stanhope, afterwards earl of Harrington, during his missions in Spain, from 1722 to 1727. This furnishes many interesting particulars relative to the negotiation for the cession of Gibraltar; the abdication of Philip the fifth; the short reign and death of his son Louis; the resumption of the crown by Philip; and the administration of Ripperda. Also his

correspondence during his temporary mission in 1728 to conclude the Treaty of Seville.—Principally in the Harrington Papers, for the communication of which I again beg leave to repeat my grateful acknowledgments to his grandson, the earl of Harrington.

Papers and documents relative to the rise, administration, and disgrace of Ripperda. Of these I may particularly specify the letters and communications of Platania and Caraccioli, two Sicilian abbots, in high favour with Philip. Also the Papers and Reports of St. Saphorin, british agent at Vienna during the celebrated mission of Ripperda.—In the Walpole and Hardwicke Papers.

Dispatches and communications from the french embassadors at Madrid, during the intimate intercourse between the british and french governments in 1727 and 1728, among which I may distinguish those of count Rottembourg. Also the letters of Louis the fifteenth; the official instructions of the French government; the correspondence of cardinal Fleury, with the king and queen of Spain; and various notices relative to the court and cabinet of Madrid, communicated by him to Horatio, afterwards lord Walpole, then british minister at Paris.—In the Walpole Papers.

From this period commences the interesting correspondence of Mr., afterwards Sir Benjamin Keene, who first filled the post of consul at Madrid, and subsequently of envoy plenipotentiary, from 1723 to 1742, and from 1749 till his death in 1757, when he was invested with the character of embassador. It would be needless to enlarge on the advantage I have drawn from this unrivalled collection,

in regard to the administrations of La Paz and Patiño; the causes of the war in 1742; and above all in narrating of the life and reign of Ferdinand the sixth, which are comparatively little known even to the Spaniards themselves. Lastly, this collection has furnished the interesting correspondence with Mr. Pitt, on the attempt to implicate Spain in the war against France, by the cession of Gibraltar. It has seldom been the lot of a public minister to fill so important a post as sir Benjamin Keene, for so long a period of time, and with such general success; or to enjoy the honour of so intimate an intercourse with the sovereigns at whose court he resided.

The late Earl of Hardwicke, who was an accurate judge of diplomatic merit, once purposed to publish an analysis of so valuable a portion of our diplomatic treasures; and thus spoke of sir Benjamin Keene and his correspondence, in his intended Preface:

Sir Benjamin Keene was remarkable for a thorough knowledge of the secret springs of the Spanish cabinet. The portraits he has drawn are singularly striking and descriptive; and the sketch he has left of Ferdinand the Sixth and his queen Barbara; of the discordant characters of Carvajal and Ensenada; of the means which he employed to procure the disgrace of Ensenada, and the appointment of Wall, is the most interesting narrative of secret history that ever was given in the dispatches of any embassador. He was a perfect master of the forms of business in Spain, and always negotiated with temper, firmness, and address. He never miscarried for want of laying his stress on the proper argument, or misapplying the mode of inforcing it.

" His skill in the Spanish language contributed greatly to the success of his negotiations. He knew how to accommodate himself to the circumstances of the times, and to adapt his conduct to the temper of the court in which he resided, and of the ministers with whom he negotiated. Such justice is now done to the memory of sir Benjamin Keene, that a comparison with him carries with it the eulogium of any foreign minister."

To the kindness of my friend Benjamin Keene, esq., nephew of the embassador, I owe the advantage of being able to present to the public the information contained in this interesting correspondence. Indeed it was this advantage which first encouraged me to undertake the composition of these Memoirs.

A few letters from the Earl of Bristol, who succeeded sir Benjamin Keene, are preserved in the Hardwicke Collection, and have been employed in the narrative.

To Frederic Nassau, esq., I am indebted for the use of the diplomatic correspondence of the Earl of Rochford, who went to Madrid as embassador in 1763, and continued till 1767. It contains many notices relative to the administrations of Squillaci and Grimaldi, to the memorable tumult at Madrid, to the insurrections in America, to the expulsion of the Jesuits, and to the negotiations with Grimaldi, on the American settlements, on the Manilla ransom, and on other matters of considerable interest.

My grateful thanks are due to the Earl of Malmesbury, for the kind communication of his interesting papers, when chargé d'affaires at

Madrid in 1770 and 1771 at the outset of his diplomatic career. These documents shew the origin and arrangement of the dispute relative to Falkland's Islands, which was successfully terminated by his agency, and comprise many valuable hints, on the character of Charles the third, on that of the prime minister Grimaldi, and on the state of the Spanish court and nation. From the same source, I derived various communications relative to the transactions of Spain with Russia, especially the armed neutrality, and the offer of purchasing the co-operation of Catherine the Second in the American war, by the cession of Minorca.

To the kindness of Lord Grantham, I owe the obliging communication of the dispatches of his noble father Lord Grantham, during his embassy at Madrid from 1771 to 1779, a period of which the secret history is little known. From this valuable correspondence, I have drawn the most important information. It throws much light on the administration and retreat of D'Aranda, and on the causes which led to the resignation of Grimaldi, and the appointment of Florida Blanca. Lastly, it developes the motives which induced Charles the Third to join France in the American war, a measure so opposite to the real interests of Spain, as well as to his own professions and those of his minister. The collateral correspondence of Lord Rochford when secretary of state, as well as of his successor Lord Weymouth, and of Lord Stormont, during his embassy at Paris, which is also preserved in the Grantham Collection, contributed greatly to trace the connections and policy of the two Bourbon courts at that eventful period.

I OBTAINED various documents from the Papers of sir Stanyer

Porten, who was consul at Madrid during the embassy of Lord Bristol, afterwards secretary to Lord Rochford, and Under Secretary of State. Among these Papers I found many notices on the commerce and finances of Spain, and the interesting account written by Mr. Cumberland, of his mission to Madrid, printed in the seventy second Chapter. These Papers were in the possession of his late widow.

The Marquis of Lansdowne obligingly and liberally committed to my inspection, the various communications between his noble father then Earl of Shelburne, and the british agents at Paris, as well as with M. de Vergennes, de Grasse, and Rayneval, on the negotiation for the peace of 1782.

My warmest acknowledgments are due to Lord Auckland, who after concluding the commercial treaty with France, filled the office of british embassador at Madrid, with equal honour to himself and advantage to his country. His lordship kindly favoured me with the use of his Manuscript Collections, as well for the composition of this Work, as for that of my History of the House of Austria. These Papers have furnished much valuable information, relative to the period between the peace of Paris and the death of Charles the third, to the administration and principles of Florida Blanca, and to the financial, commercial, military, and naval system of Spain.

By the favour of Lord Holland, I obtained also the inspection of several manuscript documents collected during his Lordship's journey in Spain:

Succinta Relacion y ultima desgracia acaecida al Marques de la Ensenada.

Representacion * del Conde de Florida Blanca á S. M. Don Carlos Tercero. This document, which needs no eulogium, is translated and given at the end of the first volume.

Also several papers written in the controversy between that minister and his opponents. Of these, the most remarkable are the Satire composed by the marquis of Manca, under the title of

Confesion del Ex^mo. Señor Conde de Florida Blanca: Papel que se cayò de la manga al Padre Comisario General de S. Francisco.

And the answer of Florida Blanca, under the title of

Observaciones sobre el papel intitulado Confesion, &c.

Besides these authorities, which I have recapitulated in chronological order, I have availed myself of several manuscript narratives and deductions, relating to the most important negotiations, drawn up by the persons who were themselves engaged in them, or compiled from official documents for the use of the ministers. Of these, the principal are:

A short Narrative of the Reconciliation between France and Spain, and of the preliminaries during the cardinal de Fleury's ministry, from June 1726 to Jan. 1728.

A State of the Negotiations with Spain, from the treaty of Vienna in 1725 to Dec. 1727.

A State of the Negotiations between the Allies of Hanover and those of Vienna, jointly or separately, from the opening of the congress of Soissons, June 1728, to June 1730.

* I have referred to this Paper under the various titles of Representation, Review, Apology, and Statement of Florida Blanca.

Memoire sur les Garnisons Espagnoles. Account of what passed at Vienna relative to the introduction of spanish garrisons into Tuscany, and the admission of Don Carlos to the fiefs of Parma and Placentia, from March to November, 1731.

Dates of Transactions relative to Spanish depredations, &c. from Oct. 1737 to March 1739. Considerations relating to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain in America, with respect to the treaties with Spain, &c. 1737-8.

Points to be considered with regard to the depredations of Spain.

Rhapsody of foreign politics, occasioned by the conclusion of the general treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, and of that with Spain in 1750, written by Horatio lord Walpole.

All these documents are contained in that rich magazine of historical and political intelligence, the Walpole Papers. I cannot speak of this source, from which I have drawn such important materials, without adding a tribute of gratitude and veneration for the memory of my noble and much respected friend, the late lord Walpole, of Wolterton, and earl of Orford.

I received other information, both oral and manuscript, from the most respectable quarters, relative to the reign of Charles the third; particularly from several of the Spanish ministers in foreign courts, and from persons whose names delicacy forbids me to reveal.

In concluding this enumeration, I repeat my deep sense of obligation, and I trust I may likewise confidently anticipate the thanks of an enlightened public, to the noblemen and gentlemen, whose kindness and liberality have furnished these communications. I have thus

been enabled to fill up a great chasm in the modern history of Spain, and to present to the public the first full and authentic narrative which has appeared in print, of the period between the accession of Philip the fifth, and that of Charles the fourth.

I HAVE adopted the form and style of MEMOIRS, because the nature of my materials, as well as the events and characters I describe, approach more to Biography, than to regular and formal History.

IT was my intention to have published the STATEMENT OF FLORIDA BLANCA'S ADMINISTRATION, written by himself, and the STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY, in their proper place at the close of the reign of Charles the third; but the bulk of the third volume rendered it necessary to place them at the end of the first. The reader therefore will please to recollect that these two are to be read at the end of the work.

I CANNOT close this Preface without announcing my obligations to my faithful and intelligent secretary, Mr. HATCHER, for the very great advantages which I have derived from his assistance in preparing this work for the press; and in particular from his knowledge of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. His modesty prevented me from making this acknowledgment in my former publications; but I can no longer with-hold this tribute of esteem and gratitude, for his literary services during a period of sixteen years.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

OR

A SKETCH

OF

THE SPANISH HISTORY;

FROM THE UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON,

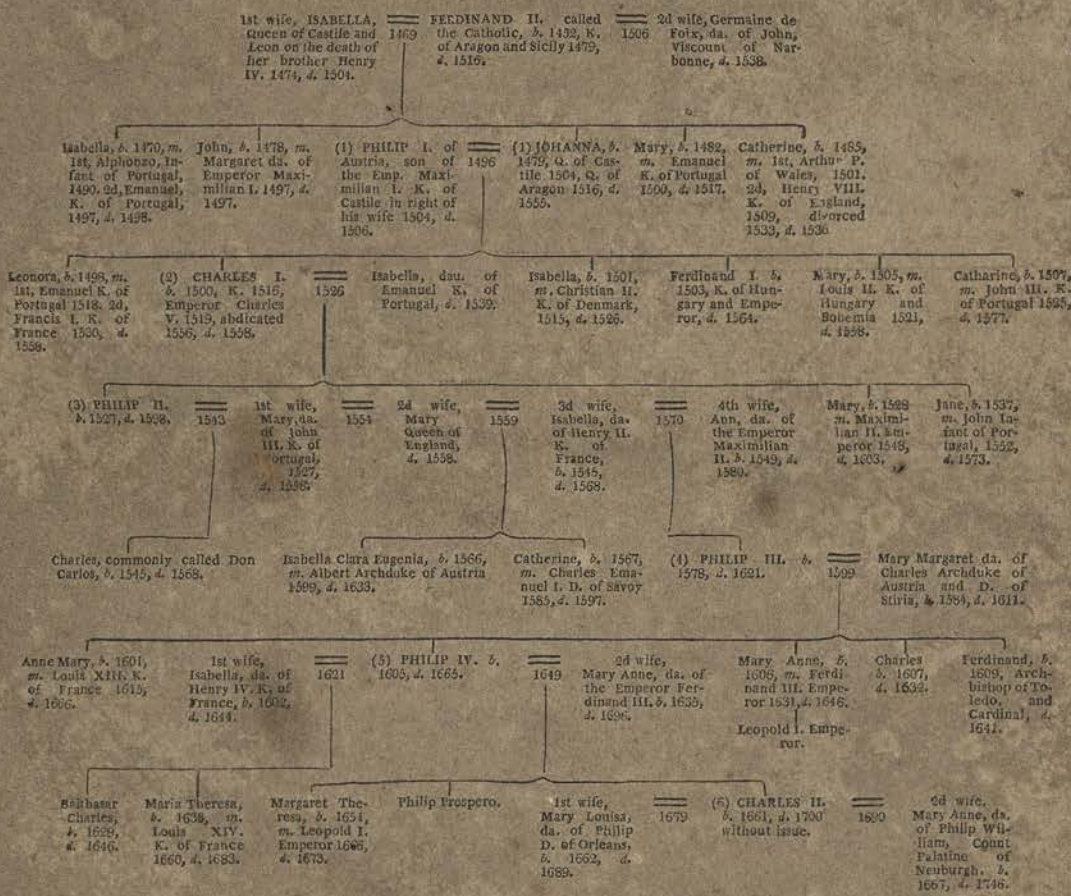
TO

THE EXTINCTION OF THE AUSTRIAN LINE.

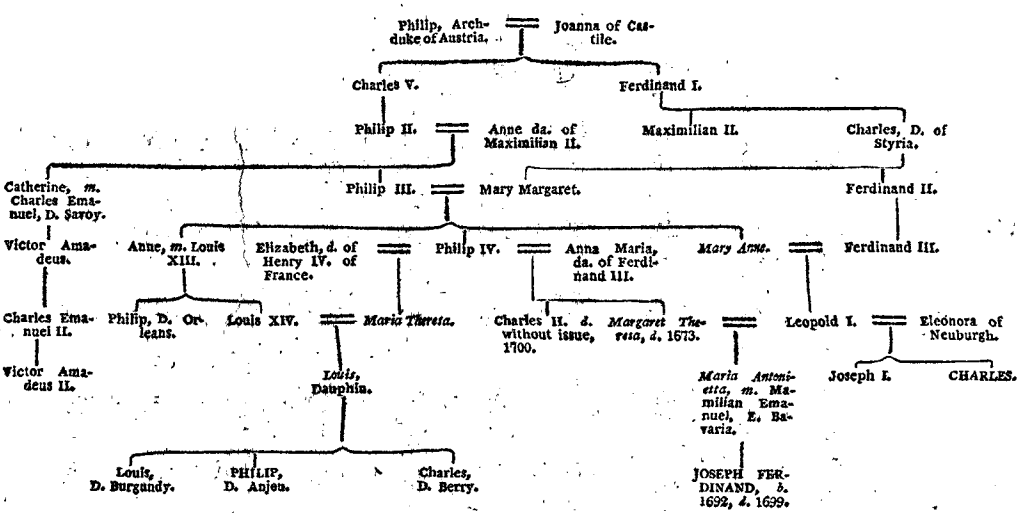
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF SPAIN,

FROM THE

UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON, TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE AUSTRIAN LINE.


1st wife, ISABELLA, Queen of Castile and Leon on the death of her brother Henry IV. 1474, d. 1504.
1469
FERDINAND II. called the Catholic, b. 1432, K. of Aragon and Sicily 1479, d. 1516.
1506
2d wife, Germaine de Foix, da. of John, Viscount of Narbonne, d. 1538.
Isabella, b. 1470, m. 1st, Alphonzo, Infant of Portugal, 1490. 2d, Emanuel, K. of Portugal, 1497, d. 1498.
John, b. 1478, m. Margaret da. of Emperor Maximilian I. 1497, d. 1497.
(1) PHILIP I. of Austria, son of the Emp. Maximilian I. K. of Castile in right of his wife 1504, d. 1506.
1496
(1) JOHANNA, b. 1479, Q. of Castile 1504, Q. of Aragon 1516, d. 1555.
Mary, b. 1482, m. Emanuel K. of Portugal 1500, d. 1517.
Catherine, b. 1485, m. 1st, Arthur P. of Wales, 1501. 2d, Henry VIII. K. of England, 1509, divorced 1533, d. 1536
Leonora, b. 1498, m. 1st, Emanuel K. of Portugal 1518. 2d, Francis I. K. of France 1530, d. 1558.
(2) CHARLES I. b. 1500, K. 1516, Emperor Charles V. 1519, abdicated 1556, d. 1558.
1526
Isabella, dau. of Emanuel K. of Portugal, b. 1539.
Isabella, b. 1501, m. Christian II. K. of Denmark, 1515, d. 1526.
Ferdinand I. b. 1503, K. of Hungary and Emperor, d. 1564.
Mary, b. 1505, m. Louis II. K. of Hungary and Bohemia 1521, d. 1558.
Catharine, b. 1507, m. John III. K. of Portugal 1525, d. 1577.
(3) PHILIP II. b. 1527, d. 1598.
1543
1st wife, Mary, da. of John III. K. of Portugal, 1527, d. 1336
1554
2d wife, Mary Queen of England, d. 1558.
1559
3d wife, Isabella, da. of Henry II. K. of France, b. 1545, d. 1568.
1570
4th wife, Ann, da. of the Emperor Maximilian II. b. 1549, d. 1580.
Mary, b. 1528 m. Maximilian II. Emperor 1548, d. 1603.
Jane, b. 1537, m. John Infant of Portugal, 1552, d. 1573.
Charles, commonly called Don Carlos, b. 1545, d. 1568.
Isabella Clara Eugenia, b. 1566, m. Albert Archduke of Austria 1599, d. 1633.
Catherine, b. 1567, m. Charles Emanuel I. D. of Savoy 1585, d. 1597.
(4) PHILIP III. b. 1578, d. 1621.
1599
Mary Margaret da. of Charles Archduke of Austria and D. of Stiria, b. 1584, d. 1611.
Anne Mary, b. 1601, m. Louis XIII. K. of France 1615, d. 1666.
1st wife, Isabella, da. of Henry IV. K. of France, b. 1602, d. 1644.
1621
(5) PHILIP IV. b. 1605, d. 1665.
1649
2d wife, Mary Anne, da. of the Emperor Ferdinand III. b. 1635, d. 1696.
Mary Anne, b. 1606, m. Ferdinand III. Emperor 1631, d. 1646.
Leopold I. Emperor.
Charles b. 1607, d. 1632.
Ferdinand, b. 1609, Archbishop of Toledo, and Cardinal, d. 1641.
Balthasar Charles, b. 1629, d. 1646.
Maria Theresa, b. 1638, m. Louis XIV. K. of France 1660, d. 1683.
Margaret Theresa, b. 1651, m. Leopold I. Emperor 1666, d. 1673.
Philip Prospero.
1st wife, Mary Louisa, da. of Philip D. of Orleans, b. 1662, d. 1689.
1679
(6) CHARLES II. b. 1661, d. 1700 without issue.
1690
2d wife, Mary Anne, da. of Philip William, Count Palatine of Neuburgh, b. 1667, d. 1746.

CLAIMANTS OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.



INTRODUCTION.

SECTION 1

From the earliest period to the death of Philip the fourth—Origin and rise of the Christian monarchies in Spain—Union of Leon and Castile; and of Castile and Aragon—Rivalry of France—New system of European policy—Marriages and aggrandisements of the sovereigns of France, Austria, and Spain—Transfer of Spain to the Austrian family—Accession of Charles the Fifth; and union of the Burgundian territories and the Milanese with the Spanish crown—Continuance of the political struggle between France and Austria—Increase and decline of the Spanish monarchy—Dismemberment of the seven united provinces—Thirty years war—Loss of Portugal—Treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees—Marriage of the eldest Infanta to Louis the Fourteenth—Death of Philip the Fourth.

FROM the earliest ages to the middle of the fifteenth century, Spain was divided into different sovereignties, and more or less subjected to a foreign dominion. The natives were successively conquered by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, and the Saracens, or Moors; and successively incorporated with their different conquerors.

The Moors expelled the gothic sovereigns from the finest provinces of the peninsula, and gradually established the kingdoms of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and Grenada. They were distinguished in arts and sciences, in arms, industry, and personal accomplishments; and finally, in every advantage or acquirement which can grace individuals, or give power and splendour to a nation. But separated into different sovereignties, independent and jealous of each other, they soon became a prey to all the evils of divided rule. Intestine wars, treasons, and assassinations, filled their country with feuds and carnage. The christians, who had chiefly retired to the mountains

of Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay, profited by the divisions of their enemies. They emerged from their fastnesses, overspread Castile and Aragon, conquered Toledo, Cordova, Seville, Valencia, and Murcia; and finally confined the Moors to the single territory of Grenada.

The rising greatness of the Christian power was however checked by the rival interests of the different monarchs, and the successive dismemberments of their states; till the first foundation of future grandeur was laid in the union of Aragon and Catalonia, by the marriage of Petronella, daughter and heiress of Ramiro the second, with Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona; and of Leon and Castile, in the person of Ferdinand the third.*

In the fifteenth century, Spain was divided into four kingdoms, three christian, and one moorish.

1. Castile, comprising the provinces of Old and New Castile, Leon, Galicia, the Asturias, Murcia, and Andalusia, with the lordship of Biscay, and its dependencies.

2. Aragon, comprising Aragon proper, Catalonia with Roussillon and Cerdagne; Valencia, Murcia, and the Balearic Isles; and to these possessions was added the island of Sicily.

3. Navarre, containing Upper and Lower Navarre.

4. The Moorish kingdom of Grenada.

* Sancho, called the great, from his victories over the Moors, seventh king of Navarre, was sovereign of Aragon by inheritance, and of Castile by marriage. He divided his territories among his three sons. Ramiro was king of Aragon, Garcias king of Navarre, and Ferdinand king of Castile.

Ferdinand, surnamed likewise the great, acquired Leon by his marriage with Sancha, sister and heiress of Bermudo the third in 1037, and drove the Moors from Old Castile. His dominions, at first divided between his three sons, Sancho, Alphonzo, and Garcias, were finally re-united in Alphonzo. On the death of Alphonso, Castile and Leon were divided between his two sons, Sancho the third, and Ferdinand the second; but again re-united by the marriage of Alphonzo the ninth, son of Ferdinand the second of Leon, with Berengena, daughter of Alphonso the eighth, king of Castile. Their son, Ferdinand the third, obtained Castile by the resignation of his mother in 1217, and Leon in 1230, on the death of his father. From that period these two crowns continued united in the same sovereign, till on the extinction of the male line, in Henry the fourth of Castile, they escheated to Isabella his sister, who espoused Ferdinand of Aragon.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Castile and Aragon were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; and the union of these two crowns forms the most distinguished epoch in the annals of Spain. Under their able reign, the reduction of Grenada extinguished the last remnant of the moorish empire. The conquest of Upper Navarre from the family of Albret, filled up the chasm between Aragon and Biscay, and extended their dominions to the foot of the Pyrenees.* To his hereditary possession of Sicily, Ferdinand also joined the kingdom of Naples;† and finally, the discovery of America opened a new and vast career to spanish ambition and enterprise.

* Navarre, comprising Upper and Lower Navarre (so called from their situation on the spanish and french side of the Pyrenees,) continued in the male line of Garcias, eldest son of Sancho the great, till the death of Henry the first, without issue male, when it descended to his daughter Jane. By her marriage with Philip the handsome, it became united with France, in the person of her son Louis Hutin. His daughter Jane was compelled to yield it to her uncles, Philip the long, and Charles the handsome, in return for a pension. On the death of Charles, Jane resumed her rights; and espousing Philip, count of Devereux, of the royal blood of France, Navarre became again an independent sovereignty, under her son and grandson, Charles the second and third. It was then connected with the dominions of Aragon, by the marriage of Blanche, daughter of Charles the third, with John the first of Aragon. Their daughter Leonora conveyed it into the family of Foix, by her marriage with Gaston, count of Foix. On her death, it was transferred to her heir and grandson, Francis Phœbus, and on his decease in 1483, fell to his sister Catherine, who espoused John d'Albret, son of Alain, lord of Albret.

This kingdom from its situation was naturally coveted by the sovereigns both of France and Aragon. Accordingly, in the contest between Louis the twelfth and pope Julius the second, John d'Albret having declared for the cause of France, his kingdom was laid under an interdict by Julius. Ferdinand availed himself of the circumstance, and in virtue of the papal interdict conquered Upper Navarre.

Lower Navarre, however, still continued in the family of Albret, was transferred by marriage to that of Bourbon, and finally united with France by Henry the fourth.

† Naples and Sicily were conquered from the Saracens or Moors, by the Norman counts, who established the Norman dynasty. On the failure of their male line, Constantia, daughter of Roger the second, transferred the crown to her husband, the emperor Henry the sixth; and their son the emperor Frederic the second, united the two Sicilies with the hereditary possessions of the Suabian House. His son Conrad, emperor and king of the two Sicilies, dying in 1250, the sicilian territories were usurped from his son Conradin then an infant, by Manfred, natural son of Frederic.—

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, when the present political system began to attain consistency, the principal powers of Europe were, the sovereigns of Spain, under the two heads of Castile and Aragon, Austria, the House of Burgundy, and England. Portugal, also, from her extensive trade and maritime discoveries, the abilities of her sovereigns, and her local situation, was rising to a higher degree of importance, than her insulated position and scanty territories seemed to promise. From the advantages likewise of local situation, military spirit, or commercial resources, the Swiss, the dukes of Savoy and Milan, the republics of Genoa, Florence, and Venice, obtained a considerable share of public consideration and political influence; while the union of the spiritual and temporal power occasionally rendered the popes the arbiters of christendom.

The systematic policy and vigorous administration of Louis the eleventh, joined to the compactness, position, and internal resources of France, gave him important advantages over each of the contemporary sovereigns, whose territories bordered on his own. Hence, though he was occasionally favoured by all, yet generally suspicion or apprehension produced a tacit or express combination of two or more states against him. These political connections led to intermarriages between different princely families, which tended to a greater union of power under one head. Among these, the most remarkable were, that of Maximilian archduke of Austria, with Mary the heiress of Burgundy, and afterwards that of his son the archduke Philip with Joanna the

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Meanwhile, Pope Clement the fourth, as liege lord of those dominions, conferred them on Charles, count of Anjou, of the royal blood of France. Charles accordingly invaded Naples, defeated and killed Manfred at the battle of Benevento, and was acknowledged king of the Two Sicilies. Conradin, who made an attempt to recover his paternal inheritance, was defeated, and beheaded by Charles; but the natives of Sicily detesting the french yoke, liberated their island by the celebrated massacre, called the Sicilian Vespers, (1282) and elected as their sovereign, Peter the third king of Aragon, who had espoused Constantia daughter of Manfred. The descendants of Peter retained possession of Sicily, notwithstanding all the attempts of the kings of Naples to recover it; and Ferdinand, the ninth in descent from Peter, succeeded to it by inheritance. He joined with Louis the twelfth to wrest the crown of Naples from Frederic the fourth, and their invasion being crowned with success, Ferdinand finally appropriated the portion of his less adroit coadjutor, and re-united the two kingdoms, (1516.)

heiress of Castile and Aragon, which transferred the spanish dominions to the House of Austria. The sovereigns of France found means to balance these unions by similar accessions of territory and influence, particularly by the appropriation of Burgundy and Picardy, on the death of Charles the bold; the acquisition of Britanny by the successive marriages of Charles the eighth, and Louis the twelfth, with the heiress Anne; and the incorporation of different royal fiefs, or petty sovereignties, with the domains of the crown.

Such marriages and re-unions brought the principal rival powers of France, Austria, and Spain, into a closer contact, while their hostilities were rendered more vigorous by their jarring pretensions to the territories of Navarre, Roussillon, and other countries on the side of the Pyrenees, their disputes for the possession of the two Sicilies and the Milanese, and their claims on different portions of the Burgundian inheritance.

The death of Isabella, in 1504, and the struggle for the regency of Castile between her husband Ferdinand, and their son-in-law Philip, occasioned a temporary connection between Aragon and France. But this accidental schism ceased on the death of Philip. Ferdinand, on his appointment to the regency for his grandson Charles, recurred to that system of policy which had originally led to the matrimonial connection between Austria and Spain.

Such was the situation of the contending parties, when the death of Ferdinand, in 1516, left the succession of Spain open to Charles archduke of Austria, who had already inherited the territories of the House of Burgundy; and as apparent heir to those of Austria, aspired to the throne of the empire, which soon afterwards became vacant by the death of his grand-father Maximilian. To obviate the contests attendant on divided rule, as well as to relieve himself from the embarrassments of a distant government, Charles, after his elevation to the imperial throne, relinquished his share of the austrian succession to his brother Ferdinand. The austrian family was thus divided into the two branches of Spain and Germany, and the power of the latter was soon increased by the acquisition of the crowns of Hungary and

Bohemia. To prevent the future alienation of these extensive possessions, the two brothers concluded various compacts for the mutual succession of their respective territories, should the male issue of either become extinct; and their example was repeatedly imitated by their descendants.

The Burgundian inheritance, thus united with Spain, was consolidated or enlarged by purchase or conquest, till it formed that rich and extensive territory, distinguished under the name of the Seventeen United Provinces of the Netherlands, with Artois and Franche Comté. The permanent acquisition of the Milanese, which was at length effected by Charles the fifth, in favour of his son Philip, contributed to establish a connection between the different portions of this extensive monarchy. In America also, the conquest of Peru and Mexico became a vast addition to the spanish colonies discovered under Ferdinand and Isabella; and opened new and abundant sources of wealth to the mother country.

Philip the second, in 1556, succeeding his father Charles, the crown of the empire was transferred to the german branch; but the acquisition of Portugal united the whole Peninsula under his sceptre, and to the treasures of the western, added those of the eastern world. At the same time the discovery and settlement of the Philippine Isles completed the chain of communication which embraced the whole circumference of the globe, and realised the proud boast that the sun never set in the dominions of Spain.

The successive aggrandisements of the austrian house were watched with jealousy, and strenuously opposed by other powers, particularly by the rival sovereigns of France. For a long period, Europe beheld these mighty monarchies, developing all the force of arms, and all the arts of intrigue; enlisting in their respective causes political and religious feuds, and public and private enmities; and in the struggle for superiority, not only involving the bordering provinces of France, Spain, Germany, and Italy; but convulsing the distant regions of the north, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, and even the remote frontiers of the turkish empire.

During the reign of Charles the fifth, and part of that of Philip, the different treaties and engagements, which mark the temporary intervals of the conflict, evince that their strength and resources were nearly balanced. For although the increase of the spanish conquests in America, and the incorporation of Portugal, appeared to open inexhaustible sources of riches and power; yet the vast extension of the monarchy was a principle of weakness; the sudden influx of wealth produced a detrimental effect on the habits and morals of the people; while the aversion of the Portuguese to a spanish yoke, rendered the acquisition of that kingdom rather an embarrassment than an advantage.

But that auspicious fortune which had fostered the spanish monarchy in its rapid and gigantic growth, ceased to favour it when arrived at maturity. Extensive, multiplied, and frequently unfortunate enterprises, wasted its strength without; while within, its foundations were sapped by the abuse of authority, and the diffusion of new principles both in religion and policy. The events which first inclined the balance in favour of France, were the internal troubles excited in the Spanish dominions, by the despotism and bigotry of Philip the second; the rebellion which terminated in the independence of the seven united provinces; the destruction of the invincible Armada, and the unsuccessful hostilities with England.

In the midst of this long career of rivalry, the incessant efforts of the austrian princes to cement the union of their families, and secure the reciprocal succession to their respective dominions, had been no less sedulously opposed by France, than their projects of conquest and aggrandisement. In the pursuit of this object, the address and good fortune of the french court repeatedly triumphed over the inveterate hostility of the rival house; and by dexterously availing themselves of times and circumstances, they succeeded in forming frequent marriages between the two families of France and Spain. Philip the second espoused Isabella, a princess of France; a double match was also concluded between the infanta, Anne, daughter of Philip the third, and Louis the thirteenth, and between Isabella, sister of the french monarch, and the prince of Asturias, afterwards Philip the fourth. To obviate, however, the mischiefs likely to ensue from these occasional aberrations of policy,

the austrian sovereigns endeavoured to guard and fortify their respective pretensions to the family inheritance, by renunciations, compacts, and treaties.

These marriages and arrangements formed only temporary suspensions of hostility. In 1619, the long and eventful contest of the thirty years war commenced. The Spanish monarchy, already weakened by past disasters, was shaken to its foundations. Exactions rendered necessary by the diminished resources of the government, joined with the abuses inseparable from delegated power, excited civil troubles: the progress of its decline was marked by a rebellion in Catalonia; by the temporary insurrection which rendered a simple fisherman, master of Naples; and by the revolution which placed the family of Braganza on the throne of Portugal. The event of this direful conflict was the degradation of the austrian house in both its branches; and the partial accomplishment of those extensive designs which France had long meditated against the remnant of the burgundian inheritance, and even against Spain itself. The peace of Westphalia in 1649, opened passages into Germany and Italy, reduced the empire to an aristocracy; and destroyed the union of the germanic body, by the establishment of a religious and political schism.

But even after the emperor Ferdinand the third had been forced to withdraw from the contest, and to submit to the reduction of his power and influence, Philip the fourth was induced to continue the war, from the consciousness of past greatness, the hope of drawing advantage from the civil discords which arose in France during the minority of Louis the fourteenth, and above all, from an unwillingness to give his eldest daughter in marriage to the french monarch, which was exacted as the price of a peace. During this interval, he not only resolved to affiance his daughter to the archduke Leopold; but having become a widower, he cemented his connection with the german branch, by espousing Mary Anne, daughter of Ferdinand the third. At length, however, his increasing embarrassments; the loss of Jamaica and Dunkirk, wrested from him by the successful hostility of Cromwell; the birth of a son, Philip Prospero; and another pregnancy of his queen, induced him to accept the proposals of France. Accordingly, preliminaries were signed at Paris, Nov. 7, 1659, and a treaty of peace arranged by

the two prime ministers of France and Spain, Cardinal Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, in the isle of Pheasants, a small islet in the river Bidassoa, which divides the two kingdoms. This celebrated act, which has been termed the treaty of the Pyrenees, sowed the germ of future wars, and produced to France no less important advantages on the side of the Peninsula and Flanders, than the peace of Westphalia had produced with regard to Austria and the empire. To France, Spain ceded Roussillon with part of Conflans and Cerdagne, of Flanders and Hainault, and all Artois, except the towns and districts of St. Omer and Aire. The pretensions of France to Navarre were reserved; Dunkirk and Jamaica were yielded to England; and the duke of Loraine, the last remaining ally of Spain, was reduced to dependance, by dismantling the fortifications of Nancy, and by the compulsory cession of Moyenvic and Bar. Finally, the king of Spain consented to give in marriage his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, to Louis the fourteenth, with a portion of 500,000 crowns; but under the express condition that she should, for herself and issue, renounce all right to her paternal inheritance. In return, the king of France restored all his conquests in the low countries, Italy and Catalonia, and agreed not to assist the Portuguese.

Accordingly, the signature of the treaty was followed by the celebration of the marriage, June 2, 1660, before which the infanta renounced for herself and her posterity all right and title to every part of the spanish dominions, in the strongest terms which ingenuity could devise. Her renunciation was afterwards ratified with equal solemnity, by Louis the fourteenth, for himself and his heirs, and confirmed by the cortes then assembled at Madrid. The french court, however, made a mockery of such engagements; and the well known observation of Mazarin to the plenipotentiaries employed in negotiating the treaty, shews at once the most shameless perfidy, and the ultimate object of this connection: "Let the match be concluded, and no renunciation can prevent the king from pretending to the succession of Spain."

As little did the french monarch respect his engagements not to interfere in the affairs of Portugal, the hope of which had been one of the principal inducements with Philip to conclude this disadvantageous treaty. On the

contrary, the most glaring prevarication was employed to justify the active support afforded to the Portuguese: their resistance was successfully employed to exhaust the remaining strength of the spanish monarchy, and to prepare the way for that system of aggression and usurpation, which was shortly to be exhibited, to the terror and indignation of Europe.

The remainder of Philip's reign was ineffectually spent in attempting the recovery of Portugal. At the same time, he evinced his unceasing solicitude to secure the eventual succession of his dominions in his family. As the deaths of his different children in their youth, particularly of his son Philip Prospero, and the tender age and sickly constitution of his only surviving son Charles, afforded but faint hopes of a male succession, he affianced Margaret, his eldest daughter by his second wife, to the emperor Leopold, with the hope of counteracting the effects which he apprehended from his compulsory connection with France.

In the midst of these designs, Philip closed his troubled reign, on the 17th of September 1665, in the 60th year of his age, leaving the regency in the hands of his widow, and, according to the forms of the spanish constitution, appointing a council of the principal officers of state, to assist her with their deliberative voice.*

* For the contents of this chapter have been consulted the different bodies of National History, and for Spain in particular Mariana, Ferraras, Ortiz; the different treaties and public acts.—— Diplomatie Françoise.——Oeuvres de Louis 14. Dumont——Koch Hist. des Traités de Paix t. 1.

SECTION II.

1665—1697.

Sketch of the reign of Charles the second—Regency of the queen dowager—Administration and disgrace of Father Nitard—Aggressions of France in the Netherlands—The independence of Portugal acknowledged—Rise and fall of Valenzuela—Administration and death of Don John—Continuation of the wars and treaties with France—Marriage of Charles with a french princess—Influence of d'Eguya—Administration of Medina Celi, Oropesa, and Melgar—Second marriage of Charles with an austrian princess—New aggressions of France—Grand alliance, and guaranty of the spanish succession to the austrian family—Wretched state of Spain—Peace of Ryswick.

THE death of Philip the fourth was highly detrimental to his country. He left an only son, Charles the second, a sickly infant, in the fourth year of his age, under the regency of the queen mother, a princess inordinately fond of power, but without the abilities to obviate the evils of a declining monarchy, or to avert the dangers with which it was environed.

The queen placed her whole confidence in father Nitard, her confessor, a german jesuit of obscure birth, whose most distinguished quality was a supple and intriguing spirit. He was raised to the important post of grand inquisitor, which gave him a place in the council of regency, constituted a counsellor of state, and intrusted with the sole direction of affairs. Dazzled with his elevation, he offended the castilian nobles, by assuming the austerity and haughtiness of a Ximenes, while he proved himself unequal to the task of governing a great and turbulent nation, exhausted by past reverses, and engaged in an unfortunate contest with Portugal, recently one of its own conquered provinces. The general discontent excited by his personal vanity,

and the imbecility of his administration, was fomented by the intrigues of Don John, natural son of the deceased monarch, who, in his father's reign, had distinguished himself as a statesman and a soldier, was respected by the nobles, adored by the people, and hailed by the general voice as the only person capable of sustaining a sinking monarchy, and vindicating the rights of a minor king.

Foreign aggression aggravated the evils of a weak and unpopular government, assailed by internal cabals. Almost at the moment when the marriage between Leopold and the infanta was solemnised, as the means of cementing the union of the austrian house, and forming an additional barrier against the ambition of France, Louis the fourteenth profited by the embarrassments of the spanish court, to grasp a part of the succession which he had so solemnly renounced. Under the flimsy pretext of a local custom in one of the provinces, called the right of devolution,* he claimed a large portion of the Netherlands, in the name of his wife. While he supported his pretensions by arms, he added insult to injustice, by notifying to the queen regent his intention of taking possession of what had been usurped from his consort, and disclaiming any design to break the recent peace. He rapidly overran a country unprepared for defence, in less than three months reduced the line of fortresses between the channel and the Scheldt, and before the close of the winter added Franche Comté to his conquests. At the same time, he increased the domestic troubles and dangers of the spanish government, by changing his secret connections with Portugal into an open and offensive alliance.

The invasion of the low countries awakened the maritime powers to a sense of the danger with which they were threatened by the recent aggrandisement of France. As a barrier against her incroachments, the triple alliance was concluded between England, Holland, and Sweden in 1667. Too weak, however, and too divided in interests, to repel the unjust pretensions

* This right of devolution, which was an obscure, uncertain, and local custom, in a few districts, empowered the daughters of the first wife to inherit property in preference to the sons of the second.

of Louis by a vigorous resistance, they sacrificed a part of these important territories, to save the remainder. Assuming the character of mediators, they offered terms of peace, to which they avowed their resolution of extorting the consent both of France and Spain, by joining that power which should refuse to acquiesce. However mortified by their interposition, Louis bent to circumstances, with the hope of dividing and baffling the combination; and Spain was reduced to the necessity of submitting to new dismemberments.

By the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Spain indeed recovered Franche Comté, but lost the fortresses of Charleroy, Binche, Ath, Douay, Tournay, Oudenard, Lille, Armentieres, Courtrai, Bergue, and Furnes;* cessions which gave to the french monarch the command of the Lys and the Scheldt, opened a dangerous breach into the center of the spanish Netherlands, and led to their subjugation in the subsequent wars. The invasion of the low countries, joined with the pressure of internal distress, compelled the spanish government to acknowledge the independence of Portugal, and thus to reconcile an enemy who had called all their forces from their other frontiers and distant possessions.†

These disadvantageous treaties, though the necessary consequence of internal weakness, and the want of foreign support, roused such general indignation, that Don John found little difficulty in driving the unpopular minister from power. During the aggression of France, he had been nominated to the government of the Netherlands, and was on the point of embarking at Coruña, when he received information that Don Joseph Malladas, one of his confidential adherents, had been arrested and put to death. He profited by the sensation which this violent and cruel act excited. Instead of continuing his journey, he returned towards Madrid; but received an order from the queen to retire to his seat at Consuegra, and not to approach within twenty leagues of the capital. He increased his own popularity, by obeying the order, and by a bold remonstrance against the upstart favourite.

* Treaty between France and Spain, concluded at Aix la Chapelle, May 2, 1668.—Prontuario de Tratados

† Treaty between Spain and Portugal, Feb. 13, 1668.—Prontuario, p. 91.

The rashness of the minister increased with the rising resentment of the nation. He not only arrested Don Bernard Patiño, brother to the first secretary of Don John, but sent a detachment of troops to seize the prince himself. This imprudent violence accelerated the crisis. Don John, informed of the arrest of Patiño, quitted Consuegra, and repaired to Aragon, where he was hailed as the deliverer of the nation. Conscious that his own popularity would secure him support in Castile, he advanced towards the capital, at the head of 700 men, and, arriving at Torrejon, demanded the immediate dismission of the confessor. The event justified his expectations. His cause found partisans even in the councils; and the queen endeavouring to place the capital in a state of defence, the inhabitants tumultuously assembled before the palace, exclaiming "Deliver us from the jesuit; dismiss the jesuit, or the city will be abandoned to pillage!"

In an agony of indignation and despair, the queen threw herself on the ground, and bewailed her situation. "Alas, alas!" she cried, "what does it avail me to be a queen and regent, if I am deprived of this good man, who is my only consolation. The meanest individual is permitted to chuse a confessor; yet I am the only persecuted person in the kingdom. I alone am deprived of my spiritual guide!" Despair and lamentation were alike unavailing. After a short negotiation, conducted by the agency of the papal nuntio, she was compelled to dismiss her favourite; and he was fortunate in being permitted to escape from Madrid, without falling a sacrifice to party vengeance, or popular fury. In February 1669, he retired to Rome, where the favour of his royal mistress gave him the title of embassador, and the dignity of cardinal. In justice, however, to the memory of the disgraced minister, we ought to observe, that he gave an unusual example of disinterestedness. He declined the pecuniary assistance offered by different individuals, and preferred, to use his own expression, quitting Spain a poor priest, as he entered it. He reluctantly accepted 2,000 pistoles given by his royal mistress for his journey to Rome, and an augmentation to his pension of 2,000 crowns; but he refused the proffered embassy.

The reluctance of the queen to admit Don John to a share in the government, gave rise to new troubles; and the commotions which took place in

different quarters, appeared the harbingers of civil war. At length, a compromise was again effected by the interference of the nuntio. Don John was reinstated in his government of the Netherlands, but without the obligation to quit Spain; and to remove him from the court, he was appointed viceroy of Aragon and Catalonia.

The exile of Nitard, however, only led to the choice of a new favourite. This was Don Fernando de Valenzuela, a gentleman of Grenada, who had accompanied the duke of Infantado, spanish embassador to Rome, as a page, and on his return was recompensed with the order of St. Jago. His noble patron dying without granting him a permanent provision, he was reduced to great distress, and gained a scanty subsistance by writing verses, and composing several comedies, which were not without merit. Being presented to Nitard, he acquired his good graces by a great versatility of genius, suppleness of manners, and the zeal with which he executed several commissions of great importance. He was intrusted with various state secrets, and employed as a spy on the conduct of Don John and his partisans.

His intercourse with the court enabled him to gain the affections of Donna Eugenia, a lady of the queen's household, who enjoyed the favour of her royal mistress. By espousing her, he became known to the queen, obtained the post of equerry, and increased his interest by his address in tracing the intrigues against Nitard. On the dismission of the confessor, he naturally became the sole depositary of the royal confidence, and when the first alarm had subsided, was summoned into the presence of the queen. In two interviews, at which his wife assisted, to avoid scandal, his lively conversation, agreeable manners, and graceful person improved those favourable sentiments, which his zeal and fidelity had first inspired. By his means, the queen was apprised of all the secret machinations which agitated the city and the court; and as her state of retirement appeared to preclude her from the knowledge of such intelligence, it became the common remark, that she was favoured by the communications of a familiar spirit.

This familiar spirit was soon found to be Valenzuela. He was immediately courted as the distributor of royal favours, directed the puppets of admini-

stration, rose by rapid steps to the highest employments, and became no less absolute, and more hated than father Nitard. He was appointed master of the horse, raised to the rank of a grandee of the first class, with the title of marquis, and finally declared prime minister.

Valenzuela, though a man of lively parts and extensive knowledge, yet possessed not the character and acquirements necessary for his delicate situation. In vain he courted popularity by splendid works, public diversions, and acts of liberality. His humble birth, youth, and rapid rise, exposed him to the attacks of envy and jealousy. By his puerile vanity, he at once increased his own unpopularity, and drew on the character of his royal mistress the most scandalous imputations. He made an ostentatious display of his high favour, affected the airs of a successful lover as well as of a public minister; and it did not escape notice, that his usual device in tournaments, was an eagle gazing at the sun, with the motto "*Tengo solo licencia.*"*

At this juncture, Charles the second attained the age of fifteen, which had been fixed as his majority, and testified his intention to confide the government to Don John. The tears and intreaties of the queen appeared to prevail over the weak and indecisive mind of a youth; but in the midst of the confidence inspired by this partial triumph, the enemies of the minister repeated their attack with a decisive effect. In the night of January the 11th, 1677, the young monarch escaped from his apartment in the old palace, where he was held in a species of honourable captivity, and took refuge in the Buen Retiro. Don John was instantly recalled, and appointed to the office of prime minister, and the queen imprisoned in a convent at Toledo.

Valenzuela at first baffled the vigilance of his persecutors. After taking a short and affectionate leave of his royal mistress, he retired to the monastery of the Escurial, where he was concealed behind a pannel of the wainscot, in the cell of a monk, in whose fidelity he confided. The whole monastery was repeatedly, though ineffectually searched, by the emissaries of the government. But the health of Valenzuela being affected by the closeness of his confinement, he was blooded by the surgeon of the convent, under the most

* I alone have permission.

solemn obligations to secrecy. The surgeon, however, betrayed him; the pannel was taken down, and the unfortunate minister was discovered in a sound sleep with his fire arms and sword by his side. After an imprisonment of some months, without being permitted to have the slightest communication with his wife and children, who were confined in the prison of Talavera, he was banished to the Philippine islands.*

Don John assumed the reins of government, amidst the exultation of a people by whom he was regarded as their deliverer; and who looked with confidence to his talents and virtues, matured by experience, and meliorated by misfortune. But he was not tardy in discovering, that it is far easier to awaken than to gratify public expectation; that the transition from popular favour to popular odium is short and rapid. With diminished resources, from the very first moment of his elevation to the government, he had to contend with the same powerful enemy, who had repeatedly shaken the castilian throne.

Ever anxious to appropriate the valuable remnant of the Burgundian inheritance, Louis the fourteenth had scarcely signed the peace of Aix la Chapelle, before he turned his attacks against the United Provinces, who had taken so active a share in opposing his late aggression, and whose territory formed a point of union for the powers confederated against him. He gained England, renewed his connection with Sweden, secured the support of the german princes on the Rhine, and commenced hostilities by expelling

* From the obscure and uncertain accounts preserved relative to the subsequent fate of this minister, we collect the following circumstances. He was conveyed to Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, and confined in the castle of St. Philip, in a wooden house erected on purpose. His confinement, at first severe, was afterwards mitigated. Having conciliated the favour of the governor, he was permitted to amuse himself with theatrical representations of his own comedies. On the death of Don John, the queen dowager obtained an order for his recal, but it appears to have been frustrated by the machinations of d'Eguya.

In 1689, he was permitted to remove to Mexico, where he experienced a kind reception from the viceroy, the count of Galva, who was brother to his original patron the duke of Infantado. He received a yearly pension of 1,200 pesos; and if we may believe Gemelli, whose entertaining travels are often intermixed with idle tales, his principal amusement consisted in breaking horses. While engaged in this occupation, he received a kick from one which occasioned his death.—Viaggi di Gemelli nelle Isole Philippine, v. 4, p. 45.——Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

the duke of Loraine, who was collecting an auxiliary force for the assistance of the States. At this juncture, the spanish government gave a solitary proof of its pristine vigour and magnanimity, by rejecting the insidious overtures of France, and concluding, in January 1672, a defensive alliance with the republic. This arrangement was followed by the transport of reinforcements into the Netherlands. But the promptitude, vigour, and advantageous situation of the french monarch baffled the tardy combinations of two powers, so distant from each other, and so ill adapted to coalesce. In April, France and England denounced hostilities against Holland at the same moment; before the close of the campaign, the french army penetrated to the very neighbourhood of Amsterdam; and to preserve their independence, the dutch were reduced to the last and desperate expedient of breaking down the dikes, and inundating the country.

So unprovoked and successful an irruption awakened general alarm and indignation. A revolution took place in the United Provinces; the ruling party, which had attached itself to France, was driven from power, and William prince of Orange, at the early age of eighteen, was called by the voice of his country, to secure that independence which his ancestors had won. The austrian court appealed to arms, and in September 1672 a new alliance cemented the union between the emperor, Spain, and the United Provinces. The effect of this combination was rapid and decisive. Louis was reduced to abandon most of his conquests, with the same celerity as they were made. In 1674, he was deserted by England, as well as many of his german allies, and threatened by the forces of the empire. With his usual promptitude and decision, he again turned even failure to advantage. During the campaigns of 1674 and 1675, he over-ran Franche Comté, induced the swiss to shut the passages from Italy into Germany against the spaniards, and baffled the attempts of the austrians to regain their footing beyond the Rhine. While an attack from his allies, the swedes, diverted the forces of the elector of Brandenburgh, he directed his most vigorous efforts against the Netherlands; and having defeated the dutch and spaniards, extended his conquests by the capture of the principal fortresses which covered those provinces. He distracted the attention of the spaniards by incursions into Catalonia, and by fomenting insurrections among a turbulent people, ever ripe for revolt.

Profiting by that disunion which is the effect of ill success, and of a protracted contest, Louis succeeded in luring Holland into a separate peace, which was concluded at Nimeguen, in August 1678, under the mediation of England. He restored his conquests from the United Provinces, on the condition of being permitted to retain Franche Comté; and in return for the surrender of some of the minor fortresses acquired by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, he obtained new cessions which consolidated the extension of his frontier from the channel to the Sambre.* Thus deserted, the spanish government had no other resource than to take advantage of an article which stipulated for its accession within six weeks.† The emperor was soon afterwards compelled to purchase peace by acquiescing in the exchange of Philipsburgh for Friburgh in the Brisgau, which contributed still further to establish the power of France on the Rhine.

The influence which France now began to acquire in the court of Spain, was marked by the marriage of the young king with Maria Louisa, daughter of the duke of Orleans, brother of Louis the fourteenth. A match had been already arranged, and the contract even signed, with an austrian princess; but Don John, dreading lest such a connection should give new weight to the queen dowager, profited by the accommodation to form this alliance with the royal family of France. It was hastily negotiated by the spanish plenipotentiary in his return from the congress at Nimeguen, celebrated in October 1679, at Quintanapalla, and in the commencement of the ensuing year the new queen made her solemn entry into Madrid.

Don John, however, did not live to witness the solemnization of the nuptials. Like his predecessor, he drew on himself the resentment of a high spirited people, by the humiliating terms of peace to which he was constrained to submit. Embarrassed by the disorders in the government, and hated for his rigorous treatment of the queen dowager, he rendered himself obnoxious to all parties, by the banishment of many nobles who had shewn their attachment to her cause. Dreading also the machinations of a host of

* Koch, t. 1, p. 211.

† Treaty between France and the United Provinces, and between France and Spain, Sept. 17, 1678.—Prontuario de Tratados, p. 179 and 197.

enemies, he alienated his young sovereign, by keeping him in a state of undue restraint. Lastly, the treaty of marriage with a french princess, completed the series of his political delinquencies, in the eyes of a people, who from character and principles, were hostile to the very name of France.

He saw, with alarm, the powerful combination which was forming against him; he found the favour of the king gradually withdrawn, and the queen dowager courted by his enemies. Although he had braved dangers, and supported disgrace, he wanted magnanimity to renounce his power, and relinquish a post which he could no longer maintain. Oppressed with chagrin and disappointment, he brooded over his dangers and difficulties. His health was gradually affected; he was seized with a lingering, but incurable disorder, and on the 17th of September, 1679, sunk into the grave, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the second of his troubled administration.

With Don John expired the genius of the austrian dynasty. A species of dissolution took place in the government, which hastened the decline of the monarchy. The queen dowager was recalled, but becoming timid, from past disgrace, did not at first venture to resume an active part in the administration of affairs. The king, too weak and inexperienced to govern alone, was abandoned to the guidance of a cabal, formed by his confessor; the duchess of Torranueva, camerara mayor to the young queen, an old lady of imperious character, and a zealous antigallican; and d'Eguya, who performed the functions, without the title, of secretary of state. The latter, by a supple and insinuating behaviour, had risen from the situation of a petty clerk, to the height of favour. Profiting by his access to the royal presence, he persuaded the king not to nominate a prime minister, and obtained the sole direction of affairs; but being devoid of talents, and accustomed only to the routine of office, his influence aggravated the public disorders, and occasioned an almost total suspension in the machine of government. Every department became a scene of confusion; the dispatches and papers submitted to the council remained unanswered; those referred to the king were seldom returned; and a total lethargy in every branch of administration set the seal to the national calamities.

At length, a dread of public indignation vanquished the ill judged ambition of this minion, and induced him to relieve himself from the responsibility of office. To secure his own power, he directed the choice of the king to the duke of Medina Celi, whose principal merits were his high birth and conciliating character, but whose constitutional indolence and want of experience rendered him likely to submit to the guidance of another hand. Medina Celi, however, feeling his own want of experience, and jealous of d'Eguya, brought forward other coadjutors, and endeavoured to lessen his difficulties, by committing the deliberations of state to juntas, formed for the occasion, of persons distinguished in the administration, or possessing influence with the monarch. Among these we find a species of financial committee, consisting of the presidents of Castile and finance, the royal confessor, a dominican monk, and a jesuit, who possessed the confidence of the king in spiritual concerns. From such a motley ministry, emanated numerous plans, equally specious and impracticable: the public distress was aggravated, and the labours of such mock statesmen exposed the government to contempt and ridicule. Nothing could exceed the disorders of the country at this melancholy period. Sudden changes in the value of the currency suspended circulation, and ruined public confidence; scarcity and dearth followed the fluctuations of the coin. The people, to use the proverbial expression of the nation, were reduced to subsist on the beams of the sun;* and earthquakes, hurricanes, and inundations, swelled the deplorable catalogue of human miseries. While want and calamity oppressed the provinces, cabals and factions divided the court. The king, incapable of business, and a prey to a hypochondriac malady, which bordered on insanity, was distracted by the contending animosities of the queen mother and queen consort, and divided between his love for his wife and that rooted resentment which he felt for the multiplied insults of the french monarch. In this struggle of contending interests, d'Eguya bore a distinguished part, and contributed to aggravate the embarrassments of the government. Dissatisfied with the attempt of Medina Celi to free himself from controul, he caballed against him with the confessor, and the duchess of Terranueva; he next excited the jealousy

* "*Tomar el sol,*" equivalent to our expression, to live on air.—Memoires de Mad. de Villars, p. 81.

of one party against the other, and of the king against all. Finally, with the hope of preventing the formation of a more efficient ministry, he joined Medina Celi in procuring the disgrace of the confessor, and the dismission of the duchess, whose imperious temper had disgusted the queen consort.

After a contest too long for the public welfare, the voice of the nation, supported by the representations of the nobles, and the influence of the queen dowager, drove Medina Celi from the helm. A new administration was formed, under the count of Oropesa, a young nobleman, whose talents and conciliating qualities bore the fairest promise. He reformed abuses in the administration, and issued new financial regulations, more just and practicable than those of his predecessor. But amidst the rapid succession of foreign troubles and domestic wants, the royal revenue was absorbed as fast as it flowed in: according to the expression of a native writer, the american treasures, once the great resource of the monarchy, were like a drop of water, which aggravated instead of quenching a raging thirst.*

The death of the queen consort in 1690, and the subsequent marriage of the widowed monarch with an austrian princess, concluded at the instigation of the queen dowager, became a new source of discord. Oropesa, although respected by the king, was disgraced, and his place supplied by the young count of Melgar, afterwards admiral of Castile, who was handsome and gallant, and better fitted to manage a court intrigue, than to govern a kingdom. Like preceding ministers, he soon found it necessary to provide against the threatened hostilities of France; and carried to a still further extent than Oropesa the suspension of pensions, the reform of offices, the imposition of vexatious taxes, and the demand of free gifts.

In 1696 the death of the queen dowager, who had survived her credit, produced no other effect, than to strengthen the influence of the queen consort. Public distress, and the difficulty of finding resources for the necessities of government, produced a coalition between Oropesa and Melgar. Oropesa was made president of Castile; and the two rival statesmen suspended their ani-

* Ortiz.

mosities, to remedy the internal disorders, and avert the foreign dangers which threatened the downfal of the monarchy.

The helpless situation of Spain, and the apathy or timidity of other powers, encouraged the french monarch to proceed in his career of spoliation and incroachment. Profiting by the contradictory stipulations, which had been introduced into the preceding treaties, he adopted a new system, and continued his dismemberments under the guise of peace, with still more success than in time of war. He established tribunals or chambers of re-union, at Brisac for Alsace; at Metz for the three bishoprics; and at Briançon for Franche Comté. The object of these tribunals was to reunite to the territories before acquired by France, not merely single places, or inconsiderable districts, but even whole principalities and provinces, which, according to tradition or record, had ever been attached to the ceded countries. Among other territories, he wrested from the empire the city and district of Strasburgh; the town and part of the bishopric of Spire; Sponheim and Montbeillard; Deux Ponts, Saarburgh, Weldentz, and numerous districts of inferior importance. From Spain, he extorted Courtray, Dixmude, Alost, and Luxemburgh. He claimed the county of Chinay, under pretexts too frivolous to be recapitulated, and even attempted to appropriate Navarre by force.

His power, resources, and past successes, awed the other states of Europe. After a fruitless attempt to form a combination against this new species of aggression, the parties aggrieved found it necessary to submit to a compromise. By the truce of twenty years, concluded at Ratisbon with the emperor and Spain, in 1684, the french monarch was enabled to consolidate a part of his recent usurpations. He retained Luxemburgh, Beaumont, Bouvines, and Chinay, with their dependencies; and by extending his frontier from the Sambre to the Moselle, united his dismemberments of the spanish inheritance with those wrested from Austria and the empire. From the empire, he obtained the cession of Strasburgh and Kehl, and of all the re-unions decreed by the chambers of Metz, Brisac, and Bezançon, before the 1st of August, 1681, with the full rights of sovereignty.

These progressive incroachments, which, under the insidious name of peace, threatened little less than universal subjection, excited alarm and indignation in every quarter of Europe. The petty states within the grasp of french ambition looked to the greater powers for support; while the greater powers themselves felt that open, vigorous, and common resistance, could alone secure their safety. For some time, the disgraceful dependence to which England was reduced under the reigns of the two last Stuarts, prevented that general combination which was competent to resist so overwhelming a force. In 1686, the league of Augsburgh prepared the way for the glorious Revolution, which secured the liberties and religion of England; and became the foundation of the grand alliance. The object of this extensive combination was to put a period to the aggressions and tyranny of the french monarch, and to prevent him from realising the design of appropriating the spanish succession.

These combinations were the signal of hostilities; and for the first time since France became predominant, she was reduced to depend on her own strength and resources. But in this, as in other instances, it was too soon proved, that a powerful and compact monarchy, in a commanding position, with a government of sufficient energy to call forth all the resources of the people, with the most numerous and best constituted army in Europe, led on by the ablest generals of the age, is enabled to combat with advantage against an extensive combination of nations, differing in interests, harrassed with internal troubles, and forming a vast and heterogeneous body, incapable of acting on one common plan. Favoured by these advantages, the french monarch succeeded in baffling the first and most dangerous attack. Keeping the powers united on the side of the Netherlands and Germany at bay, he directed his principal efforts against Italy and Spain; while he overran the territories of Savoy, he poured his forces into Navarre and Catalonia, reduced Barcelona, and rapidly extended his conquests towards the Ebro.

At length the different states began to sink under the evils of protracted war; and the first impulse of resentment having subsided, each consulted its hopes, its interests, or its fears. The duke of Savoy, robbed of his territories, and lured with the prospect of an alliance with the royal family of

France, in 1696, set the example of defection, which became the signal for the dissolution of the grand alliance. Suspicion and alarm spreading through the confederacy, Louis proposed terms which appeared moderate, contrasted with his former pretensions, and obtained a ready attention from the maritime powers and Spain. Accordingly a formal separation took place among the allies; and a peace was concluded at Ryswick. Louis conciliated William the third, by acknowledging the protestant succession, and engaging not to assist his enemies; and the dutch, by agreeing to restore his conquests, to renew their commercial privileges, and to accede to the formation of a barrier for their security on the side of the Netherlands. To the surprise and satisfaction of the spanish nation, he not only relinquished his recent conquests, but even a part of the dismemberments which he had been permitted to retain by the treaty of Ratisbon.* In the midst of the joy inspired by this relief from the burthens of war, the great principle of the alliance, to secure the succession of Spain in the House of Austria, was overlooked; and the emperor Leopold, after a short and fruitless opposition, was compelled to accede to the peace, without the slightest allusion to the claims of his family.

During these contests abroad, various revolutions had agitated the court of Madrid. The temporary advantage, which France derived from the elevation of a bourbon princess to the throne, had been lost by her death; and the austrian party had regained the ascendancy by the marriage between Charles and Eleonora, princess of Neuburgh, sister of the empress. Other changes had ensued in the administration. Oropesa, though restored after a temporary disgrace, had been compelled to bend to the superior influence of the count of Melgar; and Melgar himself had seen new candidates arise for power, in the dukes of Sessa and Infantado, and in the count of Monterrey. But his most dangerous competitor was cardinal Portocarrero, who after filling the office of embassador at Rome, had been elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, and to the advantages of high birth, and extensive influence in his order, united great energy of character, with the arts of

* Treaty between Spain and France, signed at Ryswick, Sept. 20, 1697. Prontuario de Tratados, p. 317.

intrigue, which had been called into action and matured in so celebrated a school as the court of Rome. Lastly, at this momentous period, a fatal change took place in the health of the king. His constitution, naturally weak, and his mind, naturally feeble, sunk under the attacks of a tertian fever: his life for a considerable time was in danger; and the four last years of his reign were embittered with a series of sufferings which rendered his existence a continued malady.*

* Lettres de Mad. la Marquise de Villars.——Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.——Ortiz.——Desormeaux.——Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne.——Oeuvres de Louis 14.——Diplomatie Françoise—and the different public acts, conventions, and treaties, as well as the Histories of England, Holland, and France, and House of Austria, ch. 65, 66.

SECTION III.

1692—1700.

Contest for the succession to the throne of Spain—Rights of the principal pretenders—Policy of the French court—State of the austrian party in Spain—Embassies of Harrach and Harcourt—Successful intrigues of Harcourt—Cardinal Portocarrero becomes the partisan of France—First Treaty of Partition—Charles appoints the Electoral Prince of Bavaria his heir—Death of the Prince—Effect of this treaty in Spain—Manœuvres of Portocarrero and the French party to influence the mind of Charles—His rapid decline—Disgrace of Oropesa, the austrian adherents, and the admiral of Castile—Second Treaty of Partition, and breach between Spain and the maritime powers—Vigorous struggle between the Austrian and Bourbon parties—Vacillations of the King—Consults the different councils in Spain and refers to the Pope—Effect of these appeals—Ascendancy of the French interest—Last illness of the King—Testament in favour of a French Prince—Death of Charles.

FROM infancy to manhood the whole life of Charles had been chequered with mortifications and calamities. Engaged in repeated and unsuccessful struggles against a superior power, with allies who had rendered the interests of Spain subservient to their own advantage, he had seen his provinces ravaged or dismembered, his army and navy mouldering away, his country reduced to the most deplorable state of penury and weakness. But these trials, however severe, were only the prelude to still heavier afflictions.

Pining under a lingering and hopeless malady, without hope of issue, domineered by an imperious consort whom he did not love, and treated like an infant by the austrian embassador; Charles became the sport of the contending parties who agitated his court, and was reduced to witness the unfeeling attempts of foreign states to parcel out and appropriate his domi-

nions. Lastly, the frail remnant of a life divided between care and sorrow was embittered by the prospect of the future evils which threatened his devoted country, and the apprehension that his succession would be wrested from his own family, to which he was affectionately attached, to give splendour to the rival house of Bourbon.

As the succession to the crown of Spain had long attracted the attention, and excited the alarms of Europe, the treaty of Ryswick was followed by those negotiations and intrigues, which the near prospect of so important an object could not fail to produce.

The principal claimants were the dauphin, the electoral prince of Bavaria, and the emperor Leopold.*

The pretensions of the dauphin were founded on the rights of his mother, the infanta Maria Theresa, as eldest daughter of Philip the fourth, although she had renounced all claims to the succession, and although that renunciation had been ratified by the Cortes and confirmed by the testament of her father, which were all the formalities required by the law of Spain to give it validity.

The emperor Leopold founded his claims, first, on his descent from Philip and Johanna of Castile; and, secondly, on the rights of his mother, Mary Ann, daughter of Philip the third. To obviate the jealousy which the European powers might conceive at the union of the whole austrian possessions and dignities on one head, he and his eldest son Joseph relinquished their pretensions in favour of his second son the archduke Charles.

The rights of the Bavarian prince were derived from those of his mother, the only daughter of the infanta Margaret by the emperor Leopold; and notwithstanding a renunciation had been extorted on her marriage, yet as it had neither been confirmed by the king of Spain, or ratified by the Cortes, he might be justly considered as the legitimate heir.

* See the Genealogical Table at the beginning of this Introduction.

Two other claimants presented themselves: Philip duke of Orleans, in right of his mother the infanta Anne, wife of Louis the thirteenth; and Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, as descended from Catherine, second daughter of Philip the second. But these inferior claims were soon lost in the superior power or right of the principal pretenders.

At every period since the solemnization of the marriage between Louis the fourteenth and the infanta, the french court evidently regarded her renunciation as a mere formality, to satisfy the wishes of the spaniards, and to dissipate the alarm which the european powers might have conceived at the disclosure of a design to unite the two monarchies. At the very moment of passing this solemn act, Mazarin declared, that in spite of a renunciation, the king might pretend to the succession of Spain and the Netherlands in right of his wife. In subsequent periods the diplomatic correspondence, and even the public papers which emanated from the french cabinet, invariably asserted the same principle; that no renunciation by a french or spanish princess could invalidate the rights of her children, or change the law of succession established in both countries.

Under this quibbling distinction, these claims were kept in reserve; until, as Barillon remarks, "they had accustomed the public to hear of the *rights* of the dauphin to the crown of Spain; and to regard them as better founded than those which depended on a renunciation filled with nullities."* The jealousies, fears, and petty interests of other powers favoured their designs. The french monarch succeeded in dissolving the grand alliance, without the establishment of the principle which had given it birth; and the succession to the crown of Spain, though likely to become the immediate cause of a new war, was left in the same uncertain state as before the commencement of hostilities.

While the whole attention and means of the french monarch were employed in silently maturing his designs, the marriage of Margaret, sole daughter of Leopold, by the infanta Maria Theresa, with the elector of

* Barillon to Louis 14, April 3, 1685. Fox's History of James 2, App. p. 65.

Bavaria, and the birth of her son, Joseph Ferdinand, in 1692, divided the interests of the austrian family. The claims of the young prince were considered as prior to those of Leopold; and were consequently supported by the queen mother, and by some members of the cabinet, at the head of whom was the count of Oropesa, then president of Castile. The whole strength of this party was employed in counteracting the efforts of the queen consort, in favour of an austrian prince.

In this divided state the court of Madrid continued, till the death of the queen mother, and the retreat of Oropesa, gave the ascendancy to the queen consort. To take advantage of this change, the emperor Leopold dispatched Ferdinand Bonaventura count of Harrach, a veteran statesman, to Madrid, as his embassador; with the hope, that if the nomination of an archduke could be secured during the war, he should at least obtain the guaranty of the maritime powers, in favour of his pretensions, on the re-establishment of peace.

The austrian minister found the court divided into two parties. The cause of the archduke was supported by the queen, by cardinal Portocarrero, by the count of Melgar, admiral of Castile, and by a majority of the cabinet, as well as the principal nobles; that of the bavarian prince, by Oropesa, who, though in retirement, was consulted by the king; by the marquis of Mancera, and a few other ministers. The only person of any consideration who was inclined to the bourbon cause, was the count of Monterrey, head of the council of Flanders, more from aversion to the germans than from devotion to France.

The king himself, if the inclinations of so weak and indecisive a prince can be taken into consideration, was favourable to the bavarian claims; but he continually fluctuated in his wishes, and avoided any conversation on a subject which aggravated his hypochondriac malady, by bringing to his mind the idea of approaching dissolution.

The queen, however, was ill calculated to call into action all the advantages of her situation. She was vain and imperious, unsteady, and without talents

for business. She was wholly governed by her german adherents, particularly the countess of Berlips, her camerara-mayor, a woman of low extraction, and her confessor, father Chiusa, a german jesuit; both of whom considering their residence in Spain as merely temporary, were guilty of the most shameful rapacity. The german partialities of the queen, joined with the venality of her favourites, disgusted a people remarkable for their dislike of foreigners; while the austrian party was weakened by contests between Portocarrero and the admiral for the pre-eminence.

At length the austrian embassador succeeded in infusing unanimity into this heterogeneous body; and even obtained from the king a promise to nominate the archduke, provided the emperor would send him into Spain with a force of 10,000 men, to assist in repelling the aggression which was apprehended from France. But the exhausted state of Leopold's finances on one hand; and on the other the fear of exposing his darling son to a dangerous voyage, deterred him from accepting the proposal. He alienated his partisans by demanding the government of the Milanese, which was considered as a proof of his intention rather to dismember the monarchy, than to secure the object of all true spaniards, the indivisibility of their empire. These dissensions having prevented any arrangement before the conclusion of the war, Leopold lost the co-operation of the maritime powers, and full scope was opened to the intrigues of France.

Louis the fourteenth had long watched with anxious attention the state of the spanish court and nation, and had gradually prepared the means of bringing forward a french, or at least of excluding an austrian prince. Hence, in the negotiation for the peace of Ryswick, he displayed great affectation of forbearance, and restored without an equivalent all the conquests which his victorious arms had wrested from Spain. After the conclusion of the peace, he systematically pursued the design of conciliating the king of Spain and his people. At the same time he did not disband his army; but even increased his forces on the frontiers, formed magazines, and filled his own and the spanish harbours with ships of war.

To counteract the austrian influence, and secure a party in the country,

he sent as his embassador the marquis, afterwards duke of Harcourt, a nobleman whose address and munificence were calculated to win over a high-spirited nation, and to eradicate the prejudices fostered against France. The first and principal object of his instructions was to procure the nomination of a french prince; but should that prove impracticable, he was at all events to weaken the austrian interest, by favouring the pretensions of the bavarian house, or even of a spanish grandee.

Arriving at Madrid, where his entry was distinguished by unusual splendour, Harcourt found the austrian cause predominant. The king himself was anxious to transmit to the archduke his nephew, the crown of his ancestors, had he not been deterred by his dread of France, and the want of decision or power on the part of Leopold. By the influence of the queen, however, no indirect means had been neglected to attain this object. The germans were all-powerful at court; the two principal governments of Catalonia and Milan, which were calculated to favour the introduction of an austrian prince, were confided to the prince of Darmstadt, and the prince of Vaudemont, both germans and in the service of Austria; while the viceroyalty of Naples was filled by the duke of Popoli, who was attached to the same cause. Notwithstanding these advantages, the ill-judged œconomy, and punctilious stiffness of the austrian embassador, were ill calculated to resist the address, affability, and munificence of Harcourt, who was ably seconded by his wife, a lady of the most accomplished and fascinating manners.

Harcourt successfully profited by the divisions of the austrian party. He gained the countess of Berlips, who was offended with Harrach for attempting to check her rapacity and procure her dismission, and he lured Chiusa with the prospect of a cardinal's hat. By their means he even opened a secret communication with the queen herself; he inflamed her displeasure against Harrach, and rendered her less zealous in the cause of her family, by holding forth the prospect of an union with the dauphin, when she became a widow. He employed the hours of convivial and familiar intercourse, to expose to the grandees the petty intrigues and misconduct of the german cabal, to excite their dissatisfaction against the domineering spirit of Harrach, and to attack the character of the emperor himself. He lavished his attentions on

the clergy, and gradually disposed the court and capital towards a more favourable opinion of the House of Bourbon. But the masterpiece of his art was the acquisition of cardinal Portocarrero, who by his birth, station, profession, and personal influence with the king, was competent to give the preponderance to the party which he espoused; and who from jealousy of the admiral, laboured for the ruin of that cause, which he had at first supported, and was not permitted to rule.

The first effect of these intrigues was the departure of Harrach, who finding himself unequal to combat the machinations of his artful rival, demanded his recal, and quitted the court with a degree of ill humour, which essentially injured the declining interest of his imperial master. His son Louis, who replaced him, was equally haughty and unconciliating, without his talents, experience, and sagacity; and this change of ministers at so critical a period, greatly contributed to the ascendency of the Bourbon influence.

At the same time that these secret springs were operating at Madrid, the public conduct of Louis was skilfully adapted to forward his design. While by his warlike preparations he deterred the emperor from adopting any decisive measure, he kept in reserve the claims of his family; and took advantage of the internal embarrassments of the maritime powers, and their solicitude to prevent the renewal of war. He conciliated William the third, by appearing to abandon the interests of the pretender. He adroitly avoided any engagement with the members of the grand alliance collectively; but by an affected disinterestedness with regard to the pretensions of the dauphin, and an appearance of zeal for the preservation of peace, he drew the british monarch into an engagement which was at once calculated to irritate the emperor, and to alarm the spaniards with the apprehension of a dismemberment. This was the first treaty of partition, which originated during the conferences for the conclusion of peace, by the proposal of Torci to the earl of Portland, and was arranged between France and the two maritime powers. Spain and the Indies, with the Netherlands, were assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Milan to the archduke Charles; and to the dauphin, Naples and Sicily, with the marquisate of Finale, and the province

of Guipuscoa. Should the electoral prince die after his accession, without issue, the spanish crown was to be transferred to his father; if the bavarian and austrian families should refuse to accede, the allies were to unite in attacking them, and afterwards regulate to whom their respective portions should belong. The treaty was to be kept secret, and William engaged to demand the consent of the emperor.

By this arrangement, Louis succeeded in separating the maritime powers from Austria, and in virtually forcing them to supersede his own renunciation, as well as that of the electress of Bavaria; while he prepared the way for opposing the claims of the bavarian, to those of the austrian family. The elector of Bavaria, who had hitherto been attached to Austria, was won over by an engagement, which opened so flattering a prospect to his ambition; and there is little doubt that the elevation of his son to the throne of Spain was to be repaid by the cession of the Netherlands to France.

The emperor was highly indignant at the attempt to set aside the claims of his family, in return for the cession of the Milanese, which escheated to the empire on the death of Charles; and by the unjust entail of the spanish crown on the elector of Bavaria. He accordingly refused to accede to a treaty so dishonourable to himself, and so derogatory to his rights.

The contents of this treaty excited the strongest sensation in the spanish court and nation, who resented the attempt of foreign states to parcel out and dispose of their monarchy. Louis profited by this sentiment to turn the indignation of the spaniards against the maritime powers, whom he secretly depicted as its principal movers. The effect of this stroke of policy did not disappoint his expectations. His warlike preparations deterred the king from naming an austrian successor, and left no alternative but the choice of the bavarian or bourbon prince. As it would have defeated his whole scheme to have extorted a premature decision in favour of his own family, he contented himself with excluding the most dangerous rival, and made no direct attempt to influence the mind of Charles, who was thus provoked to nominate a successor. A reference being made to the most learned jurists and casuists, both in Spain and Italy, they justly approved the claims of the bavarian prince. A will

was accordingly drawn up in his favour, with the connivance of the french adherents; but to retain a plausible pretext for eventually thwarting the disposition, Louis made a formal protest against such arrangements as might prejudice the *rights* of his family. With the approbation of Portocarrero, Harcourt presented this protest, in the form of a memorial, to the king, and it was disseminated throughout Spain with the utmost activity.

This measure was scarcely effected, before the untimely death of the bavarian prince on the 8th of February 1699, frustrated the disposition of the spanish monarch, and gave a new and more embarrassing aspect to the question of the succession; for the scale was now to preponderate either in favour of Austria or France. But at this important crisis, Louis developed consummate address, and his views were ably seconded by his creature Portocarrero.

Accordingly, the contest between the bourbon and austrian parties revived with double violence. The queen displayed new zeal in the cause of the archduke, Oropesa followed her example, the admiral resumed his activity, the inquisitor general Don Balthazar Mendoza, joined this new combination; and above all, the confessor father Froylan Diaz, though raised to his post by Portocarrero, refused to imitate the defection of his patron. To awe the partisans of France, a body of foreign troops, under the command of the prince of Darmstadt, was drawn to the vicinity of Madrid.

Difficult as it appeared to break so powerful a party, the disappointed ambition of Portocarrero stimulated him to new efforts; and his station, address, and influence, furnished the means of obtaining success. The hypochondriac king was persuaded, that his malady was the effect of sorcery; and malicious reports were actively circulated, inculpating the queen, the admiral, and Oropesa. The authority of Portocarrero, united with that of the grand inquisitor, induced the confessor to have recourse to the ceremony of exorcism. The dreadful expressions used on this awful occasion increased the weakness of a diseased mind, and the king sunk into a state of alarming despondency. Still, however, brooding over the apprehension of sorcery, he was persuaded to consult a woman of Cangas

in the Asturias, who was supposed to be under the influence of a demon, and the credulous confessor suffered himself to be charged with the dangerous commission.

The planners of the design were too adroit to be disappointed in the result of the appeal. The sorceress replied, that the king was affected by witchcraft, and named various persons as guilty of the crime. The queen was irritated by this new imprudence of the confessor, and even joined her opponents in procuring his dismission. He was succeeded by father Nicholas Torres, whose principles were so doubtful, that he is described as an adherent to both parties.

During this transaction, Portocarrero had retired to his see; but at the secret instances of Harcourt, was recalled by the king. At this moment a new plot was carried into execution by the bourbon adherents. The regular supply of provisions to the capital, which were furnished by monopoly, suddenly failed. The licentious and starving populace were roused into tumult, and their indignation was pointed against the admiral and Oropesa, as the authors of their misery. Crowds repaired to the royal palace, with clamorous demands of relief, and threats of vengeance. The king being unwilling to expose himself to a furious multitude, the queen herself appeared in the balcony, and endeavoured to still the commotion, by declaring, "that the king was sleeping." A deep and ominous voice burst from the crowd: "He has slept too long; it is time he should be awakened to the miseries of his people." The tumult increased, and it was vain to reason or remonstrate. The wretched monarch was brought forward, trembling, pale, and agitated. In his name, and in his presence, satisfaction was promised to the people, and the disgrace of the admiral and Oropesa was announced. The mob withdrew from the palace, and turned their fury against the mansions of the obnoxious ministers, who, with difficulty, escaped in disguise. Plunder and devastation only served to inflame their rage; and alarming execrations burst forth against the queen and her confessor. In vain the corregidor, Don Francisco Ronquillo, rode into the crowd with a crucifix in his hand, endeavouring to soothe the commotion; in vain the holy sacrament was exposed by the monks of Santo

Domingo. All efforts were fruitless, till the approach of a military force extorted that respect from the insurgents which was denied to the symbols of religion; and as the night approached, they gradually dispersed themselves through the streets and allies of the city.

The danger being averted, the council of Castile made an effort in favour of their president and the admiral; but their appeal was counteracted by the representations of Portocarrero, and the dread of a new tumult. The admiral and Oropesa were banished from the capital; the office of president of Castile confided to Don Manuel Arias, a creature of the cardinal; the german troops were discharged, and the prince of Darmstadt retired to his government of Catalonia. The austrian partisans were thus driven from court, and the whole power was left in the hands of Portocarrero and his adherents.

The infirm monarch quitted the capital for the Escurial, in April 1700, to escape from the persecution of those who importuned him to nominate his successor; and to soothe his agitated mind, after the troubled scene to which he had been dragged, a reluctant spectator. In this retreat, he appeared to regain strength and spirits, and hopes were even entertained of his recovery. But the restless curiosity natural to disease, induced him to recur to a superstitious custom common in Spain, which had been resorted to by his father. He descended into the vault of the Pantheon, to visit the corpses of his deceased relatives, trusting that the intercession of their departed spirits would arrest the progress of his malady. The coffin of his mother being opened, the spectacle made little impression; but the body of his first wife appeared with few marks of dissolution, and with a countenance scarcely less blooming than when alive. The sight of features once tenderly beloved, and now triumphant over death, struck him with horror. He recoiled from the view, exclaiming, "I shall soon be with her in Heaven!" and hurried from the vault. The effect of this terrible emotion on a weak frame was deep and irremediable. His morbid imagination continually brooded over the idea of dissolution, and he was haunted with the apprehension that the blooming appearance of his departed queen portended his own speedy decease.

After this fatal experiment, his sensitive mind could no longer find repose at the Escurial. He hurried to Aranjuez; and having in vain endeavoured to dissipate the melancholy impression by exercise and diversion, returned in June to the capital, in a still more deplorable state than before his departure. The presence of the king at Madrid, and the power committed to the cardinal, furnished new means to diminish the austrian influence, and to mature, in conjunction with France, the scheme for transferring the spanish throne to a bourbon prince. At this period also, the queen was attacked in the persons of her adherents; and the countess of Berlips and the confessor were driven from Spain.

Meanwhile the intrigues and anxiety of foreign powers to interfere in the arrangement of the spanish succession, contributed to aggravate the disorder of the infirm monarch, and to promote the designs of the bourbon partisans. On the death of the bavarian prince, negotiations were instantly renewed for a new arrangement. The arts of Louis again prevailed; and he had the address to obtain the consent of William and the dutch to a second treaty of partition.

Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, were assigned to the archduke Charles, as universal heir, with the exception of the cessions reserved for other powers. The dauphin, in return for the sacrifice of his pretensions, was to have Naples and Sicily, the states of the Presidii, and the province of Guipuscoa. To these were to be added, if the consent of the duke could be obtained, the duchies of Loraine and Bar, in return for the Milanese. The emperor and his eldest son were to renounce their pretensions to the spanish succession in favour of the archduke Charles; and means were to be adopted to prevent the future union of the spanish and imperial crowns on one head. Should the duke of Loraine refuse to acquiesce in this arrangement, Milan was assigned to the elector of Bavaria, the duchy of Luxemburgh, with the county of Chinay, to France; or Milan was to be transferred to the duke of Savoy, and France to receive Nice, the Barcelonette, and the duchy of Savoy, with the kingdom of Upper Navarre. The term of three months was left for the emperor to announce his acquiescence; and if necessary, the archduke was to be prevented by force from entering

Spain or the Italian dominions, till after the death of Charles. The three contracting parties were to employ their offices in obtaining the accession of other powers.

The terms of this treaty sufficiently shew the helpless state to which William and the United Provinces were reduced. It was a virtual exclusion of an austrian prince, to prevent the archduke from repairing to Spain till the succession became actually vacant; while the treaty itself afforded the king of France a pretext for increasing his military and naval force on the frontier of Spain and the Low Countries, under the plausible pretence of *charging himself with the whole burthen of its execution.*

But it was in Spain in particular that it produced the most decisive effect. The first hint of the negotiation, which was immediately divulged, roused the resentment of Charles, and induced him to make the warmest remonstrances in every court of Europe, against this indecorous interference. He did not spare his expostulations with the court of France; but in England and Holland, his ministers assumed a language unusual in diplomatic intercourse, and he vehemently appealed to the british nation and parliament against a measure, which was stigmatised as an infamous breach of good faith on the part of their sovereign.

However just this representation, and however cogent the motive, no sovereign could tolerate such language against his person and government: William, though with regret, ordered the spanish minister to quit his dominions in eighteen days. At the same time the states refused to accept the memorial of the spanish minister, or to acknowledge him in a public character. The consequence of these measures was the dismission of Mr. Stanhope, the british minister in Spain; and all amicable communication was cut off with the maritime powers. Louis and his partisans were therefore enabled to pursue their machinations at Madrid with redoubled effect.

The different courts of Europe appeared inclined to temporise, and wait the event. But the emperor being encouraged by the secret assurances of Charles, and the expectation that his son would be nominated sole heir,

deferred his consent to the treaty under various pretences, and asserted the rights of his family to the entire succession.

Meanwhile, Madrid became the scene of a violent struggle between the contending parties. Portocarrero and his adherents, acting in concert with the french embassador, turned to their advantage the sentiment of indignation excited by the recent treaty of partition. While the austrian party was discouraged and diminished by the timidity of the queen and the banishment of Oropesa and the admiral, that of France was rapidly increased by the accession of the principal grandees, among whom we particularly distinguish the marquis of Villafranca, the count of St. Estevan, and the duke of Medina Sidonia. They inflamed the resentment of the king and nation against the maritime powers, as the principal authors of this insulting partition; and represented the king of France as drawn into the engagement from a consciousness that the claims of the dauphin were likely to be passed over. They dwelt on the weakness of Austria when deserted by England and Holland, exaggerated the power of France, and gradually brought into public view the validity of the dauphin's pretensions.

When they had made the intended impression, and the claims of a bourbon prince became the general theme of discourse, they proceeded to more decisive measures, with a view to over-rule the remaining reluctance of the king. A select number of the bourbon partisans, Portocarrero, Villena, St. Estevan, Medina Sidonia, and Villagarcias, met at the house of Portocarrero, to arrange their plan of operations. On this occasion, Villena suggested the argument, afterwards employed to elude the renunciation of the spanish infanta, by urging that the intention was solely to prevent the union of the two crowns on one head, and consequently if this objection were obviated, her descendents ought to enjoy the priority of right. He charged himself with submitting the proposal to the council of state, while Portocarrero was to exert his influence in obtaining the approbation of the king.

At this interesting crisis, Harcourt, either to divert the public attention, or to be ready on the frontier to direct the movements of the army, in concert

with his partisans at Madrid, left the nominal agency of France to Blécourt, but the real negotiation in the hands of Portocarrero. He then repaired to the south of France, and assumed the command of the army.

The machinations of the french partisans again roused the queen, and she was instigated and directed by the counsels of Oropesa and the admiral. At the same moment the court of Vienna resumed its activity. Leopold offered 60,000 men to defend the Italian dominions, and his embassador turned against the french partisans their own argument, that the king of France had bound himself by the most solemn engagements to dismember the succession; that he had expressed his resolution to accept no will in favour of his family; and consequently that the indivisibility and independence of the monarchy rested solely on the House of Austria. Such representations made a deep impression on the mind of Charles, who was habitually attached to his family. A tacit permission was given to receive the imperial troops in the Italian dominions, and assurances were conveyed to Vienna that the archduke would be nominated universal heir.

At this time, Portocarrero employed all the powers of his sacred office. He attacked the conscience of the king; ventured gradually to develope the claims of the House of Bourbon; and alarmed the weak and terrified monarch with the threat of eternal punishment, should he neglect to appoint a successor, or violate the rights of the lawful heir. To decide on so high and delicate a matter, he prevailed on him to consult the most profound jurists, as well as the principal grandees and counsellors of state. Accordingly the jarring claims of the two rival houses were submitted to the most learned lawyers of Spain and Italy, who unanimously decided in favour of the House of Bourbon, provided means were adopted to prevent the union of the two crowns.

Charles, still struggling between his superstitious fears and affection for his family, was advised by Portocarrero to recur to the pope, as the common father of christendom, and the safest counsellor in a matter of such difficulty. The effect of this appeal was well foreseen, from the inveterate jealousy fostered by Innocent the twelfth against the House of Austria.

The resolution being taken, Charles selected for this delicate mission the duke of Uzeda, one of his household, a nobleman possessing his entire confidence. He said, one morning, "Duke of Uzeda, it is my intention to send you to Rome, in quality of embassador." The duke, endeavouring to decline an appointment which would remove him from the royal presence and service, the king continued, "You know I have no children, and may shortly die. Have you not held me thrice as dead in your arms? Lastly, do you not perceive that, for the tranquillity of my subjects, and the whole monarchy, I should think of chusing a successor? It is for this great work, for which I am answerable to God and to the world, that I would consult the pope; and as it is necessary to keep the design secret, I have chosen you to serve me in so important a mission." He concluded with a remark which shewed the impression made by the representations of the french partisans. "Though partial," he added, "to my own family, my future salvation is dearer to me than the ties of blood!" The duke was accordingly charged with the opinions of the jurists, and a letter to the pope.*

"Having no children, and being obliged to appoint an heir to the spanish crowns from a foreign family, we find such great obscurity in the law of succession, and in the circumstances of the case, that we are unable to come to a settled determination. Strict justice is our only aim, and to enable us to decide with that justice, we have constantly besought the Supreme Being to direct us in the present exigency. Anxious to act rightly, we have recourse to your holiness, as to an infallible guide. We intreat you to consult on this important affair with the cardinals and divines, whom you judge most sincere and able; and after having attentively examined the testaments of our predecessors, from Ferdinand the catholic to Philip the fourth; the decrees of the Cortes, the renunciations of the infantas Mary Anne and Maria Theresa, the marriage compacts, cessions, and all the acts of the austrian princes, from Philip the handsome to the present time, to decide by the rules

* Torcy observes, that the duke of Uzeda was at Rome, and received the letter from Charles with orders to deliver it to the pope. But the anecdote in the text is drawn from the account given by Uzeda himself to marshal Tessé, when in Spain. See Memoires de Tessé, t. 1, p. 181, sur le Testament de Charles II, Roi d'Espagne.

of equity and justice. As to ourself, we are not guided either by love or hatred, and we only wait for the opinion of your holiness to regulate our conduct."

On receiving this application, the pope affected some reluctance to assume the decision of so delicate a matter; but at length referred the documents to the cardinals Albano, Spinola and Spada, all of whom were attached to France. After deliberating forty days, the decision was such as might have been anticipated. That the king of Spain was bound in conscience to entail his succession on the duke of Anjou or the duke of Berri, the younger sons of the dauphin, provided proper precautions were taken against the union of the two crowns. Innocent dispatched this report, with a letter calculated to influence the devout mind of Charles.

"Being," he observed, "myself in a situation similar to that of your majesty, on the point of appearing at the tribunal of Christ, and of rendering an account to my sovereign pastor of the flock which has been intrusted to my care, it is no less my duty to give such advice as will not be a matter of reproach to my conscience at the day of judgment. Your majesty should reflect that you ought not to put the interests of the House of Austria in competition with those of eternity, and with that dreadful account of your actions which you must soon give before the King of Kings, who admits no excuse, and is no respecter of persons. You cannot be ignorant that the children of the dauphin are the rightful heirs of the crown; and that in opposition to them, neither the archduke, nor any member of the House of Austria, has the smallest legitimate pretension. In proportion to the importance of the succession, the more crying will be the injustice of excluding the rightful heirs, and the more will you draw on your devoted head the vengeance of Heaven. It is therefore incumbent on you to omit no precaution which your wisdom can suggest, to render justice where justice is due, and to secure, as far as lies in your power, the undivided inheritance of the spanish monarchy to a son of the dauphin."

Even the sacred authority of the pontiff could not wholly silence the yearning of Charles towards his family. After privately consulting several

of the grandees, he submitted the question to the council of Castile. Arias, the president, and the creature of Portocarrero, presented a report coinciding with the decision from Rome, and the same sentiments were re-echoed from all the public authorities. But the influence of the queen was now exerted with redoubled effect. She secretly promoted a reconciliation with the maritime powers, to whom she naturally looked as the firmest support of an austrian prince. The usual intercourse between the different courts was renewed; and at her instigation, military preparations were made in Spain, to give weight to the expected bequest of her husband.

The french party were not idle. In September, Louis issued a memorial, arguing, that the adoption of the partition treaty was the only expedient to maintain the public tranquillity, and threatening to prevent by force the passage of the imperial troops into any part of the spanish dominions. By this well timed menace, Charles was thrown into all his former perplexity. His affection for his family was lost in his superior regard for the welfare of his people; and he became apprehensive lest the french king, instead of accepting a will in favour of a bourbon prince, should pursue the design of dismembering the monarchy, according to the recent treaty of partition. He proposed this doubt to Louis, by means of his embassador at Paris, and a similar question was put to Blécourt, at Madrid, by the duke of Medina Sidonia, in the name of the grandees in the french interest. Nothing, it was added, but a positive assurance on this point could induce them to recommend the nomination of a bourbon prince.

In the situation in which Louis then stood, and interested as he was to cajole the maritime powers, it was impossible to give a public and positive answer. There can, however, be little doubt that he privately signified his intention to accept the bequest, although Torcy disingenuously glosses over this important point without acquainting us with the reply.*

At length the question was finally referred to the council of state, the

* He says, indeed, if we can penetrate his affected obscurity, "the assertion that Louis intended to refuse the bequest was *false*," "un tel discours quoique *faux*," t. 1, p. 143.

highest deliberative body of the monarchy. The members present were, Portocarrero, Mancera, del Fresno, Villa Franca, Medina Sidonia, Fuensalida, Montijo, and Frigiliana. The three first produced each a memorial, containing an argument nearly the same in substance. " The kingdom, almost destroyed by the rigours of fortune, requires to be restored. It will be dangerous to defer the choice of a successor; because, if in the present circumstances, the king should die, every prince will grasp a portion of the monarchy, whose strength will thus be exhausted in civil wars, by the natural hatred which the Arragonese, the Catalans, and the Valencians, bear to the Castilians; and the majesty and splendour of a throne so august, will be overwhelmed by tyranny and ambition.

" Nor is it sufficient to nominate an heir, if he who is chosen be not in a state to support the weighty machine of so great an empire. It is necessary that he should possess rights, lest usurpation should draw on misfortunes; and lest power, without right, should be confounded with tyranny. In so great a number of evils, divine Providence leaves us only the choice of a single remedy. This remedy is in the House of Bourbon, so powerful and so fortunate, and possessing such incontestable pretensions to the succession; by employing any other, the monarchy will be destroyed, and become a province of France. We should, therefore, speedily name, as heir to the crown, the duke of Anjou, second son to the dauphin, with the condition that, at no future time, the two sceptres be united in the same hand. Under this new king, our faded glory will shine forth with new lustre, not only because we shall cease to have a formidable enemy, but shall gain a powerful protector."*

Two voices alone were opposed to the prevailing sentiment. The counts of Fuensalida and Frigiliana† urged the necessity of appealing to the national Cortes, as the only legitimate body, competent to decide this important question; but their opinion was overruled, and the report was presented to the king by Portocarrero. Still, however, the court and capital were divided

* Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 32.

† Afterwards called the count of Aguilar.

into parties, and their clamorous disputes were heard even in the anti-chamber of the sick monarch. Pressed on one side by the french, and importuned on the other by the queen and austrian partisans, the debilitated frame of Charles sunk under the struggle of contending passions, and a crisis in his disorder announced his approaching dissolution. With a view still further to stimulate his tender conscience, Portocarrero exposed to him his awful situation on the verge of eternity; and persuaded him to receive the spiritual counsels of the most pious divines, to assist his devotions and prepare him to die with resignation. In the midst of those lugubrious ceremonies with which the catholic church appals the minds of the dying, these divines represented the danger his soul would incur, should he not dispose of his crown by will, and should entail on his country the horrors of civil war. They held forth the vengeance of an offended deity, if he suffered himself to be swayed by mortal love or hatred; if he consulted the affections of that body, which must shortly moulder into dust. The austrians, they urged, were not the relations, nor the bourbons the enemies of his soul; and it was his duty to conform himself to the opinion of the majority of his council, the disinterested advocates of justice, and the organs of the national voice.

'This trying scene decided the long pending struggle. Charles dismissed his attendants, and in the presence of Portocarrero and Arias, dictated his final disposition to Ubilla, secretary of the despacho, whom he constituted notary public for the purpose. The testament was speedily drawn up, and on the second of October presented for his signature. It was read, and duly executed; and being attested by Ubilla, was inclosed in a cover, which was signed and sealed according to custom, by the great officers of state. At this moment the thought of having disinherited his family, wrung from Charles an affecting testimony of sorrow and regret. He burst into tears, exclaiming as he signed, "God is the disposer of kingdoms!" and when the ceremony was concluded, he added; "I am already nothing!" Two days afterwards, he added a codicil, confirming the will, and comprising some ulterior dispositions. In consequence of his total incapacity for business, he consigned the reins of government entirely to Portocarrero.

The contents of this testament were carefully concealed from the queen and austrian party, but proper information was the same evening communicated to Blécourt, and by him transmitted to his court through the channel of Harcourt.

"M. de Blécourt," writes Harcourt to Torci, "has sent a courier to inform his majesty that the catholic king has made and signed a codicil, which confirms a will made the third of this month, in favour of a french prince. He was informed of it by the duke of Medina Sidonia, the count of St. Estevan and the duke of Sessa."

After this information, he entered into a series of reflections relative to the acceptance of the will, and deciding in favour of the acceptance, proceeded to suggest such arrangements as his experience and knowledge of the country enabled him to furnish to secure success.

"If" he said, "the will be accepted and the spaniards are unanimous, the duke of Anjou will be established in as little time as will be requisite for his journey; but the rest of the winter we shall be prepared to see what the allied princes will do. I can, however, scarcely believe, that if they once see the prince established at Madrid, they will venture to expose their commerce and their tranquillity, with the evident certainty of not being able to expel him from Spain. The first movement may be violent; but reflection will appease that anger which will only arise among individuals, and not in states, particularly among different people."*

Harcourt immediately proceeded to Bayonne, to be ready to move at a moment's notice, with orders to open the dispatches from Madrid, and act according to circumstances.

During the contest of parties at Madrid, the confident reports prevailing in every quarter that the succession was to be entailed on a french prince,

* Bourdeaux, Oct. 30, 1700. Harcourt to Torcy. This interesting dispatch, and some others, are preserved in the Hardwicke Collection of State Papers.

alarmed the maritime powers, and they made strong representations to discover the real intentions of Louis. But he quieted their apprehensions, or at least evaded their importunities.* He, however, continued his naval and military preparations, and William and the dutch government, unable to take the requisite precautions against the impending danger, waited in awful suspense the approaching crisis.

The contest at Madrid was, however, not yet entirely terminated. A return of momentary ease revived the affection of the king towards his family; the queen and her partisans resuming their efforts, extorted from him a promise to execute a will in favour of the archduke Charles.† Messengers were dispatched with the welcome intelligence to Vienna. But it was too late to carry this design into execution. The change which had

* Tindal.

† Tindal.——Schomberg's letter, Madrid, Oct. 21.

Ortiz, t. 6.——Desormeaux Hist. d'Espagne, t. 5, p. 147—174.——Tindal.——Ottieri Historia della Guerra per la Successione alla Monarchia di Spagna.——Targe Histoire de l'avenement de la Maison de Bourbon au trone d'Espagne, liv. 1, c. 1.——Saint Philippe, t. 1, p. 1—61.——Memoires du Comte d'Harrach—de la Torre.——Mem. Historique sur le Testament de Charles II, roi d'Espagne, in Mem. de Tessé.——Memoires de St. Simon, liv. 6.——Lamberty, t. 1, passim.——Milbiller's Continuation of Schmidt, b. 9, ch. 19, 22—b. 10, ch. 1.——Henrich, v. 7, p. 367—422.——Mably and Koch, art. de la Succession d'Espagne.——Diplomatie françoise, t. 6.——Oeuvres de Louis 14, passim.——Official letters from count Schomberg at Lisbon, and the earl of Manchester at Paris, 1700.——In Cole's Memoirs of Affairs of State.——History of the House of Austria, ch. 67.

We cannot quit this subject without adverting more particularly to the "Memoirs of the marquis de Torcy," whose share in this transaction, as secretary of state, and whose apparent candour, and affectation of good faith, have given him a higher degree of authority than he deserved. Indeed the intent of this celebrated work was evidently to palliate the usurpations, and justify the sincerity of his master, and more particularly to vindicate him against the accusations to which he was exposed, in consequence of the nomination of his grandson to the throne of Spain.

The author liberally bestows the imputations of partiality, injustice, and ignorance, on those who question the good faith of Louis; and declares, with a solemnity which nothing but truth could justify, that the whole affair was arranged without intrigues, and without negotiations on the part of man, to engage the king of Spain to nominate a successor.

We trust the preceding narrative will sufficiently prove these asseverations to be totally unfounded.

revived the hopes of the monarch, was but the temporary and feverish gleam which precedes dissolution. He rapidly declined, and after a short struggle closed his life on the 3rd of November, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his unfortunate and inglorious reign.

Indeed a few remarks will clearly shew that the french secretary contradicts himself, and that he is involved in the embarrassment of a man who is conscious of the truth, but unwilling to avow it.

1. He describes Portocarrero as principally instrumental in extorting the will from Charles.

2. He owns that Portocarrero had jealously devoted himself to France, even before the death of the bavarian prince, (t. 1, p. 58) and mentions his repeated professions of attachment to that cause, which he (the cardinal) called the cause of truth and justice.

3. That Harcourt exactly informed the king of the state of the spanish court and nation.

4. That Harcourt maintained a constant communication with Portocarrero, and among other instances in which he referred to the approbation or advice of the cardinal, mentions the celebrated memorial in favour of the Bourbon claims, (t. 1, p. 85).

5. That after the departure of Harcourt, Portocarrero promised to communicate to Blécourt every thing which might contribute to facilitate the nomination of a french prince (t. 1, p. 141.)

6. That Louis was acquainted with the intentions of Charles, in favour of his family, by means of cardinal Janson, who was charged with the affairs of France at Rome, (t. 1, p. 141.)

7. That Blécourt wrote to his court, "that, *according to the reports at Madrid*, a son of the dauphin was called to the throne, and that Portocarrero had constantly and usefully laboured for this end."

Without adverting to other facts of a similar nature, which it would be easy to adduce, we may from these avowals appeal to the impartial judgment of the reader, whether Louis could be ignorant of the machinations at Madrid, in favour of his grandson; whether he could be unacquainted with the execution and contents of the will; and lastly, whether the transfer of the crown, to a bourbon prince, can be said to have been effected without intrigues, and without human intervention.

Indeed, since this transaction has ceased to have a national and personal interest, the authority of Torcy has chiefly weighed with those english authors who still make it a question of party; for the most intelligent foreign writers, not excepting even the french themselves, admit the intrigues of Louis, and describe his conduct as the result of a systematic design to raise a prince of his own blood to the spanish throne.

It would be tedious to cite a variety of authorities on this point, but we cannot omit to call the attention of the reader to the intelligent author of the Diplomatie Françoise, as the most modern, and as a writer who has thrown new and valuable lights on the policy of the french court. Flassan, Dip. Françoise, t. 4, p. 206—208.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE KINGS OF SPAIN,

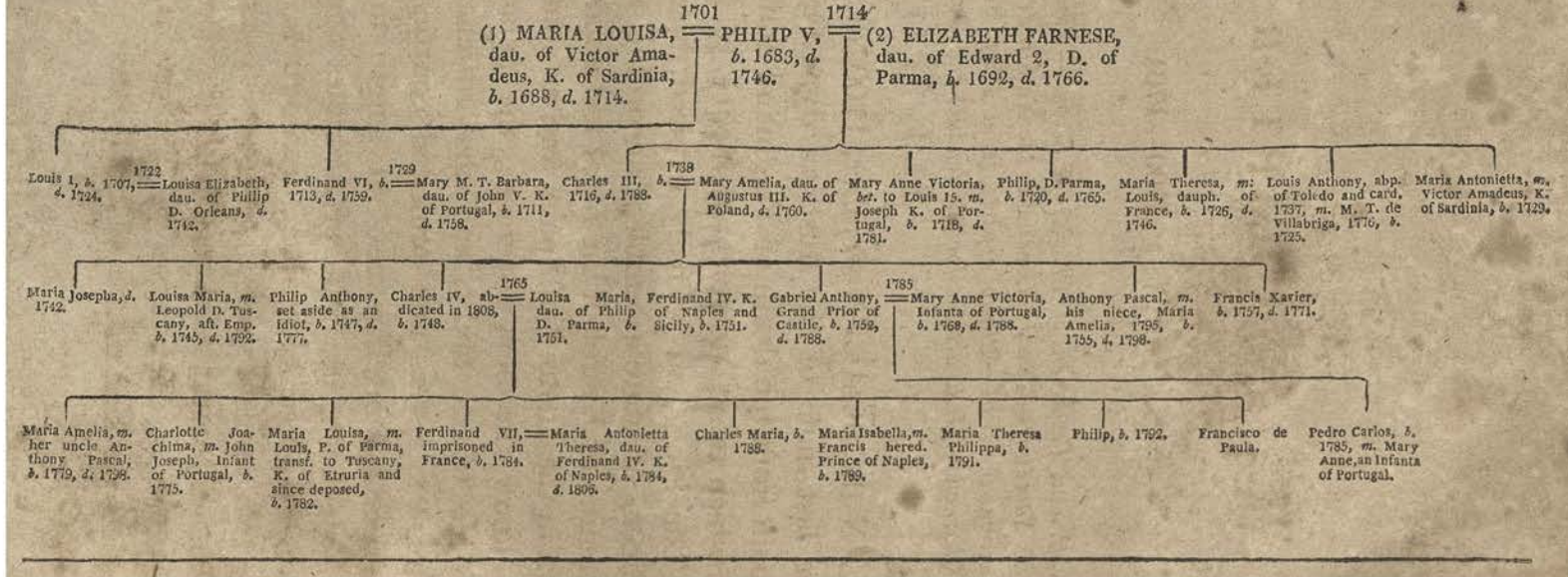
OF THE

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE KINGS OF SPAIN, OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.


1701
(1) MARIA LOUISA, dau. of Victor Amadeus, K. of Sardinia, b. 1688, d. 1714.
PHILIP V, b. 1683, d. 1746.
1714
(2) ELIZABETH FARNESE, dau. of Edward 2, D. of Parma, b. 1692, d. 1766.
Louis I, b. 1707, d. 1724.
1722
Louisa Elizabeth, dau. of Philip D. Orleans, d. 1742.
Ferdinand VI, b. 1713, d. 1759.
1729
Mary M. T. Barbara, dau. of John V. K. of Portugal, b. 1711, d. 1758.
Charles III, b. 1716, d. 1788.
1738
Mary Amelia, dau. of Augustus III. K. of Poland, d. 1760.
Mary Anne Victoria, bet. to Louis 15. m. Joseph K. of Portugal, b. 1718, d. 1781.
Philip, D. Parma, b. 1720, d. 1765.
Maria Theresa, m. Louis, dauph. of France, b. 1726, d. 1746.
Louis Anthony, abp. of Toledo and card. 1737, m. M. T. de Villabriga, 1776, b. 1725.
Maria Antonietta, m. Victor Amadeus, K. of Sardinia, b. 1729.
Maria Josepha, d. 1742.
Louisa Maria, m. Leopold D. Tuscany, aft. Emp. b. 1745, d. 1792.
Philip Anthony, set aside as an idiot, b. 1747, d. 1777.
Charles IV, abdicated in 1808, b. 1748.
1765
Louisa Maria, dau. of Philip D. Parma, b. 1751.
Ferdinand IV. K. of Naples and Sicily, b. 1751.
Gabriel Anthony, Grand Prior of Castile, b. 1752, d. 1788.
1785
Mary Anne Victoria, Infanta of Portugal, b. 1768, d. 1788.
Anthony Pascal, m. his niece, Maria Amelia, 1795, b. 1755, d. 1798.
Francis Xavier, b. 1757, d. 1771.
Maria Amelia, m. her uncle Anthony Pascal, b. 1779, d. 1798.
Charlotte Joachima, m. John Joseph, Infant of Portugal, b. 1775.
Maria Louisa, m. Louis, P. of Parma, transf. to Tuscany, K. of Etruria and since deposed, b. 1782.
Ferdinand VII, imprisoned in France, b. 1784.
Maria Antonietta Theresa, dau. of Ferdinand IV. K. of Naples, b. 1784, d. 1806.
Charles Maria, b. 1788.
Maria Isabella, m. Francis hered. Prince of Naples, b. 1789.
Maria Theresa Philippa, b. 1791.
Philip, b. 1792.
Francisco de Paula.
Pedro Carlos, b. 1785, m. Mary Anne, an Infanta of Portugal.

CHAPTER I.

1700—1701.

Death and Testament of Charles the Second—Philip Duke of Anjou appointed his Successor—The Junta assumes the Administration—Louis the Fourteenth accepts the Will—Philip departs from Paris and arrives at Madrid—His Character—Instructions for his Conduct and Government given by Louis.

ON the third of November, 1700, died Charles the Second, the last male of the Austrian dynasty, which had governed Spain from the death of Ferdinand and Isabella to the period at which these Memoirs commence.

The king had scarcely expired, before the ministers and officers of state assembled, according to antient custom, to examine and publish the royal testament. As this was a new æra in the History of Spain, and as general anxiety prevailed to know the new sovereign, the palace was crowded with people of all ranks, and the antichamber filled with the foreign ministers and principal courtiers, all eager to receive the earliest intelligence. At length the folding doors being thrown open, the duke of Abrantes appeared, and a general silence ensued to hear the nomination. Near the door stood the two ministers of France and Austria, Blecourt and Harrach. Blecourt advanced with the confidence of a man who expected a declaration in his favour; but the Spaniard casting on him a look of indifference, advanced to Harrach

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and embraced him with a fervour which announced the most joyful tidings. Maliciously prolonging his compliment, and repeating his embrace, he said "Sir, it is with the "greatest pleasure—Sir, it is with the greatest satisfaction— "for my whole life—I take my leave of the most illustrious "House of Austria."* The embassador, who during this strange address had already begun to express his own satisfaction and promise the future favour of his sovereign, was thunderstruck with the malicious and unlooked for insult; and it required all his firmness to remain and hear the contents of the will, which overthrew the hopes and baffled the plans of his imperial master.

Blecourt retired exultingly to announce the joyful news of the nomination of a french prince, and the same day dispatched an abstract of the will, with which he was instantly supplied by the zealous care of Portocarrero †.

This celebrated testament consisted of fifty-nine articles. The first eleven related to matters of religion and internal government; the twelfth to the succession of the issue of Charles should he leave heirs. This served as an introductory clause to the thirteenth and fourteenth articles, which contained the dispositions for the transfer of the monarchy to a new sovereign.

The will declared Philip duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, heir of the whole Spanish monarchy; in case of his death without issue, or accession to the french crown, entailed it on his brother the duke of Berry, on the same condition; next on the archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor, with a similar provision against its union with the austrian dominions; and finally on the duke of Savoy and his heirs.

* St. Simon, t. 3. p. 151.

† Duke of Manchester to Vernon. From Cole's Memoirs.

The testament recommended the immediate successor to espouse one of the archduchesses. Should the new king be a minor or absent, the administration was vested in a junta or council of Regency, consisting, as was customary, of the queen as president, and the principal members of the church and state; namely, the Primate archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Portocarrero; the inquisitor-general, Don Balthazar de Mendoza; the presidents of Castile and Arragon, Don Manuel Arias, and the Duke of Montalto; and the representatives of the grandees and council of State, the counts of Benevente and Frigiliana.

The object of the will was evidently threefold: first, to prevent the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy; secondly, to obviate the danger of uniting the two crowns of France and Spain on the same head; and lastly, to preserve the natural order of succession. The choice of a french prince was supported on the principle, that the renunciations of the two infantas, aunt and sister of the testator, were merely intended to prevent the union of the two crowns of France and Spain; and that danger being obviated by the dispositions of the will, the natural right of succession necessarily took place.

By an article of the testament, and a codicil executed on the 5th of October, a proper maintenance was assigned to the widow queen; and the successor of the monarchy was enjoined to confide to her the government of the Netherlands or any part of the Italian provinces at her choice; or, if she preferred remaining in Spain, to grant her the government and jurisdiction of the place where she might establish her residence*.

The junta of Regency instantly assumed the functions of government; and their first care was to announce to the king

* Ortiz Compendio de la Historia de España, t. 6. Lamberty, t. 1.

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of France the decease of their sovereign and the nomination of Philip duke of Anjou. With this communication and a copy of the will, a messenger was dispatched to France; and he was enjoined, if the testament was refused by the french court, to proceed to Vienna and offer the succession to the archduke Charles, in conformity with the dispositions of the deceased prince. Meanwhile the change of government was received in Spain with all the national sedateness; and the people waited with anxiety, though in tranquillity, the decicision which was to give them a new sovereign.

The copy of the will was accompanied with letters from the junta requesting Louis to acknowledge the new monarch and send him without delay to take possession of the throne. The king of France had already time to form his resolution on this important occasion; for he had been regularly acquainted with the progress of the whole transaction, and the intrigues of his partizans; and recent messengers had arrived from Blecourt at Madrid, and Harcourt on the frontiers, announcing the contents and signature of the will.

Nov. 9.

The court was at Fontainebleau when the Spanish messenger arrived with the communication of the junta. After the solemn professions and engagements of Louis with the maritime powers, he deemed it necessary to affect some little prudery, in order to justify his conduct in the face of Europe. He therefore declined receiving the spanish ambassador who was to present the will, till he had taken the advice of his council. This body was accordingly assembled, and consisted of the dauphin; the chancellor Pontchartrain; the duke of Beauvilliers, chief of the council of finance and governor of the duke of Anjou; and the marquis of Torci, secretary of foreign

* See the Historical Memoir, on the Testament and Death of Charles.

affairs. The question was agitated with the same seriousness, as if it had been a matter of real deliberation. The solitary voice of the duke of Beauvilliers was alone heard in favour of the treaty of partition; the chancellor with due legal formality contented himself with a simple exposition of the case; Torci calmly urged the necessity of accepting the will; and his sentiment was briefly but strongly supported by the dauphin, who after adverting to his own rights, declared that his highest ambition would be gratified by being at once the son and father of a King.* CHAP. I. 1700 | 1701.

Louis, after listening with attention and complacency to these deliberations, affected to concur in the opinion of his son, and announced his resolution to accept the will. He communicated his determination to the Spanish ambassador in a private audience, and transmitted a speedy answer to the junta.

"The marquis of Castel Rios,† has transmitted to us the clauses of the testament, which relate to the succession, and the wise dispositions for the government of the kingdom till the arrival or majority of the successor.

"The sensible grief which we feel for the loss of a prince, whom his excellent qualities and the strict ties of blood, rendered most dear to us, is infinitely increased by the proofs which he gave us at his death, of his justice and love for his faithful subjects, and the desire he shewed to maintain after his decease the general quiet of Europe and the happiness of his kingdoms. We will on our part contribute to both, answering the intire confidence he always reposed in us, and conforming ourself entirely to his intentions expressed on the will. All our care henceforth will be to raise, by an inviola-

* Torci, t. 1. p. 150—157.—Memoires de St. Simon, v. 3. p. 153.

† The Spanish embassador at Paris.

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ble and strict correspondence, the Spanish monarchy to the highest pitch of grandeur. We accept in favour of our grandson the duke of Anjou, the will of the deceased Catholic king; our only son the dauphin accepts it also, yielding without any reluctance the just rights of the deceased queen his mother, and our dear spouse, as well as those of the deceased queen our most honoured lady and mother, which were indisputably acknowledged by the opinion of the several ministers of state and justice, consulted by the deceased king of Spain. Far from reserving to himself any part of the monarchy, he sacrifices his own interest to the desire of re-establishing the antient lustre of a crown, which the will of the late Catholic king, and the voice of his people have unanimously given to our grandson. We will cause the duke of Anjou immediately to depart, that he may the sooner give his subjects the satisfaction of receiving a king, whom they are persuaded God has called to their throne. His first duty ought to be, to cause virtue, justice, and religion to reign with him, and wholly to apply himself to promote the happiness of his people, to raise and maintain the grandeur of so mighty a monarchy, to chuse always, and reward those whom he shall find in a nation so valiant and wise, capable of serving him in his councils and his armies, and the different departments of the church and state. We will instruct him further in what he owes to his subjects so inviolably devoted to their king; and what to his own proper glory. We will instruct him to remember his birth, to preserve the love of his country, but above all, to maintain for ever that peace and perfect good understanding so necessary to the common happiness of our subjects and his own, which has always been the principal object of our wishes; and if the misfortunes of past conjunctures have hindered us from making it appear, we are persuaded

this great event will so alter the state of things, that every future day will produce new occasions to shew our esteem and particular good will to the whole spanish nation"*.

This communication was accompanied with a private letter written by Louis himself, acknowledging the services of Portocarrero with the strongest expressions of gratitude and regard, as the person to whom his grandson principally owed his crown. He promised his future protection and aid, and concluded with assurances, that the young sovereign should be guided by his counsels†.

The political farce, on the acceptance of the will, was acted at Fontainebleau; but the more pompous part of the representation was reserved for Versailles. The king summoned the dauphin, with his children, the dukes of Burgundy, Anjou and Berry, and the spanish embassador into his cabinet, and briefly addressed the young duke of Anjou. "Sir; the king of Spain has made you a king. The nobles demand you, the people desire you, and I give my consent. You are going to reign over the greatest monarchy in the world, and over a brave people who have been ever distinguished for their honour and loyalty. I recommend you to love them and gain their affection by the mildness of your government." Turning to the embassador, he added "Sir, salute your king:" and the embassador kneeling down expressed his homage in a long compliment. Dec. 16.

The folding doors being then thrown open, Louis advanced with that air of majesty which he knew how to assume, and addressed the courtly crowd. "Sirs," he said, "behold the king of Spain: his birth and the will of the late monarch have called him to the throne. The whole spanish nation demand him; it

* Oeuvres de Louis XIV. t. 6. p. 31.—State of Europe for 1700.

† St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 59.

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is the decree of Heaven, and I yield to it with pleasure." Again directing his speech to the young prince, he continued, "Be a good Spaniard; this is your first duty. But remember that you were born a Frenchman to maintain the union between the two crowns. You will thus render both nations happy, and preserve the peace of Europe*."

The young prince immediately received the customary honours of royalty, and the congratulations of his family and the court; and the short interval before his departure was employed by Louis in preparing him for the duties of his new station.

Repeated solicitations from the regency announced the impatience of the nation to hail their new monarch, and expatiated on the danger of giving time to the austrian adherents to recover from their surprise and consternation; and Philip was publicly proclaimed at Madrid as soon as the acceptance of the will was notified. These representations induced Louis to hasten his departure.

On the fourth of January the new sovereign departed from a court which he was never more to revisit. He had a long conference with his grandfather, and afterwards attended the solemn celebration of mass with the whole royal family, amidst a vast concourse of spectators. After this ceremony, the royal party quitted Paris in the same carriage, with a cavalcade unusually numerous, and proceeded through applauding multitudes to Sceaux, which was destined as the place of separation. At taking their last leave the force of nature overbore all the dictates and forms of policy, and the parting was long, affecting, and tender, accompanied with tears and expressions of mutual sorrow.

At the moment of separation Louis presented the princes

* St. Simon.

of the royal house to Philip with the memorable address. "Behold," he said "the princes of my blood and of yours. The two nations should consider themselves but as one; they ought to have the same interests; and therefore I hope that these princes will be as much attached to you as to me. Henceforward there will be no Pyrenees." Words which announced to Europe the alarming effects to be expected from the union of these two great monarchies in the same family.

After a short retirement to calm their emotion, Louis returned to Versailles, and the dauphin repaired to Meudon. Philip took the route to Spain, accompanied by his two brothers till he reached his own frontier. Their progress was marked with all the honours which a loyal nation could pay to the grandson of its sovereign, and to a prince who added the lustre of a second crown to the splendour of the House of Bourbon. The royal party descended the Garonne in magnificent barges to Bourdeaux, where the constable of Castile, deputed as extraordinary embassador from the new government to Louis, presented his respects and homage to his future sovereign. From hence they proceeded by Bayonne and St. Jean de Luz, and took leave of each other in the Isle of Pheasants, that memorable spot where the treaty was executed with such solemnity, which was to exclude the House of Bourbon for ever from Spain *.

Here all the french took their departure, except the duke of Harcourt, the marquis de Louville, and the count d'Ayen; and the young monarch, on the limits of his new kingdom, was surrounded by a splendid suite of spanish courtiers, who conveyed him in a magnificent barge across the Bidassoa.

It is a singular proof of the nature of the government and

* Memoires de Torci, T. 1.—St. Simon, T. 3. p. 150-172.—Larrey, t. 7.

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the situation and temper of the people, to observe, that amidst all this splendour, the royal equipage was not only deficient in magnificence, but even in convenience; and that the king received only 1,000 pistoles for his journey, while 12,000 had been granted at the same moment to the constable embassador. Curiosity, respect, and affection, in some degree, compensated for this deficiency; for in every part of his passage he was greeted by exulting and admiring crowds, who were captivated by his youth and animated countenance, which formed a pleasing contrast to the premature decrepitude and doleful appearance of the deceased sovereign.

During his journey he followed the injunction which he had received from Louis, to take an opportunity of discarding the widow queen. The pretext for her dismission was furnished by a quarrel between her and the leading members of the junta. To her complaints Philip returned a cold and formal answer. "Some persons," he observed, "having attempted by different methods to disturb the good intelligence which I hope to maintain with your majesty, I deem it necessary for the quiet of both that you should quit the court till I have investigated the matter. I have given orders that you shall be treated with all due respect; you shall receive the dowry assigned to you by the late king, and you have my permission to chuse any town of Spain for your residence." She lingered for some time, but the continual mortifications which she received from Portocarrero drove her to Toledo before Philip reached the capital.

Philip arrived at Madrid on the 18th of February, but as the preparations for his public assumption of the government were not completed, he took up his temporary residence at the Palace of Buen Retiro. On the 21st of April he made a triumphal entry, with a magnificence calculated to flatter a chivalrous and high spirited nation, and to display all the

splendour of a crown esteemed by its subjects the most powerful in the whole christian world *.

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The eyes of Spain and of Europe were turned to the young king, who was to form the commencement of a new dynasty, and whose accession was a new æra in the political history of modern times. Philip had just entered the seventeenth year of his age, and at a time when the ardour and petulance of youth exert their full force, was of so sedate or so docile a character, as to justify the remark of his governor the duke of Beauvilliers, that his royal pupil had never given him a moment of uneasiness or contradiction. With this pliant disposition, bred up in a bigotted and monotonous court, where every thing bore the stamp of submission, and bent before the nod of the great monarch, Philip had learnt to regard the person and will of his grandfather with a respect almost bordering on adoration. He had imbibed also a deep and awful sense of religion, and in his whole conduct and deportment displayed a moral purity and scrupulous decorum, which are rarely found in courts. A slight deformity of person was compensated by his prepossessing countenance; but he was stiff in his manners; and his good qualities were concealed by extreme timidity, and ignorance of the world. The difficulties and dangers of his situation were too mighty even for a prince of superior capacity and maturer age; and therefore, as the defects of his character were known, every precaution was necessary to watch over and direct his conduct.

As the primary object of Louis was not a mere disinterested regard for the elevation of his grandson, but a desire to exclude

* Ortiz.—Memoires de St. Philippe, v. 1. p. 50-85.—Larrey Histoire de Louis XIV. v. 7. p. 305-374.—Targe Histoire de l'Avenement de la Maison de Bourbon au Trone d'Espagne. T. 1. passim.—Desormeaux Hist. d'Espagne, t. 5. p. 201, &c.

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a hostile family, and employ the power, resources, and territories of Spain for the aggrandizement of his own kingdom, the means and persons who were to direct the movements, and fashion the character of Philip, were all adapted to the attainment of this end. The first instructions given by the monarch to his pupil and grandson, amidst much trifling and common place advice, contain the outlines of that system which time and events were to mature and complete.

"Fail in none of your duties, especially towards God. Preserve yourself in the same purity as you have been educated. Promote the honour of God wherever you have power, seek his glory, and give an example; this is one of the greatest benefits which kings can confer.

"Declare always for virtue and against vice.

"Have no attachment to any person.

"Love your wife, live well with her, ask such a one of God as will suit you. I do not think you should take an Austrian.

"Love the Spaniards, and all the subjects attached to your crown and person. Prefer not those who flatter you most, esteem those who for your good hazard your displeasure; these are your true friends.

"Cultivate the happiness of your subjects, and for this cause enter into no war except compelled, and after having well considered and weighed the motives of it in your council.

"Endeavour to restore your finances; watch over your Indies and your fleets; remember commerce; live in a close union with France; *nothing being so advantageous for our two powers as an union which nothing can resist.*

"If you are compelled to make war, head your armies. Endeavour to re-establish your troops every where, and commence with those of Flanders.

"Never quit your business for your pleasure, but lay down rules to yourself which will give you time for liberty and recreation.

"There is none more innocent than the chace, and a taste for a country residence, provided they lead you not into too great an expence.

"Give great attention to business when you are spoken to; at first listen much without deciding.

"When you have acquired more knowledge, recollect that it is your business to decide, but whatever may be your experience, listen always to the advice and arguments of your council before you come to a decision.

"Do every thing that is possible to discern the persons of most consideration, in order to employ them on proper occasions.

"Endeavour to employ Spaniards as viceroys and governors.

"Treat all well, say nothing unpleasant to any, but distinguish persons of quality and merit.

"Shew your gratitude to the late king and those who were inclined to chuse you as his successor.

"Place great confidence in cardinal Portocarrero, and testify to him your approbation of his past conduct.

"I think you ought to do something considerable for the embassador who has been so fortunate as to demand you, and to salute you first in quality of subject.

"Do not forget Bedmar,* who is a man of merit, and capable of serving you.

"Place an entire confidence on the duke of Harcourt, he is a man of talents and probity, and will only advise you for your own sake.

"Keep all the French in due order.

"Treat your domestics well, but not with too much

* Deputy governor of the Low Countries.

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familiarity, and still less with confidence; employ them while they are prudent, dismiss them on the slightest fault, and never support them against the Spaniards.

"Have no intercourse with the queen dowager more than you can avoid; contrive that she may quit Madrid, but not retire from Spain. Wherever she may be, observe her conduct, and prevent her from interfering in any business; suspect those who have too much intercourse with her.

"Love your relations, recollect their concern at losing you; maintain an intimate connection with them both in important and little matters; ask of us what you want or desire to have, which you do not find in Spain; we will do the same towards you.

"Never forget that you are a Frenchman, and that which may happen to you.* When you have children to secure the succession of Spain, go to Naples and Sicily, pass to Milan, and come into Flanders. This will be an opportunity to see each other again. Meanwhile visit Catalonia, Arragon, and other places; see what is to be done for Ceuta.

"Throw some money to the people when you are in Spain, and particularly on entering Madrid.

"Do not appear to be struck with strange figures; beware of ridiculing them; each country has its own manners; you will be soon accustomed to what at first appears the most surprising.

"Avoid as much as possible conferring favours on those who give money to obtain them. Give at proper times liberally, and receive few presents, except trifles. If you cannot decline them, make more considerable ones in return, after an interval of a few days.

* This hint doubtless alluded to the possibility of his being called to the french crown.

"Have a casket to hold particular things, and keep the keys yourself.

"I end with one of the most important precepts which I can give you. Suffer not yourself to be governed; be master; have neither favourite nor prime minister. Listen, consult your council, but decide. God, who has made you a king, will give you the necessary knowledge while you are guided by good intentions."*

Philip literally obeyed these instructions. He placed his full confidence in Portocarrero; he suffered him to assume the power of forming the new ministry, of gratifying his personal or political antipathies, and filling at his pleasure all offices and appointments of state; and from the commencement of his reign Philip was the king of a party and the vassal of France, to whom he principally owed his crown.

* It is evident that this precept was intended as a caution against being governed by Spaniards; while the conduct of the french court, and other precepts in these famous instructions, shew the purpose of France to appropriate the direction of affairs. These instructions are preserved in the Memoires de Noailles, v. 2. p. 4, 11.—and Oeuvres de Louis xiv. t. 2. p. 460.

CHAPTER II.

1700—1701.

Means adopted by Louis to establish Philip in the possession of the Spanish Territories—Alliances with Portugal and Savoy—Communication and Apology to King William and the Dutch—Sentiments of the Maritime Powers—Occupation of the Netherlands by the french troops—Holland and England acknowledge Philip—Magnanimous conduct of the Emperor Leopold—Prepares for War in Italy—Internal situation of Spain—Domineering spirit of Portocarrero—Causes and rise of the discontents against the New Government—Disordered state of the country in regard to the police, finance, military and naval establishments—Financial Reforms of Portocarrero—Misconduct of the french—Nomination of Orri to the direction of the finances—Demands for the Convocation of the Cortes.

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MEANWHILE Louis had taken every imaginable precaution to prevent opposition on the part of the other powers of Europe, and to secure the acknowledgment of Philip in the Netherlands and in Italy. He had found means to gain the prince of Vandemont, governor of the Milanese, though an Austrian subject, and recommended by the king of England as a confidential general, whose assistance might contribute to secure that duchy for the House of Austria; he was equally successful with the duke of Popoli, viceroy of Naples, who owed his appointment to a similar motive; and he was assured of the fidelity of the elector of Bavaria, who exercised the government of the Netherlands. Philip was accordingly pro-

claimed in the exterior provinces with the same tranquillity as at Madrid.

Louis, however, was fully convinced that he could never pacify the emperor and the maritime powers, nor quiet the alarms which they justly conceived at the addition of the spanish monarchy, to the overgrown power of France. As he foresaw therefore, that the possession of the spanish crown must ultimately depend on the decision of arms, he had spared no pains to commence a contest with advantage, even before the death of Charles; and he hoped by a prompt and vigorous effort to bring it to a speedy and successful issue. He had gradually collected a powerful army on the spanish frontier; and the duke of Harcourt, possessing the advantage of local knowledge and connections, was intrusted with the command, with orders to seize the frontier places, Pampeluna, Fuentarabia, and St. Sebastian; and force a way into the Peninsula, should there be the slightest doubt of a peaceable submission to Philip. To maintain the internal tranquillity, and cut off all direct support of the disaffected, Louis by threats and promises prevailed on the king of Portugal to acknowledge the new sovereign, and conclude an alliance with the House of Bourbon.

He at the same time secured an entrance into Italy by negociating a marriage between Philip and a princess of Savoy, and by promising the duke the supreme command of the army which was to act in Italy. He likewise obtained permission to introduce a french garrison into Mantua, the citadel of Lombardy, and the key of the principal military passage from Germany.

But it was against the maritime powers and the emperor that he employed the best combined and profoundest precautions. As Holland and the Netherlands formed the con-

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necting link between England and Austria, and as security on that vulnerable quarter of his empire would enable him to pour his principal force into Germany and Italy, he exerted all the resources of his policy to become master of the Netherlands, which opened a way into Holland, and gave him a valuable extent of coast on the channel. With this view he had secretly tampered with the elector of Bavaria, and even before the death of the late king had obtained his nomination to the government of the Netherlands, and had stationed an army on the frontier ready to invade them at the first signal.

It will be sufficient barely to mention that he was assured of deriving the usual advantages from the support of the electors and princes of the Rhine; that he fomented the incurable jealousy of the German States against the emperor; and was secretly favoured by many who hoped to profit by times of confusion, and only waited for an opportunity to sell their services on the most advantageous terms.

He did not however so far despise public opinion as to suffer his glaring violation of the most solemn engagements to appear without justification. He notified in form the accession of Philip to the states of Europe; and in particular he addressed a private letter written with his own hand to William, whom he had duped and betrayed to the last moment, by declaring that he would abide by the treaty of partition whatever might be the disposition of the king of Spain. This artful and plausible apology contained the substance of the arguments which he advanced on this memorable occasion. He justified his acceptance of the will by declaring that the treaty of partition was not calculated to answer the view with which it had been concluded, the maintenance of public tranquillity. It had, he urged, been rejected by the emperor, one of the principal parties, and was scarcely approved even by those who were eager for its ratification. The English and Dutch had ex-

pressed strong dissatisfaction with its general tenour, and in particular with the union of Naples and Sicily to France, as highly detrimental to their commerce. If he had rejected the will, the whole succession would have instantly devolved on the archduke Charles, who was eager to accept it; and the Spaniards were so unanimously determined to oppose the dismemberment of their monarchy, that it would be necessary to extort their acquiescence by force. Hence a war must have been undertaken not only to wrest the crown from the archduke, supported by the whole spanish nation, but to secure the share of the dauphin, and to fulfil the other provisions of the treaty. The quota of ships to be supplied by the maritime powers, would not suffice for this purpose; and it was doubtful whether they would incur additional expence or furnish a more effectual support. The treaty of partition, he added, was more advantageous for France than the acceptance of the will; and therefore he hoped and trusted that the same good understanding would continue to subsist between him and the maritime powers, and that he should not incur blame by adhering to the spirit, rather than the letter of the treaty; because the acceptance of the will tended more to the maintenance of the general peace, and obviated that danger to the balance of power, which would have resulted from a partition.

A similar apology was at the same time addressed to the dutch, accompanied by a letter to the french embassador the count de Briord, in which the same arguments are repeated and detailed; and accompanied by suggestions calculated to raise disunion between the maritime powers and Austria.

"You will speak in the same manner to the pensionary as to the English embassador. Shew him that, as the emperor is not engaged, there can be no security for the execution of the treaty. And truly this embarrassment would never have

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occurred, if the king of England and the States General had strongly pressed the emperor to sign, instead of giving him secret hopes that he would not be forced to do it; if they had taken more active measures towards the duke of Savoy; if they had acted with better faith in causing the princes of the North and of the empire to enter into the guaranty; finally, if they had agreed in time with regard to the aids necessary for the execution of the treaty.

"But we must not yet reproach them; it will suffice to speak to the pensionary as I mark to you in this letter; and to follow the sense of the memorial. You may even shew him this paper without leaving a copy.

"You will inform the spanish embassador at the Hague that I enjoin you to communicate the orders you have received, to him. The zeal which he has always shewn for the service of his sovereign, leaves me no reason to doubt that he will join with you and give you all the necessary information for the good of the spanish monarchy. Assure him that I have at present nothing in view but to maintain its perfect integrity in all its parts; communicate to him also the copy of my answer to the council of regency."*

Such flimsy apologies were not however sufficient to pacify the resentment of William, nor to dissipate the alarms of both the maritime powers; lest the accession of Philip should furnish an opportunity for the usurpation of the spanish Netherlands by France. The correspondence of William, with his friend the pensionary, displays his feeling under the impression of the moment, and shews his motives for concluding the treaties of partition, which were long considered as the reproach of his policy.†

* Oeuvres de Louis xiv. t. 6. p. 37.

† See this interesting Series of Letters in Lord Hardwicke's collection of State Papers, vol. 2. particularly that in p. 293, written immediately after the acceptance of the testament.

The unexpected tenor of the spanish testament, and the foresight and promptitude of Louis, struck a temporary panic into the principal courts of Europe. In England he found a violent and clamorous faction ready to aid his views, re-echoing his fallacious arguments, drowning all consideration of honour or policy with the cry of peace, and baffling all the attempts of William to rouse the nation to a sense of its danger.

In Holland the dread of impending ruin excited an unanimous sentiment of indignation against France. Preparations were made for hostilities; and subsidiary alliances concluded with Denmark, the elector Palatine, and several of the German states. But Louis had too perfectly matured his schemes to give time for this spirit to acquire strength and consistence. By the connivance of the elector of Bavaria he introduced his army into the Netherlands, and without bloodshed he surprised all the frontier fortresses, and captured 15,000 dutch troops by whom they were garrisoned in virtue of the barrier treaty with Spain. With this advantage, it was not difficult to negotiate with a rich and timid nation. The fear of an immediate invasion, and an anxiety to liberate the captured troops, extorted from the dutch government an acknowledgment of Philip as sovereign of the whole Spanish monarchy. The parliament and nation of England constrained William to follow this example.

In the midst of this universal submission the emperor alone displayed a spirit worthy of a powerful and enlightened sovereign. Leopold was equally confounded and disappointed by the bequest of Charles, which he confidently expected would prove in favour of the archduke Charles, his second son. He expressed his indignation with more vehemence than seemed congenial with his character; and his resentment was rapidly communicated to his subjects, who respected his dignified feeling, and shared in his disappointment.

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He issued a bold and vehement remonstrance against the usurpation of the spanish monarchy by a french prince, and at once questioned the authenticity of the Will itself, and the right of the deceased monarch to make a disposition contrary to the acknowledged claims of his family and the solemn obligation of treaties. The imperial embassador, Harrach, presented this protest, and immediately withdrew from Madrid.

The court of Vienna made vigorous preparations to bring the contest to the test of arms. Levies took place in every part of the hereditary dominions, and ministers were dispatched to rouse the maritime powers and the princes of the empire. As Italy was considered the only theatre where Austria could contend with France on equal terms, troops were collected in the Trentin and the neighbouring districts; and emissaries sent to form an imperial party in the Milanese, to excite an insurrection in Naples, and to prepare the way for the military operations. These efforts failed in their immediate effect, but the emperor confided in their eventual success. He was encouraged also by the rising discontents in Spain, and the secret suggestions of William and the dutch; he hoped by a bold and fortunate effort to dissipate the general alarm, and rouse the other powers of Europe to a sense of their honour and interest.*

Meanwhile the internal situation of Spain began to attract the attention of the different powers who were likely to be involved in the impending conflict. Portocarrero had actively employed the interval since the accession of Philip to strengthen his influence and disgrace those whom he either feared or disliked, under the pretext of partiality to the cause of Austria. Besides the forced retreat of the widow queen, he had induced Philip to confirm the exile of Oropesa, procured the disgrace of the grand inquisitor, deprived the ad-

* History of the House of Austria, v. 1, ch. 68.

miral of Castile of his office of mayor domo mayor, in favour of the duke of Medina Sidonia, and repulsed all his overtures for an accommodation with the new government. He transferred the different provinces to his creatures or flatterers, and particularly that of Catalonia, from the prince of Darmstadt to his nephew, the count of Palma. He urged Philip to exile many of the grandees who were obnoxious to his power, and he did not disdain to comprise in his list of proscriptions, the confessors of the late king, and of the widow queen. Lastly, he extended his system of patronage over every department, and placed his dependent ecclesiastics in situations for which their acquirements and character were totally unfit. Louville sarcastically observed to Torcy on this subject, "Remember you will have priests proposed for the presidency of Castile. We have a priest governor of Mexico, and one aged seventy, who conducts our commerce at Seville, with the success which you see. As the presidencies of the councils become vacant, priests will be proposed to fill them, and I do not despair of seeing a similar nomination to the command of armies and fleets, when we have them."*

Although the accession of Philip had been unexpectedly tranquil, it was not long before a spirit of opposition manifested itself against the new government. While Portocarrero was giving the reins to his ambition and vengeance, the french king was employed with equal activity to consolidate and extend his influence, by a change in the general system of administration. Under the austrian sovereigns the operations of the government had been conducted by the respective councils or boards of Castile, War, Finance, the Indies, and Marine, and Grace, and Justice; and the chiefs of these boards formed a species of cabinet council, called the *Universal Despacho.*

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2. p. 130.

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This body however was not assembled in the presence of the king; but the real organ of the sovereign will, and consequently the prime minister of Spain, if we may use the term, was the principal Secretary of the Despacho, whose office was to register the result of its deliberations; submit it to the king, and announce the royal pleasure. The person who now filled this office was Ubilla, who acted so important a part in the arrangement of the late will.

A native Spaniard, who possessed all the advantages attached to this office, under a young and inexperienced sovereign, could not fail of becoming the real spring of the government. To obviate the danger, Portocarrero and the president of Castile were admitted into the royal presence, when the secretary of the Despacho made his reports, and soon afterwards it was proposed to extend the same privilege to Harcourt, the french embassador. Louis, either confiding in the attachment of the cardinal, or willing to shew the appearance of disinterestedness, affected to decline the proposal; but his prudery was overcome by the repeated instances of Portocarrero, and the conviction, that without this expedient, no human contrivance could prevent the government from becoming purely Spanish. *

In the first novelty of a new reign the whole court, and a considerable part of the nation, vied in their adulation of the french monarch. Portocarrero and Arias hailed him as the regenerator of Spain; he was requested to repair to Madrid, and assume the administration in person; and he was respectfully informed that the air of the country would produce a salutary effect on his health, while, in the present tranquil state of Europe, he might govern France by means of messengers. The same language of servility was heard in all quarters: the inhabitants of Burgos in particular, humbly re-

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 31.—St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 80.

quested that he would honour them with a visit in the spring, when their bulls were in high spirit, that they might gratify him with the national solemnity of a bull-feast*.

Louis received this torrent of flattery with pleasantry, observing that the Spaniards had constituted him prime minister to his grandson. But notwithstanding his deep knowledge of human nature, and perfect acquaintance with court homage, it produced the effect of deceiving him, as well as his ministers, into the notion that he could exercise the same absolute sway in Spain as in his own kingdom. On the other hand, the sanguine expectations which the nation had formed of the wisdom, perfection, and energy, of the new government, were too extravagant to be realised; and it was the just remark of the shrewd Louville, that even if an angel could descend from Heaven to take the reins, the public hopes must be disappointed in the existing state of Spain, gangrened as it was from one extremity to the other†.

The police and internal government were sunk into the most deplorable disorder. Even in the very capital itself, the neglect or incapacity of past governments had given the reins to every species of licentiousness. The palaces of the grandees, and even the churches, were become the asylum of crimes; the slightest rise in the price of provisions excited the deepest alarm; every street and square was filled with armed vagabonds, discarded domestics, people without occupation or the means of subsistence; the establishments destined to maintain the respect due to royalty were sunk into a mere empty form, and all the dignity of the crown had not been sufficient to preserve the late monarch from the most mortifying insults both to his person and authority.

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2. p. 35.

† Ibid. t. 2. p. 30.

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Similar disorder reigned in the finances. The royal revenues were half absorbed by the servants of government, or the farmers and agents on whom its necessities reduced it to depend for supplies; and at the same time, the people, both in the capital and the provinces, were vexed and loaded with every species of monopoly and extortion. The vast revenues of the new world were still more deplorably administered; the viceroys and governors, after defrauding the crown and oppressing the subject, were suffered to return from their governments, and enjoy with impunity the fruits of their peculation and venality.

The crown was thus not only robbed of its splendour, but reduced to inconceivable penury. The same difficulties occurred in raising ten pistoles as ten thousand; the salaries of the royal household were unpaid; the pay of the troops was in constant arrears, and the royal guards were often reduced to share with mendicants the charitable donations of convents and hospitals *.

Wretched as was the internal situation of Spain, its naval and military establishments were equally deplorable.

The two treaties contracted with Portugal and Savoy, which were intended to secure the throne and maintain tranquillity, were the principal causes of her ruin, from the imprudent security which they inspired. Hence both the frontiers of Spain and the distant provinces were neglected. No care had been employed to fortify the frontiers of Andalusia, Valencia, and Catalonia, justly considered as the keys of the peninsula. As if there had been no prospect of war, these provinces were without garrisons and magazines; the fortifications dilapidated, even the breaches which Vendome had made in the former siege of Barcelona, were not repaired, and from Roses to Cadiz

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2. p. 63. 68.

scarcely a single fort or castle was garrisoned or mounted with artillery. The same negligence prevailed in the ports of Galicia and Biscay; the magazines were without ammunition; the arsenals and work-shops empty; the art of constructing ships was lost; the royal navy consisted only of those armed vessels which were employed in the trade to South America, and a few galloons; six gallies, decayed from age, were anchored in the bay of Carthagena, and seven were kept in the ports of the Genoese territory. The distant provinces were equally defenceless. In Naples were only six complete companies, in Sicily 500 men, scarcely 300 in Sardinia and the Balearic Isles; and in the Netherlands and Milan, the countries the best provided against an attack, there were only 8,000 troops in the former, and 6,000 in the latter.

The militia appeared only on the muster roll, and were inexperienced and undisciplined, and the peasantry were alone obliged to provide themselves with muskets. The whole army did not exceed 20,000 men*.

Thus totally ruined within, and unprovided for war without, it was evident that the preservation of the crown must solely depend on the exertions of Louis, and the measures which were necessary to attain this object, soon dissipated the fallacious hopes inspired by the accession of a new dynasty.

To make a merit of zeal for the public service, and to supply the deficiency in the revenue, many places and offices in the royal household, were suppressed by Portocarrero, and among the rest, the number of gentlemen of the bed chamber was reduced from forty-two to six. He likewise abolished various offices in the treasury, and the different tribunals and councils. But these reforms were more specious than real; for the whole saving did not amount to 200,000 crowns, while it involved

* Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 101—103.

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numerous families in embarrassment or ruin. The reform was therefore too contracted to produce any essential utility, and too general not to alienate numbers attached by interest to the government, besides weakening the bond of union, which connected numerous branches of the inferior nobility with the throne; and the biographer of Philip justly observes "from this period the nobles began to assume more independence, and to be less under the controul of the court." *

In this career of reform, the sweeping hand of Portocarrero did not spare even the pensions which the piety of former sovereigns had granted for the subsistence of poor widows, and the maintenance of charitable institutions. To complete the series of these obnoxious defalcations, the soldiery, far from being won over to the new government by the usual graces, not only derived no benefit from the change of sovereigns, but saw even the regular payment of their scanty pittance suspended. Such impolitic parsimony damped the sanguine hopes of a people who expected that the accession of a new dynasty would be marked by a profusion of favours and benefits, and who flattered themselves that their country would resume all its pristine splendour without sweeping away those abuses and incumbrances which had been accumulating for ages.

The pride and dignity of the spanish nation were deeply wounded by an order which imparted to the peers of France, the same rank and honours as were enjoyed by the grandees of Castile; and it required all the influence and even the threats of Philip to extort the acquiescence of his high spirited nobles in this odious measure.

The dissatisfaction of the natives was aggravated by the pe-

* St. Philippe.

tulance of french ridicule, and by the eagerness of the french to domineer in the trivial concerns of customs, manners, and fashions; by the reform of the royal kitchen, and the introduction of french cookery; the occasional use of the french costume, and the abrogation of many parts of the antient etiquette. The impression which these apparently trifling innovations made on a people bigotted to their own usages, will appear from an incident which occurred during the preparations for the marriage. Philip ordered the marquis of Villafranca, to whose department the direction of such matters belonged, to deliver to a french upholsterer the tapestry, hangings, and other ornaments which were to be used on this occasion. The rigid Spaniard did not suffer his devotion to France to outweigh his national prejudices. He refused compliance, and to the remonstrances of the upholsterer, replied "we must live in Spain, as they do in Spain;" and nothing but a new and positive order from the king could induce him to obey.*

The change of sovereigns led with it other mischiefs, which all the vigilance of the french court was in vain exerted to prevent. On the accession of a french prince, Madrid was crowded with swarms of frenchmen, of the most despicable and abandoned characters, who were eager to gather the fruits of the promised land. Whole tribes of harlots, swindlers, gamesters, pickpockets, and projectors, were all allured thither by the lure of gain, and by their infamous conduct at once vilified their native country, and gave new force to that odium which had hitherto operated as an insuperable barrier between the two nations.†

The seeds of rebellion were diffused, and the public grievances aggravated by the fanaticism of the clergy. The priests abused

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 192.

† Ibid. t. 2. p. 142.

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the sacred office of confession, to excite discontent, the french were stigmatised as heretics, those who were connected with them were accused of irreligion; and even the authority of the pope was falsely employed to give new strength to the pretensions of an austrian prince.*

All these causes contributed to excite discontent in a nation wedded to its antient establishments, and proud of the magnificence of its court. But the general odium was still further aggravated by the appointment of a frenchman to the management of the finances. As Portocarrero was himself unequal to the task of new modelling the revenue, Louis, at the instigation of the council, sent Orri, a man of obscure birth, who in a subordinate branch of the finances in France had acquired a superior knowledge of political œconomy. He had first emerged into notice in a situation similar to that of our excisemen. He afterwards became steward to the duchess of Portsmouth, and being dismissed returned to his original situation in the excise. Possessing great acuteness and activity, he found means to render himself useful to some of the farmers general, was employed in several commissions of great delicacy, which he filled to the satisfaction of his superiors, and finally attracted the notice and obtained the patronage of the minister Chamillart. His knowledge and talents were duly appreciated, and it was hoped that his native obscurity would shield him from the jealousy of Portocarrero and the princess Orsini. He was therefore selected as a proper person to investigate the spanish finances, and form the plan of a new system of administration. But if it had been possible for any foreigner to become popular in so odious an office, the requisite qualities were not found in Orri. Though servile and officious to those on whom he depended, he was haughty and imperious to

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 121.

others, of an irritable and impetuous temper, and ignorant of the manners, prejudices, and feelings of the spanish people.

The new minister proposed extensive reforms both in the nature and perception of the revenue, and endeavoured to model it on that of France, with a precipitancy and want of conciliation ill calculated to conciliate the unbending firmness of the spanish character. This abrupt attempt to lay the axe at once to the root of all abuses, gave great offence to every class of the nation; and the clamour was heightened by his plans for resuming the fiefs extorted by the nobles from the crown in times of trouble and confusion. The nobles imperiously demanded the convocation of the cortes of Castile, the only legitimate assembly which could authorise these innovations, and as an additional argument, they urged the necessity of exchanging the customary pledges between the monarch and the people by the confirmation of the national privileges on one side, and the oath of allegiance on the other. The demand was supported by the more independent members of the cabinet; and loudly re-echoed by the nation at large, who looked with peculiar confidence and affection to this neglected assembly. A proposal to convene a body which had essentially curbed the royal authority embarrassed the king and his personal friends and adherents. It was referred to Louis, but he prudently declined interfering, and Philip, after long deliberation, endeavoured to evade it by declaring that the journey which he was about to make to Catalonia to receive his bride, rendered it necessary to defer the convocation till after his return. But this promise, though given with all the publicity of a royal decree, scarcely sufficed to allay the national impatience.*

* Ortiz Compendio de la Historia de España, t. 7. ch. 3.——Memoires de St. Philippe——Mem. de Noailles, passim.——Mem. de St. Simon. t. 11. p. 90.

CHAPTER III.

1701.

Discordant characters of Portocarrero and Arias—New members introduced into the Cabinet Council—Increasing embarrassments and indolence of Philip—Count Marsin appointed new Embassador in consequence of the illness of Harcourt—His Instructions—Philip departs from Madrid—The Administration intrusted in his absence to Portocarrero—Philip meets his Bride at Figueras—Character of the young Queen—Dismission of her Piedmontese Adherents—Jealous precautions of the French Court—Louis exhorts Philip not to be governed by his Queen.

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THE characters and conduct of the two principal ministers, Portocarrero and Arias, contributed to aggravate the difficulties of Philip.

Portocarrero, proud of his important services to the House of Bourbon, grasped at all the power of the state, and deemed no reward too great for his merits. Though an adroit intriguer, and versed in all the arts of petty cunning, he was slow in the transaction of business, and inexperienced in the great duties of government; yet he was presumptuous and opiniative, stern and supercilious, when he had no personal interest to consult; supple and fawning when he hoped or feared. Jealous of his ascendancy he secluded the king in the interior of the palace, inspired him with distrust of the nobles, whom he represented

as enemies of the royal authority; and filled him with the constant dread of being treated as a dignified slave, like Charles the Second. He at the same time employed his artifices with equal success among the nobles; and widened the distance between them and the court, by inspiring them with a similar jealousy of the person and power of the sovereign. His flattery of the king of France was in the highest degree extravagant; and he eagerly proposed or supported every measure which appeared agreeable to the court of Versailles, however contrary to the interests or prejudices of his country. Yet with the same selfish spirit which directed his actions in other instances, he no sooner perceived the revival of the national antipathy to foreigners, than he began to complain of being overruled by orders from Versailles, and threw on the french counsels and nation the odium which he had excited by his own rigor and servility.

Don Manuel Arias, president of the council of Castile, possessed more intelligence and capacity for business than Portocarrero, but was equally stern and unconciliating. He was originally a knight of Malta; and at the age of fifty was prompted, by lucre or ambition, to assume the clerical habit. He had been recently appointed archbishop of Seville; but the proud fame of Ximenes had not ceased to present a temptation to spanish prelates; and Arias looked forward to the time when he hoped to unite the roman purple with the primacy of Spain and the high-office of Grand Inquisitor. Harsh and overbearing to inferiors, he surpassed even Portocarrero in servility to those from whom he hoped for advancement. His language on the prerogative of a spanish monarch assumed the florid colouring of eastern adulation. "God," he said, "had placed Philip at the head of a government not only monarchical but more despotic than any other Chris-

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tian kingdom; even the right of remonstrance not belonging to his subjects without his permission. The cardinal archbishop of Toledo," he added, " had but one guardian angel to direct him, but to every king two tutelary angels were assigned, one for their private conduct, and one more able for the government of their states." By the illumination derived from this guardian spirit, he inferred, " that any king, though of the most moderate capacity, must be more capable of governing than the ablest minister."*

Two men of such characters, and influenced by rival interests, could not long act together with cordiality. Accordingly they were soon involved in disputes and jealousies; and they never united except to promote a common interest, or to ruin a common enemy. The pressure of affairs, and still more the hope of throwing on others a share of the public odium, induced them both to propose the admission of two additional members into the junta of government. Their choice proved the motives of the appointment, for these were the superannuated marquis of Mancera, and the duke of Montalto, a character equally inefficient.

In the midst of these embarrassments the temper and constitution of Philip began to change, and he sunk under the weight of difficulties too great for the strength of an ordinary capacity at so early an age. He, who at his first arrival in Spain had been lauded for his industry, capacity, and intelligence,† now fell into the extreme of inattention and indolence. He no longer observed regular and early hours; but indulged himself in midnight suppers, and on the ensuing days kept the members of the council in waiting whole hours for his appearance, at a time when the most urgent business was depending.

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 71.

† Noailles, t. 2. p. 43. Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 85.

It was justly said of him, "he goes to council because he must go; and in coming out, forgets what has passed there; he keeps letters of business whole days unopened, and never speaks of them." The example of the monarch produced a similar effect on his counsellors; and a grandee who had presented a memorial in succession to the king, the leading ministers, and the french embassador, said, with as much wit as justice, "What a government is ours! a king who speaks not; a cardinal who listens not; a president of Castile who can not; and a french embassador who will not."*

All attempts to rouse Philip failing of success, the council had recourse to Louis, and intreated him to recommend to his grandson the same punctuality with which he regulated his own time, and transacted the business of France. Louis accordingly made frequent and urgent remonstrances; but these produced only a temporary effect, for after a momentary struggle, while the remonstrance was yet fresh in his memory, Philip again relapsed into his habitual indolence.

The serious illness of Harcourt, the effect of anxiety and application, augmented the disorder of the government. Blecourt, the subordinate minister, was from birth and situation unable to supply the place of his principal: he could neither overcome the apathy of the monarch, nor the slowness of the government, and his well intended remonstrances only drew on him the indignation and insults of the ministers. All business was suspended; and the most urgent representations were made for a new embassador of rank, talents, and military skill, to give motion to the sluggish machine. The duke of Beauvilliers, the former preceptor of Philip, was designated both by the king and his ministers; but he was too discreet to accept so arduous and ungrateful an office; and at length Harcourt was replaced by

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2. p. 54.

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the count de Marsin, a nobleman of great political capacity and military talents, but without the discretion and winning address of his predecessor.

The instructions which he brought from Versailles as the rule of his conduct, display the minute attention of Louis to the movements of the spanish court, unfold his views, and present a lively picture of the wretched state to which the government and nation were reduced, and the bondage in which the young monarch was held.

" For the purpose of rendering useful the disinterested succours which the king sends to Spain, the abuses of the monarchy must be instantly corrected. His majesty has seen the necessity of deputing a confidential person during the illness of the duke of Harcourt, to act in concert with him, if his health does not permit him to apply to business. As the count of Marsin has on every occasion given proofs of his discretion, disinterestedness, and military capacity, qualities at present much more necessary in Spain than experience in negotiation, the king has selected him for this mission. It will be sufficient to acquaint him with the general state of affairs, the peculiarities which regard the person and court of the sovereign, and the conduct to be observed towards those who are considered as disaffected; with the principal abuses of the government, which it would be impossible to detail, and the remedies which time may furnish; for it would be in vain to hope to correct them in the beginning of a new reign.

" Equal disorder reigns in all affairs. It would seem that the successors of Charles the Fifth have been more employed in destroying their monarchy by bad conduct, than in maintaining its splendour. The confusion became still greater during the last reign, and the spaniards observed, that after a century of bad government, they had no government at

all. The principal employments were sold, and this abuse has given such encouragement to idleness that the military life is utterly disliked. The rights of the crown in the West Indies have been sacrificed to the avarice of viceroys, governors, and inferior officers. They have ruined commerce, and left it a prey to strangers, the greatest enemies of Spain.

" Incapacity and the interest of the administrators have kept up the disorder in the finances. Besides, in Spain when they find a custom established, it is a sufficient reason to follow it scrupulously, without examining whether that is proper at one time, which was so at another.

" The royal authority has grown weaker in proportion as the means of rendering it respected have failed. Hence the commotions of the populace at Madrid. Nor is it strange that disorder reigns in matters of justice; so certain is impunity, that murders are daily committed without the slightest inquiry after the guilty. The clergy, particularly the monks, are not better regulated.

" The power of the kings has always been absolute * The people, although impatient for relief, are very submissive; the great, divided among themselves, are unpopular, without adherents, tremble for fear of being removed from Madrid, and are too indolent to be dangerous. If order can be introduced into the finances, and the troops kept up about the person of the king, all difficulties will be surmounted.

" His character is excellent; he is well inclined; his only defect is the fear of doing ill, and this timidity † renders him in-

* This remark is a proof of the mischievous impression derived from the conduct and language of Portocarrero and Arias.

† A letter from the queen to Louis, furnishes a curious proof of this well meaning, but injurious timidity.

" I humbly request your majesty, to employ all the authority which you have, from so many motives, over the king your grandson, that he may ac-

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decisive in the most trifling matters. It is necessary to encourage him to decide and make him feel that he is master. Affairs being in so bad a state, it is no wonder that he is disgusted, and at his age seeks occupations less embarrassing. It would however be very dangerous, if his disgust should give him an aversion to his duty. He cannot be too much spurred to govern by himself, to learn every thing, to become acquainted with what a king ought to know for the happiness of his subjects.

" The Spaniards themselves are persuaded that the etiquette has been always an insurmountable barrier between the prince and his subjects. His majesty desires that his grandson should free himself from this restraint; but hitherto he has been prevented by the interest of his principal domestics and that of the nobles. The example of the late kings is not a reason for maintaining this etiquette. The misfortunes of Spain are attributed to their seclusion, and an opposite conduct would be applauded by the people; they would wish their monarch should follow the example of the king of France rather than that of his austrian predecessors. If any of them must be imitated, the model of Charles the fifth is better than that of his descendents.

" It is essential to establish as soon as possible such a guard as the king ought to have. It should be composed of three regiments, one of cavalry and two of infantry; one of the last should be flemings, the others spaniards. The archers of the german guard should be dismissed, because it is necessary to suppress the german name in every thing, and to render it odious in Spain. If distinguished persons can be found for officers, the

custom himself to say with a firm tone *I will* or *I will not*; finally, that he may endeavour to imitate you. He would be a perfect prince if he could attain this. I see in that case only one thing which ought to give me pain, it is that I should love him too much, for you know even in things the most allowable, there ought to be moderation." Nov. 24, 1702.

guard will be on a better footing, and will perhaps excite the nobles to embrace the military service.

After tracing the conduct to be observed with the royal household, and the french adherents, and particularly the motives for the appointment of the princess Orsini Camerara-mayor,* he continues,

"These details would be absolutely foreign to the functions of an embassador in any court except that of Madrid. But it is at present necessary that the embassador of France should be the minister of his Catholic majesty; that without the title he should exercise the functions of that office; that he should contribute to render the king of Spain acquainted with the state of his affairs, and assisting him in governing by himself. For there is reason to believe from the good sense of that prince and the education he has received, that he will rather follow the example of the king of France, than imitate his predecessors, in throwing his power into the hands of a single minister, and submitting entirely to his direction. He sees by the effects the difference between the two examples.

"The opinion that it is the interest of France to prevent the re-establishment of Spain, far from being a good maxim, ought to be regarded as an artifice advanced by the common enemies of both crowns. The french and spaniards should in future divide with each other the advantages which the english and dutch have long enjoyed at the expence of Spain.

"If the duke of Harcourt can no longer assist at the councils, the count de Marsin must take a share in them; and this custom must be established with regard to future embassadors. It is no longer necessary to inquire if such an union will cause umbrage among other powers of Europe; half measures will not appease jealousy. The french armies in Flanders and Italy, the

* See Chapter 5.

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fleets of France received in the spanish ports of the old and new world for their defence; the authority given to his majesty to command in all the states of his grandson; these things excite the fear of other powers. The admission of the french embassador into the spanish cabinet would not raise in them greater apprehension than what they already see. For the sake of reciprocal confidence the embassador ought to communicate his orders to the king of Spain, and all affairs should be transacted in perfect concert.

" Spain is not in a condition to recompense his majesty for the expences he has incurred on her account. *The embassador must however keep such a recompense always in view, and reflect on the means of obtaining it at some future day.** Consequently without estimating the expences of a war, with this instruction is joined an account of those incurred for alliances.

" The king of Spain is scarcely less uncertain in his habits and hours of business than in the most important affairs. He must be insensibly accustomed to decide by himself; all his hours must be regulated; his time must be employed as much as possible; and the *ennui* he already feels diminished by constant employment.

" No one more contributed to the testament of Charles the Second, in favour of the duke of Anjou, than cardinal Portocarrero. For this reason he has been placed at the head of affairs. His intentions are thought to be good; but his incapacity is well known, and the nation despises him. If he really wishes to retire under the pretext of his age and health, as he has written to the king, his retreat does not seem likely to be detrimental to the royal service. It is said that ambition united him with the president of Castile, and that ambition has

* We request the reader to bear this passage in mind; he will soon perceive to what recompense the remark alludes.

divided them. The latter also desires leave to retire, though no one believes he is sincere in his request.

"The other counsellors of state*, whom it is most important to know, are the marquis of Mancera, the marquis of Villafranca, the duke of Montalto, the count of San Estevan, the marquis del Fresno, the admiral, and the count of Aguilar†. Mancera, president of the council of Italy, has no other guide than his duty; but at the age of eighty-six, we can rely but little on his services. Villafranca possesses the charge of grand master of the royal household. He deserves a reward, because he was the first of the council who gave his opinion for a prince of France. His austere character, and his extreme attachment to etiquette, produce inconveniencies with a young prince. Montalto, president of the council of Arragon, is a worthy man, and appears well intentioned. Unquiet, though indolent, and of a confined understanding; it is thought that he may be led into engagements contrary to his duty, merely from opposition to the cardinal, whom he utterly dislikes. San Estevan has shewn more inclination for France than any other person. Del Fresno and his son appear full of probity and zeal.

"The admiral of Castile has a good understanding, speaks and writes well, affects a love of literature, and maintains four jesuits, who are admitted to his table; but he owes nothing to study. He is esteemed to be a miser, and yet would appear profuse, entering into all kinds of expence, without taste and

* The council of state must not be mistaken for the cabinet council, or ministry. It was the supreme deliberative body, resorted to on extraordinary occasions, and composed something like our privy council. *

† Don Roderic Emanuel Manrique de Lara, before mentioned under the title of count of Frigiliana. He assumed that of Aguilar, in virtue of his marriage with Donna Maria Antonietta Ramirez d'Arellano, countess of Aguilar. We always designate him as count of Frigiliana, to distinguish him from his son, who is called, by the spanish writers, count of Aguilar. Vayrac, t. 3, p. 8.

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without discernment, merely from vanity. He has never had any view but his own interest: he has consequently no friend. Loving his ease and his pleasure, he will probably be more intent to efface the impressions made by his misconduct, than to form parties in the state. It would be dangerous to place him in the higher posts; but in spite of the representations of the cardinal, it would be prudent to take advantage of his apparent desire to justify himself towards his sovereign.

"Aguilar has better understanding than the admiral; more knowledge and capacity; more experience in business: but his probity and honour are doubtful. He is said to be bold and enterprising: ambition will be the rule of his conduct. He has lost nearly thirty thousand crowns of his income. He and the admiral have been imprudently left in the council. The people hate them both; they have no party; but they must be watched.

"The different councils of Madrid are full of abuses, and that of the Indies more than all the rest. In that council, far from punishing malversations, the guilty are supported in proportion to their bribes. The excesses of the viceroys and other officers remain unpunished: this impunity, and the immense property which they bring back, spur their successors to follow the same example. On the contrary, if any one, from a principle of honour, should pursue a different course, his disinterestedness is punished by a shameful poverty. If he is a subaltern, the reproach which his conduct draws on his superiors, or the attention he bestows to throw a light on theirs, exposes him to hatred. He soon feels the effects in the loss of his employments: for truth never reaches the king of Spain. Distance gives facility for disguising it, and timely presents can always obscure it.

"The dilapidated state of the finances is well known. One

of the chief abuses is the principle, that past examples are inviolable, and the consequent fear of proposing the slightest novelty. Every province knows its contribution, and where the money ought to be employed. Arragon, for example, would not afford the most trifling relief to the wants of Castile.

"The churches of Spain are immensely rich in gold and silver, which augments daily from the credit of the monks; and consequently specie is rendered extremely rare in commerce. It is proposed to oblige the clergy to sell a part of this plate. However, before taking this resolution, it is necessary to examine, not merely the evident utility, but the inconveniences also which such a plan would produce. The revenues of the crusada would be of service if they were well administered. He who is the president or master, will not easily give information: he is supported by the cardinal.

"Although the king ought to have many favours to dispose of, he has scarcely any. Governments, charges, and commanderies are entailed on several lives, the viceroys and chief governors fill the principal employments, and chuse those whom the king nominates to the rest. The chief honours and places are reserved to Castilians. This abuse is derived from the long residence of the kings at Madrid. Other Spaniards are considered as foreigners: an error in which Portocarrero is particularly interested.

"One of the principal remedies to these disorders, would be to establish a body of troops. It would be proper to commence with the king's guards. His intended journey to Saragossa to confirm the privileges and receive the homage of Arragon, would be a favourable opportunity; for his dignity requires an escort. He may visit the different provinces, reside in the principal towns, and shew himself to his people. If order is to be introduced into the finances, the abuses of the councils

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corrected, etiquette abolished, reversions suppressed, and justice maintained: the king of Spain may do it best, and with most authority, out of Madrid."*

Meanwhile the negotiations had been carried on for the marriage of the young monarch with the princess Maria Louisa of Savoy, and the equivocating and interested conduct of Victor Amadeus prolonged the discussion, till the impatience of Philip was wrought up to the highest pitch. At length the arrangements were completed, and Philip had the gratification

11 Sept.

to hear that the usual ceremony had taken place by his proxy, the marquis of Castel Rodrigo, and that his future bride was on the point of taking her departure from Turin. His desire to solemnize his marriage, and his anxiety to escape from the intrigues and dissensions of his court, extorted the consent of Louis to his departure; and the only difficulty remaining, related to the establishment of an administration during his absence. After much consultation and many contradictory proposals, the administration was intrusted to Portocarrero, with the title of governor of the kingdom, and the same absolute authority as during the last malady of Charles the second. Philip was accompanied by a cabinet council, consisting of the duke of Medina Sidonia, the count of San Estevan, both devoted to France, and the secretary Ubilla, who had been recently created marquis of Rivas. For the purpose of directing his conduct, according to the views of Louis, Marsin followed him in the capacity of french agent, without the title of embassador, to avoid those disputes of etiquette, which would have precluded him from a constant and confidential intercourse with the king.

With the most heartfelt satisfaction, the young monarch at length took his departure from a capital which St. Philippe

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2. p. 89—111.

justly calls "the temple of discord." As a proof of the imbecility of the government, a troop of mendicants were allowed to insult him with impunity at the moment of his departure, and in the very presence of the cardinal. CHAP. III. 1701.

In his passage through Arragon he was every where received with the most zealous proofs of popular regard. He entered Saragossa in state, and the people, who had been singularly misled by aggravated descriptions of his personal and mental defects, were struck with his pleasing physiognomy; they proved their change of sentiment by crowding about his person, and by the most extravagant marks of adulation, touching his horse and clothes, and pressing their hands to their eyes and lips. But in Catalonia, among a people ever turbulent and jealous of their liberties, he experienced the effects of that antipathy which they fostered against his loyal subjects of Castile.

After a short stay at Barcelona, he hurried forward to Figueras, to receive his long expected bride, and their union was ratified on the 3rd of October, before the patriarch of the Indies.* But the joy of their first interview was overclouded by an incident derived from the jealousy of french policy.

Maria Louisa had scarcely entered her fourteenth year, and appeared still more youthful from the smallness of her stature; but her spirit and understanding partook of the early maturity of her native climate, and to exquisite beauty of person and countenance she united the most captivating manners and graceful deportment. Her character and disposition had been keenly scrutinized, and as her father's wily and ambitious spirit had become proverbial, Louis dreaded lest a court, the most adroit refined and enterprising in Italy, should attempt to rule by her agency. To prevent therefore the effects which might result from a confidential intercourse with Turin, the strictest

* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 5.

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though secret orders were given to dismiss all her Piedmontese attendants when she reached the spanish frontier, and to place her under the direction of her camerara-mayor,* the princess Orsini, who had previously joined her on board the galley in which she had sailed from the coast of Genoa. The execution of this unwelcome order made a deep impression on the mind of the young princess, who was sensibly affected by the sorrow of her attendants, and gave way to the most bitter lamentations. Her excessive grief confirmed the vigilant jealousy of the french court; in conformity with their previous orders, the princess and Marsin restrained the impatience of the youthful bridegroom; and even after the solemnization of the nuptials extorted from him his consent to a temporary separation, till the spirit of the queen had been subdued. The expedient produced its effect; and Louville was dispatched to France to announce the marriage as well as the victory which was thus supposed to have been gained over the machinations of the court of Turin.

The reply of Louis to this communication contained a series of counsels calculated to strengthen the mind of Philip against the dreaded ascendancy of the young queen.

"I expected," he said, "with impatience, the news of your marriage, of which I was apprised by your letter, and the information of Louville. He has expatiated on the excellent qualities of the queen. They may render you happy, if she makes a good use of them. I hope so, although she has begun ill. I attribute her conduct to bad advice, and you may judge from this example, of the necessity of dismissing all the Piedmontese attendants. She is sensible; she will see that she ought to think only of pleasing you; I am persuaded she will do so, when she acts from herself; but for your happiness as

* Superintendant of the Queen's household.

well as her own, she must renounce all the plans which have been suggested to her to govern you. Your majesty will not suffer it; you must feel too deeply the dishonour of such a weakness, which is not excusable in subjects, but in kings, who are exposed to the public gaze, contemptible. You have before you the example of your predecessor.

"The queen is the first of your subjects, in which quality as well as in that of your wife, she is bound to obey you. You are bound to love her; but you will never love her as you ought, if her tears have power to extort from you indulgences derogatory to your glory. Be firm then at first. I well know that the first refusals will grieve you, and are repugnant to your natural mildness; but fear not to give a slight uneasiness, to spare real chagrin in future. By such conduct alone you will prevent disputes which would become insupportable. Shall your domestic dissentions be the subject of conversation to your people and to Europe? Render the queen happy, if necessary, in despite of herself. Restrain her at first; she will be obliged to you in the end; and the violence you do yourself will furnish the most solid proof of your affection for her. Read over, I intreat you, my former instructions on this subject. Believe that my love for you dictates this advice, which, were I in your place, I should receive from a father as the most convincing proof of his regard."

To prevent the effects of this influence, orders were sent, not to permit the queen to speak to the Piedmontese minister except in a public audience; and for greater security the princess Orsini was to be always present whenever she received foreign embassadors, and her youth and inexperience were to be alledged as an excuse for this innovation.*

The court of France and its agents soon however discovered

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 165—170.

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that all these suspicions were groundless; and that the grief of the queen, far from being an artifice of studied policy, was the sorrow natural to her youth and lively temper on being separated from her early associates. But they were soon equally convinced that no expedient could prevent her amiable qualities from gaining an uncontrollable ascendancy over the mind of her doting and pliant husband; and their next care was employed to manage Philip by her agency, and direct her conduct by means of the princess Orsini, of whose zeal and attachment they were well assured.

CHAPTER IV.

1701.

Family connections, early life, and character, of the Princess Orsini—Connections with Madame de Maintenon and the family of Noailles—Her appointment as Camerara Mayor to the young Queen of Spain—Extracts from her Correspondence.

THE marriage of Philip being arranged, as his pliant and amorous character rendered it highly probable that he would be governed by his future queen, the attention of Louis had been employed to place at the head of her household persons of assured fidelity and confidence.

The count of San Estevan del Puerto was nominated to the post of grand master, as well on account of his attachment to France and his zeal in promoting the succession of a Bourbon prince; as, because from his moderation, prudence, and disinterestedness, he was not likely to engage in a contest for authority with the cardinal minister.

But a still greater difficulty occurred in the choice of a Camerara-mayor, or superintendant of the queen's household, who in virtue of her high office enjoyed a constant and intimate access to the royal presence, and was to be a species of guardian to her youthful mistress. From these circumstances the

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Cameraras-mayores in former times had not unfrequently governed both the court and nation.

To fill this delicate post at the present period, many rare and even contradictory requisites were to unite. It was necessary to chuse a lady of the highest rank and character, to give dignity to the office; yet it was equally necessary that with a predominant influence over the queen, she should submit to be guided by the french minister. She could not be a spaniard, because Portocarrero and Arias were jealous lest a native should labour for the advancement of her own family and friends; and because the french monarch was no less apprehensive that a native would not be sufficiently obedient to his controul. She could not, however, be sent directly from the french court; for besides the want of an acquaintance with the language, customs, and etiquette, a person so circumstanced would infallibly excite the jealousy of the nation. Still stronger though different objections occurred against making the choice at the court of Turin. By a singular coincidence of circumstances all these requisites appeared to centre in the princess Orsini, who from this period became one of the most prominent figures in the History of Spain during the war of the succession.

Anne Marie of the illustrious family of La Tremouille, was daughter of Louis duke of Noirmoutier, whose military services during the minority of Louis the fourteenth, had been rewarded with the rank of a duke and peer. She espoused at an early
1659. age,* Adrian Blaise de Taleyrand prince of Chalais. Her

* The exact age of this extraordinary woman is not known. But from the period of her father's marriage, and a comparison of the births of her two brothers in 1642 and 1652, and her own marriage in 1659, we are inclined to think she was about the age of 53 when she was appointed camerara mayor. Duclos is evidently mistaken in making her above 80 at the time of her death. Duclos Memoires Secrets, t. 1, p. 83.—P. Anselme Histoire Genealogique de France, &c. t. 4, p. 178.—Moreri.

husband being engaged in the celebrated duel with the family of La Fret, in which one of the parties was killed, was driven into exile. Having taken refuge in Spain he was followed by his young wife, who had thus an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the spanish language and manners. They afterwards removed into Italy, and while he found an asylum in the Venetian territories, she repaired to Rome to solicit the protection of the french cardinals Bouillon and d'Estrees. Her charms are said to have made an impression on her two protectors, as well as on cardinal Portocarrero, then spanish minister at Rome; and her husband dying soon afterwards, she remained with no other resource than their bounty. By the recommendation of the two french cardinals and the approbation of the french court, a marriage was negotiated between her and Flavio d'Orsini,* duke of Bracciano and grandee of Spain, who was consequently recompensed with the french order of the Holy Ghost, an honour rarely bestowed on foreigners, however illustrious.

1670.

1675.

This connection produced the usual effects of interested and ill-assorted matches; but the duchess shone in all the pride of rank and affluence, and supplied the want of matrimonial felicity, by uniting in her society the most distinguished characters at Rome; and by frequent visits to her native country. With such opportunities for improvement, her talents, manners, and understanding acquired the highest polish, and she soon figured as one of the brightest ornaments at Rome and Versailles.

In one of her visits to Versailles, which was lengthened to the space of five years, she improved a former acquaintance which she had formed with Madame de Maintenon, into the

* The french according to their custom have corrupted this name into des Ursins, by which title she is known in the french histories and memoirs.

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strictest intimacy; and became the admiration of the king and court. Her husband dying in 1698, she assumed his family name of Orsini, to gratify the nephew of Pope Innocent the twelfth, who having purchased the duchy of Bracciano, was desirous to appropriate the title. Ambitious to figure in a still higher sphere than in the court of Rome, the faintest gleam of advancement could not escape her vigilant attention; and the expected marriage between Philip and a Piedmontese princess, presented an opportunity of which she adroitly availed herself.

The instant therefore that the choice of a queen for Philip was decided, she succeeded in drawing on herself the attention of the french court. She was too deeply versed in the arts of intrigue, to shew great anxiety for the important post of camerara mayor, but confined her solicitation to the honour of accompanying the new queen to Madrid. She imparted this wish to Madame de Maintenon, and it being favourably received, she employed all her address to interest in her cause the family of Noailles; who were allied, by friendship and marriage, with the favourite.

She wrote to the dutchess, affecting to solicit her interest with Madame de Maintenon, and artfully displayed her own character and qualifications.

"My intention," she said, "is only to go to Madrid, and remain there as long as the king chuses, and afterwards to return to Versailles, and give an account of my journey." "I am," she added, "the widow of a grandee, and acquainted with the spanish language; I am beloved and esteemed in the country; I have numerous friends, and particularly cardinal Portocarrero; with these advantages, judge whether I shall not cause both rain and sunshine at Madrid, and whether I shall incur the imputation of vanity in offering my services*."

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2, p. 161.

She supported this application by a letter to the count d'Ayen, son of the duke of Noailles, who had recently espoused a niece of Madame de Maintenon, and held a distinguished place in the household of Philip.

"What opinion, Sir," she said, "will you have of us roman dames, when you see that I attack you at a distance, and assume the honour of writing to you before you have deserved it. I fear the ladies of modern Rome will appear to have too little pride; and that you will doubt, in spite of your reading, whether those of antient Rome had more. But not to inspire you with sentiments still more unfavourable, I will not say, Sir, that I have been long tempted to cultivate your friendship, on account of the high praises which are bestowed upon you. I will take, as the pretext of this letter, the necessity of writing to you on a subject which, your mother informs me, she has already imparted to you. I have confided to her the desire I have to accompany as far as Madrid the princess, who is destined to be queen of Spain; and Madame de Maintenon has had the goodness to speak of it to the king our master, who replied that he was willing I should have that honour, and would nominate me if his opinion was asked. The appointment does not entirely depend on the catholic king; for it is to the father of the princess that this choice belongs. However, I humbly request you, Sir, to prepossess his majesty in my favour. That will not be difficult, if you will please to inform him of the protection with which the king of France honours me; the kindness which all your house have for me; and if you will act in concert with cardinal Portocarrero, on whose friendship I much rely. The acquiescence of his majesty would render this journey more desirable to me; besides the duke of Savoy would be more easily disposed to grant me this favour, if his majesty would have the goodness

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to cause insinuations to be made by his ministers at Madrid and Turin, that it would give him pleasure. I have over all those ladies, who may aspire to this honour, the advantage of being a grandee of Spain; and this quality, joined to my natural inclination to render service to the grandson of my sovereign, induces me to solicit it with the greatest earnestness."

This application sufficed to draw the attention of the french king to her merits and character, and he soon afterwards, in his instructions to Marsin, announced her appointment to the office of camerara mayor, and designated her as a woman not likely to take any share in the cabals of the court.

"As the king of Spain," Torci observed, "is of a mild character, it will be easy for the queen to acquire an ascendancy over his mind; and consequently it would be highly dangerous to place about her persons of suspicious intentions. The choice of camerara mayor has appeared very important, and his majesty thinks this post cannot be better filled than by the princess Orsini. The late duke of Bracciano, her husband, chief of the family of Orsini, was a grandee of Spain; she has passed a part of her life in foreign countries; she is acquainted with the usages of Spain, and joining to those advantages, great sense and politeness, she appears better adapted than any one else, to instruct the young princess in the art of keeping her court with dignity. She will not be regarded as a foreigner, and yet she is sufficiently so to take no share in the cabals and intrigues of the government."*

Her nomination being thus secured, and the resolution taken for the dismission of the Piedmontese attendants, the princess joined her royal mistress in the galley which conveyed her to Spain.

The just and lively portrait of this extraordinary woman,

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2, p. 97.

drawn by St. Simon from actual acquaintance, will form an appropriate introduction to her political history.

"She was above the middle size, a brunette, with expressive blue eyes; and her face, though without pretensions to beauty, was uncommonly interesting. She had a fine shape, a majestic and dignified air; yet rather attractive than intimidating, and united with such numberless graces, even in trifles, that I have never seen her equal either in person or mind. Flattering, engaging, and discreet, anxious to please for the sake of pleasing, and irresistible when she wished to persuade or conciliate: she had an agreeable tone of voice and manner; and an inexhaustible fund of conversation, which was rendered highly entertaining by accounts of the different countries she had visited, and anecdotes of the distinguished persons whom she had known and frequented. She had been habituated to the best company; was extremely polite and affable to all, yet peculiarly engaging with those whom she wished to distinguish, and equally skilful in displaying her own graces and qualifications. She was adapted by nature for the meridian of courts, and versed in all the intrigues of cabinets, from her long residence at Rome, where she maintained a princely establishment. She was vain of her person and fond of admiration, foibles which never left her; and hence her dress, in every season of life, was too youthful for her age, and sometimes even ridiculous.

"She possessed a simple and natural eloquence, saying always what she chose, and how she chose, and nothing more. Secret with regard to herself; faithful to the confidence of others; gifted with an exterior, nay an interior of gaiety, good humour, and evenness of temper, which rendered her perfectly mistress of herself at all times, and in all circumstances.

"Never did any woman possess more art, without the appearance of art; never was a more fertile head nor superior

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knowledge of the human heart, and the means of ruling it. She was however proud and haughty; hurrying forward directly to her ends, without regard to the means; but still, if possible, clothing them with a mild and plausible exterior. She was nothing by halves: jealous and imperious in her attachments; a zealous friend, unchangeable by time or absence; and a most implacable and inveterate enemy. Finally, her love of existence was not greater than her love of power; but her ambition was of that towering kind which women seldom feel, and superior even to the ordinary spirit of man" *.

A few passages from her confidential correspondence, after the assumption of her post, will serve to display her own spirit and character, and the constitution of the spanish court.

Dec. 11. 1701.

" Good God," she observed, to the duchess of Noailles, " in what an employment have you placed me! I have not the least quiet, not even time to speak to my secretary. As to reposing myself after dinner, or eating when I am hungry, they are out of the question. I am too happy if I can catch a miserable repast running; and it seldom happens that I am not called away at the moment I sit down to table. Truly Madame de Maintenon would laugh, did she know the details

* Memoires de St. Simon, t. 3, p. 175—182.

See also t. 5, p. 249.—" Cette femme egalement connue par son elevation et par sa chûte, etoit aussi aimable par ses agremens, qu'elle fut redoutable par ses passions, à M. le Duc d'Orléans. Une naissance illustre se trouva, soutenue en elle de toutes les qualités de l'esprit, et de toutes les graces du corps, qui pouvoient en relever les avantages: sa capacité pour les affaires etoit au dessus de son sexe; un air ouvert, des manieres nobles et engageantes, prevenoient ceux qui l'approchoient, et les lui gagnoient; mais un desir de commander toujours ardent, les lui faisoit bientôt perdre. Près d'elle l'inferieur, l'egal et le superieur devoient subir la même loi; si quelqu'un refusoit d'entrer dans ses vues, quelques injustes quelques violentes qu'elles fussent, elle le jugeoit digne des plus affreuses disgraces." See also Duclos, t. 1. p. 64.

my charge. Tell her, I beg, that it is I who have the honour to take the king of Spain's night gown when he retires to rest, and to give it to him with his slippers when he rises. Thus far I should have patience; but every night, when the king goes to bed in the queen's apartment, the count of Benevente loads me with the sword of his majesty, a pot de chambre, and a lamp, which I generally overturn on my clothes: this is too grotesque.

"The king would never rise did I not draw his curtains; and it would be a sacrilege should any other person enter the queen's chamber when they are in bed. Lately the lamp went out because I had spilled half the oil. I knew not where the windows were, because it was night when we reached the place. I was near breaking my nose against the wall: and I and the king were a quarter of an hour running against each other in endeavouring to discover them. His majesty finds me so useful, that he has sometimes the goodness to ask for me two hours before I would willingly rise. The queen takes a share in these pleasantries; but I have not yet gained the confidence which she placed in her Piedmontese attendants. I wonder at it, because I serve her better than they; and I am sure they did not undress her and wash her feet so handily as I do *."

In a letter to Torci, she detailed her contests with the formal attendants of the king, on matters of etiquette.

"Barcelona, Dec. 16, 1701.—I believe, Sir, that you are never in better humour than when you do me the honour to write to me, and I assure you that I am not less pleased when I reply. Who has so well informed you of my aukwardness in carrying the lamp which the count of Benevente puts into my hands so gravely every evening? Doubtless it is the duchess of Noailles, who is a tatler, and never more pleased than

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 172.

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when she can make one appear ridiculous. Has she not given you other proofs of my aukwardness. * * *

"It consoles me, however, to think that you would be as much embarrassed as I am, were you loaded with a similar burden, for two hands assuredly are not sufficient. No alteration can be made in this ceremony. The king himself would not be obeyed, and I should be involved in such a squabble, as happened a few days ago in a thing much more serious. Although the count de Marsin will apprise you of it, I will relate it, if it be only to have the pleasure of writing to you about a little malicious old monkey, called here the Patriarch of the Indies.

"On the feast of the Conception the king and queen paid their devotions at the principal church. The preceding evening was employed in regulating the ceremony; and at the moment when their majesties did me the honour to speak of it, my little monkey entered. The king asked who was to present the napkin. He replied, that the late king having always received the communion alone, the lord chamberlain performed that office; but the queen being present, it was he and I who were to have that honour, though it was still his business to offer the chalice. After his departure, I represented to their majesties that it did not appear becoming in me to figure at the altar, and in public, with the patriarch. If this function was ecclesiastical, I ought not to be employed, and if not, it seemed much more proper for me to be joined with the Chamberlain. The king approved this remark, and immediately sent his confessor to tell the patriarch, that he should present the chalice, and that the count of Benevente and myself should hold the napkin.

"The patriarch returned for answer that this could not be, without giving any reason or making any remonstrance. On

the morrow at the communion the count of Benevente took the napkin, and I advanced towards my mistress. But the little prelate, more nimble, gained the upper-hand, and presented to the king another napkin which he apparently drew from his pocket, though so scanty that the extremity scarcely reached to the queen.

" The king did not observe it, but the queen by an obliging sign directed my notice to this ridiculous incident. On returning to the palace the king expressed his displeasure, because the patriarch had not obeyed him. I met the prelate some moments afterwards, and could not avoid signifying to him, with all due respect, my astonishment that he had not obeyed the king's orders, and had deprived me of a service, which according to his own avowal belonged to my charge. The affair was spoken of in the council in the evening; and it was resolved that I should write to cardinal Portocarrero on the subject, the king being unwilling to take any resolution without his previous advice.

" The patriarch has since sent father Daubenton to justify himself as to what regards me; but besides that the confessor himself approves my opinion, I have ordered him to observe that I am of little consequence in this affair; and that the material consideration was the disobedience to the king's orders. This day was full of incidents. Another happened in which I bore no part except as a witness.

" It being necessary to draw the king's chair nearer to the praying desk, where their majesties were kneeling, the count of Priego, mayor-domo, took it; the duke of Ossuna rose to wrest it from him. This gave rise to a little skirmish almost at the foot of the altar; for the first would not give it up, and the last would have it, both thinking that the service was a part of their charge. The first, however, gained the day by dint of elbowing,

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and by the complaisance of the other. During the squabble, I saw that the duke of Ossuna, who as you know is no bigger than a rat, was nearly overturned with the chair on the persons of the king and queen. Before we quitted the church, I thought it proper to acquaint the king with the affair, lest it should produce a duel between the two noblemen. His majesty spoke in the church to the duke of Ossuna, and in the palace to the count. That very evening the dispute was arranged in the council. It was decided that the duke was in the wrong; and the king speaking properly to both a second time, reconciled them. I think, however, these noblemen, who are pacific both in heart and soul, had no inclination to fight except in the church.

"The cause of this incident was the absence of the high-steward, in which case the duke, as first gentleman of the chamber, considered this service as his duty.

"Further, Sir, their majesties appeared at church both in the morning and afternoon without curtains. As there were none, the Spaniards declared that this ceremony could not take place. But we were happy to make this breach in the etiquette; and even had there been any curtains we should not have used them; for the whim of concealing an amiable sovereign from his people, is in my opinion one of the least wise whims of Philip the second.

"I converse with you only on trifles, my matter being exhausted when I have spoken of the perfect union between their majesties. Our court is almost always the same from the beginning to the end of the month; and I can contrive nothing to diversify it in a country where there is absolutely nothing for the purpose. Cardinal Portocarrero is always pressing me to represent to the king the necessity of his return to Madrid. If these people, who are spoiled children, do not

finish their cortes to the wish of his majesty, those who have advised us to remain so long at Barcelona, will be good for nothing on our return. The king is displeased with the boldness and ill intentions of certain Catalans, who assist at the states. I said to him the other day, on this subject, in the presence of some Spaniards, whom we suspected a little, that it was rashness to expect from a king of eighteen, in the beginning of his reign, a thing which four of his predecessors, among whom was the famous author of the etiquette*, had attempted in vain.

"We have received the answer of cardinal Portocarrero. It is impossible to shew more respect towards me, and more zeal and submission to the king. His advice is that his majesty should command the patriarch to go and wait for him at some leagues from Madrid. This will be executed†."

In the discharge of menial duties, the princess displayed all her talents, graces, and address, and soon became the confidential favourite and directress of the queen, who amidst the *sombre* etiquette of this solemn court, was happy to indulge her natural vivacity in the society of her amiable camerara-mayor. The petty squabble relative to the dismission of the Piedmontese attendants, and the temporary coolness which ensued, were both speedily forgotten.

One of the principal injunctions with which the princess was charged, was to break the shackles of the national etiquette, and accustom the nobles to the person and society of their sovereigns. In this object, she gradually succeeded; she removed the barrier with which spanish formality and jealousy had for ages environed the queens, by insinuating to the nobles that they deprived themselves of the honour of her notice by

* Philip 2.

† Memoires de Noailles, t. 2, p. 401.

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erroneous notions of respect. She so far introduced the french style, as to induce them to attend the queen's toilet, where the king frequently appeared. On these occasions she prevailed on the king and queen to dance; and persuaded the king to lead out some of the ladies of his court. She thus brought the nobles into a more familiar intercourse with the sovereigns and the french agents, and endeavoured to pave the way for a cordial union of the two nations.

The growing ascendancy of the queen over the mind of her husband, gave additional importance to the princess. The french embassador wrote to his court, "I see the queen will infallibly govern her husband; and therefore we must be careful that she governs him well. For this object, the intervention of the princess is absolutely necessary; her progress is considerable; and we have no other means to influence her royal mistress; who begins to shew that she will not be treated as a child*."

In consequence of her increasing influence, she was more and more honoured with the confidence of the court of Versailles; and one of her letters to Torci displayed a proper sense of her own consequence, amidst professions of affected modesty.

April 3. "Always submissive to the will of the king, I will execute the orders with which you honour me, without claiming any merit; for what merit is there in doing one's duty? But consider, Sir, if you please, that I am a woman; and in the absence of count Marsin, shall have no person here on whom I can rely. You cannot therefore favour me with too many instructions in the state of embarrassment in which I am about to be placed. All the letters from France announce to me some new monster which I am to combat at Madrid. I myself foresee numerous

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 175.

contradictions among a people ignorant, disaffected, and solicitous only to overturn the state. But I still entertain hopes that I shall compel the most malicious to acknowledge the purity of my intentions. You formerly piqued yourself on being my scholar; now I cannot venture to move a step without your advice. I hope so to act as to gain the good will of the Spaniards, and without blindly entering into the enmities of cardinal Portocarrero, shall always consider him as my principal friend. I shall be obliged to receive every individual who will open his heart to me; I shall accordingly, if my efforts are approved, endeavour to win over those who are inclined to the opposite side*."

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 230.

CHAPTER V.

1701—1702.

Return of Philip to Barcelona with his Queen—Convocation and proceedings of the Cortes of Catalonia—Attempts of Louis to obtain the cession of the Low-Countries—Design of Philip to visit Italy—Difficulties relative to this expedition, and to the formation of a Regency—Correspondence of Philip and his Queen with the King of France—Philip embarks for Naples—The Queen holds the Cortes of Arragon—Repairs to Madrid—Embarrassments of the Regency.

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BEFORE the return of Philip to Barcelona the cortes of Catalonia had opened their sittings. He seems to have convoked this assembly, with the view of prolonging his absence from Madrid; and the hope of drawing a temporary supply from the province. Nothing however but the most imperious necessity could justify the policy of resorting to the representatives of a people, irritated by past oppression, and indignant against the Castilian government; rendered turbulent by a long series of intestine commotions and foreign wars, and eager to regain those privileges which had been abolished or fallen into disuse in consequence of the suspension of the cortes since the administration of Olivarez. The constitution of these states added to the danger of the experiment; for the assembly was composed of three orders, of which that of hidalgos was needy and turbulent, and too numerous to be easily swayed.

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The result therefore of this imprudent attempt was such as might have been foreseen. Demands rose on demands; delays followed delays; and three months were wasted in mutual propositions, and mutual refusals between the sovereign and the assembly. At length a compromise was effected; the more turbulent were overawed by the menaces of the loyalists, and a donative was voted to the amount of only three millions of french livres * payable within the term of six years. In return for this scanty contribution, which never reached the royal treasury, Philip relieved the province from the onerous duty of lodging the royal cavalry, and granted some other concessions of inferior importance; and this stormy assembly closed its deliberations, if so they may be called, on the 12th of January, after swearing fidelity to the new sovereign, and obtaining the confirmation of the most essential of the national privileges.†

The embarrassments of Philip at this juncture, were not, however, wholly derived from the demands of his turbulent subjects, or the dissentions of his ministers.

When we read the specious assurances of Louis the Fourteenth, that he accepted the testament of Charles the second from disinterested motives only, and that it would have been more advantageous to France to fulfil the second treaty of partition; we may justly feel some surprise at the effrontery which could hold such language in the face of indignant Europe. But it is a matter of still greater astonishment, that modern writers should be found to give credit to these and similar assertions, when the whole of his subsequent conduct has proved their falsity.

In reality, without estimating the advantages which the occu-

* £. 150,000 sterling.

† Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 1. An. 1702.——Noailles, t. 2, p. 178—188.——Ortiz. Hist. España, t. 7. p. 5.

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pation of the spanish throne by a Bourbon prince would afford on the side of the peninsula, and without estimating the privilege of exclusive trade to the american colonies, which was immediately grasped by France, the possession of the Netherlands alone was a more important object to Louis, than all the cessions comprised in the treaty of partition. A sovereign of France, as Europe was then circumstanced, could not have retained the Milanese or the two Sicilies, without the acquiescence of Savoy and Austria, and the connivance of the maritime powers; nor any footing beyond the Pyrenees without that of Spain. Whereas the possession of the Netherlands, at the same time, that it was easily maintained, enabled France to turn her whole force against Germany and Italy, covered the frontier on the north east, assured at least the submission of Holland; and was expected to open the way for the invasion of England, or at all events for straitening her connections with the continent. Indeed the solicitude of the French government to obtain this object, sufficiently shews its importance.

Louis, whose whole reign had been an incessant struggle for the possession of the Netherlands; and who had already tampered with the elector of Bavaria, embraced the first opportunity when Philip was removed from Madrid, to require this cession. Hints were previously thrown out, to prepare the way by representations of the danger and expence which France had incurred in placing him on the throne, and the justice of some indemnification. At length the time arrived, when the ill success of the french arms in Italy, and the hostile aspect of the maritime powers,* gave new force to these representations, and the subject was brought forward in a preparatory letter, written by Louis to his embassador.

Oct. 31.

* See next Chapter.

"Money," he said, "is wanting in Spain even for the necessary expences; none can be found to support the war in Italy, to fulfil treaties, and to maintain alliances. From the conduct of the spaniards it should seem that the preservation of the territories, for which we are now contending, is indifferent to their monarchy; and they will not without much difficulty permit me to interfere in the government of the Netherlands. In a word, I support in all quarters the expences of the war; these expences are immense, from the distance of the countries whither I send my armies; and instead of deriving aid from Spain in the defence of her own states, I experience nothing but contradictions on her part, in things which are most for her own advantage. Although the zeal of my subjects is unbounded, their means of assisting me will at last be circumscribed. I cannot hold out till I reach that extremity, either for my own interest or theirs; and I should deceive the king of Spain, were I not to lay before him the real situation of his affairs.

"It is time then to inform him in confidence, that hitherto I have only consulted my affection for him; and from that motive have exerted my utmost efforts to defend his territories. I wish it was in my power to continue them; I would do it with the same earnestness. I had reason to hope that the assistance of Spain would enable me to fulfil this object; but he well knows, she affords me none; nor can I flatter myself that she will furnish any aid, either for the current expences, or the payment of those I have already incurred.

"You will display to him the heavy burthens of the war in Italy, and the immense drains of men and treasure which it occasions. I had indeed foreseen this, before I sent my troops thither; but this consideration did not restrain me; because I then thought, that a single campaign would suffice to drive out the Germans. On the contrary, we have now no other

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prospect but a long war in Italy, which it is impossible to maintain with my own forces alone, as I am obliged to form considerable armies on the Rhine, and in the Low Countries.

"This would be only to ruin France without saving Spain. Consequently we must think on the means of effecting a speedy peace. I foresee, with concern, that it must be purchased with the cession of some of the dependent states of the spanish monarchy; but we must take this resolution. We must however keep it secret; for the knowledge of it would only render the enemy more untractable, and give rise to demands with which the king of Spain could not comply *."

When this letter had produced its effect, the french embassador received from Torcy instructions to make the proposal to Philip with all proper caution, as a suggestion from himself, of a project which he considered as equally advantageous both to France and Spain. "If Philip," it was observed, "would yield the Netherlands, Louis would in return charge himself with defending the rest of the spanish monarchy. Thus the war might be more easily maintained, and peace as easily made. Much difficulty ought not to be expected on the part of Spain; for can Philip feel more chagrin to cede those provinces to his grandfather and his own house, than to Austria? Is it just that France should carry on war without a compensation? And can any be imagined more natural †?"

Oct. 31.

The acquiescence of Philip was already anticipated; but it was not so easy to vanquish the repugnance of the spanish nation. Marsin, whose residence in Spain enabled him better to estimate this difficulty, replied, "Philip, far from being able of his own authority to decide on so important a matter, has not even the power to *will* any thing; for, except himself

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 152.

† Ibid. t. 2, 156.

and his french attendants, *there is not perhaps a single person in Spain who will be convinced that such a proposal is founded on reason and justice.* The disaffected will accuse France of having no other view than to profit by the dismemberment of Spain; national jealousy will be awakened into animosity; the enemy will have a specious pretext for invective; and a war must be expected, into which all the powers, who have not already taken part, will enter*."

These arguments suspended the design; but it was suspended only to be produced in different and more practicable shapes.

The arrangements with the elector of Bavaria, as governor of these provinces; the occupation of the fortresses by french troops, and the following negotiations, proved the perseverance and success with which it was pursued; and indeed nothing but the subsequent ascendancy of the allied arms, prevented the annexation of these important provinces to France.

As the business of the catalonian cortes drew to a conclusion, Philip was anxious for new pretexts to defer his return to Madrid, where he would be again exposed to the tyranny of Portocarrero and Arias, and to the multiplied embarrassments which he had already experienced. He therefore formed the resolution of visiting his italian dominions, and joining the army in Lombardy. The intelligence of a recent conspiracy at Naples furnished the pretext, if it did not suggest the design.

The defenceless state of that kingdom, and the weakness of the military establishment, have been already mentioned. It is no wonder therefore that in a country which had continually been the scene of troubles and revolutions, and among a people proverbially fond of change, some attempt should be made to transfer the sovereignty from the House of Bourbon to that of Austria.

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 157.

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Although the address and firmness of the viceroy, the duke of Medina Celi, had obtained the acknowledgment of Philip, yet he offended the Neapolitans, by his austerity and exactions. The numerous partisans of the House of Austria established a secret correspondence with cardinal Grimani, the austrian agent at Rome, as well as with the disaffected exiles; and a regular plan was formed, in conjunction with prince Eugene, the imperial commander in Italy, to excite a general insurrection, and transfer the crown to the archduke Charles.

Although the the pope was favourably inclined to the House of Bourbon, the presence of an imperial army in Lombardy deterred him from accepting the customary tribute from Philip, or granting the usual investiture as liege lord of the two Sicilies. Of this informality, the austrian adherents availed themselves, roused a superstitious and volatile populace to revolt, and the very streets of the capital became a scene of contest between the austrian and bourbon parties. The explosion of the whole conspiracy was prevented by a timely discovery, and by the arrival of some spanish regiments, under the duke of Popoli; but the general discontent was too deeply rooted to be easily eradicated, and the conspirators, foiled, but not discouraged, were watchful for a new opportunity to repeat their attempt with a more assured prospect of success.

This conspiracy, though discovered and suppressed, increased the impatience of Philip to visit his italian dominions; and in requesting the consent of Louis, he urged with equal spirit and judgment, "I feel more and more the necessity of passing into Italy and heading the army. Philip the second lost the Netherlands because he delayed visiting them till it was too late. With regard to myself, I assure you I will lose none of my territories for the same reason*."

Oct. 7.

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 147.

This motive, and the impatience of Philip, outweighed the objections of Louis; and he consented, though with reluctance, to a journey of which he foresaw the inconveniencies. When therefore the business of Catalonia was concluded, he announced his acquiescence in a letter of advice.

Jan. 23. 1702.

"I have always approved your design to go to Italy; and wish to see it executed. But the more I am interested in your glory, the more I ought to reflect on the difficulties which it would not become you to foresee as I do. I have examined them all; and you have seen them in the memorial which Marsin read to you. I learn, with pleasure, that it has not dissuaded you from a design so worthy of your birth, as that of defending in person your italian states. There are occasions in which every one ought to decide for himself. Since the obstacles which have been represented to you, do not move you, I applaud your firmness, and confirm your decision. I am persuaded that your subjects will love you more, and serve you more faithfully, when they see you answer their expectations; and that far from imitating the indolence of your predecessors, you expose your person to defend the most considerable states of your monarchy.

"As my affection for you increases, in proportion as you merit it, I forget nothing which tends to your advantage. You will see the efforts I make to drive your enemies from Italy. If the troops I destine for that country are arrived, I advise you to repair to Milan, and head my army. But as we must first have a force superior to that of the emperor, I think you may previously pass over to Naples, where your presence is more necessary than at Milan. You will there wait for the opening of the campaign, and calm the agitation of the people. They ardently desire to see their sovereign; and are excited to revolt only by the hope of having a king of their own. Treat

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the nobles well; hold forth to the people the hope of relief, when the state of affairs will permit, listen to complaints, render justice, and display your goodness without losing sight of your dignity; distinguish those who have manifested their zeal in the late troubles; you will soon perceive the advantage of your voyage, and the good effect produced by your presence.

"I have fitted out four ships at Toulon; they will sail to Barcelona to convey you and the queen to Naples. I see that your affection for her will not allow you to separate*."

With this letter he detailed many necessary precautions for the journey, and hints for the arrangement of the government. As the spanish ministers vehemently opposed the departure of Philip, both on account of the expences which it would occasion, and the danger of leaving Spain without the presence of the sovereign, before the new domination was perfectly established, Louis himself wrote to Portocarrero and his colleagues to obviate their objections.

Philip was eager to depart; and his impatience was heightened by the representations of the princess Orsini, and the importunities of the queen, who, with a pardonable vanity, was anxious to exhibit the splendour of her new state in her native country. But the difficulty of finding resources to maintain the expence of a regular court, the increasing discontents in the nation, the apprehension that the king and queen intended to abandon the country; the incessant objections of the spanish ministers, and particularly the secret jealousy of Louis himself, prevented the queen from accompanying her husband. It was resolved that she should remain in Spain, as a pledge for the return of Philip, and as a visible head to give more authority to the government of the regency.

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 189.

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Marsin was charged to announce this determination to the young couple, and obtain their consent; and his instances were supported by a decisive letter from Louis. After expatiating on the various objections to the departure of the queen, he added, "if I loved you less, my complaisance would be unbounded. I should suppress the advice of a father when contrary to your wishes; what I now urge is the mere effect of my affection, and you must follow my counsel. It is better not to go into Italy than to carry the queen with you. You see the reasons, which I have duly weighed; you will, I doubt not, take the proper resolution, and depart alone *." March 3.

The advice of Louis was obeyed; and the queen justified the favourable opinion which she had already inspired by submitting, though with unfeigned sorrow, to a separation highly painful to both. Her spirit and conduct drew forth the eulogium even of the caustic Louville, who expressed his surprise to see, in so young a person, the union of so much love, such reason, and such strength of mind, accompanied with so little ill humour, and so little of the spirit of contradiction; and he quoted, with pleasure, her frequent declaration, "I have no will contrary to my duty."

Philip was not less affected than the queen. The letter of Louis excited a struggle of contending passions in his mind. He traversed the apartment with hasty strides, repeating the expression, "I would rather you did not go to Italy than take the queen." But he felt the suspicion which had been entertained of his firmness; and he disdained to display less decision than a princess of fourteen. The two letters written by the royal pair to the king of France, display a pleasing picture of the natural combat between affection and duty, in youthful and candid minds.

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 203.

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"I think, Sir," observed the queen, "without offence to decorum, that I may say, I love the king passionately, and therefore I cannot think of a separation from him without the greatest grief. However, I know that I ought to make this sacrifice for his glory; and remain in Spain to engage his subjects, who so ardently desire my presence, to maintain their fidelity, and furnish the supplies which he needs for carrying on the war. I hope, with the good advice of your majesty, and the strong force you have sent into Italy, he will beat the enemy, and I shall have the consolation to see him return victorious, to a country where we shall have only agreeable prospects. As it will be to your kindness and generosity he will owe his repose, permit me beforehand, to present you my humble thanks. Meanwhile, I beg of you the favour to give me the necessary advice for the conduct you think I ought to pursue in the absence of my amiable king: I assure you, Sir, I will follow it like an affectionate daughter, perfectly submissive to your will."

March 10.

Philip displayed considerable anxiety to justify his temporary weakness. "I have been much mortified because your majesty appeared to think I should hesitate to separate from the queen, when it was necessary to repair to Italy. Louville can tell you that having, two days after his arrival, represented every thing which would be said here and at Madrid on the departure of the queen, and having asked me whether, if your majesty thought it advantageous for my affairs, I could leave her in Spain? I answered, though such a separation would be painful, from the tenderness I bear her, which is extreme, and which she fully merits, I would leave her, if necessary, for ten years; and that there is no satisfaction or pleasure which I would not sacrifice to drive the Germans from Italy, the sole object of my thoughts and desires.

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"It is true, I was a little embarrassed, to know how the queen would receive a resolution which certainly could not be agreeable to her; but I have found that in spite of her affection for me, she has no other will than mine. So she determined to follow the advice of your majesty without repugnance, and even endeavours to console me. Her resolution is taken, as I have taken mine. I instantly declared that I would separate from the queen to satisfy the Spaniards, since they so ardently desired it; but at the same time would inform my ministers at Madrid, that after having granted them every thing which they could reasonably expect, they should not presume to make further representations against my journey. I wait the arrival of the squadron with impatience."

The success of this opposition to the journey of the queen, however, encouraged Portocarrero to persist in thwarting the design of Philip; and he threw every possible obstacle in the way of the necessary arrangements, with the hope that chagrin and impatience would at length induce him to abandon it. But the crafty politician had widely miscalculated his project; for Philip, after resisting the tears of the queen, pursued his design with a degree of firmness beyond his natural character. It was in vain that expedients were devised to check his ardour, or difficulties raised with regard to money for supplying his expences; he opposed decision to procrastination, and perseverance to obstinacy; and at length wrote to the cardinal in a style which announced his resolution to be obeyed; "I can give no better proof of my desire to satisfy the spaniards, than by leaving my queen. It is the greatest sacrifice I can make. I rely on the zeal of my ministers; while I am ready to shed the last drop of my blood to prevent the dismemberment of the monarchy. Make no more remonstrances against a design so glorious and necessary; and from which I will never recede." March 8, 11.

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"I have," he added, "too good an opinion of you to believe that because you disapprove my journey, you endeavour to frustrate it by withholding the necessary means. But if the people, on whom these supplies depend, should have such views contrary to your intention, inform them in my name, that they will not succeed, for I will dispense with money and attendance. I will embark within two days after the arrival of the vessels destined for my passage."*

It was in vain to oppose a determination so firmly fixed, and Portocarrero and the council reluctantly consented.

This delicate business being settled, other difficulties arose with regard to the form of the government, which was to be established during the absence of the sovereign. It was not thought prudent to leave the reins entirely in the hands of Portocarrero, because he was of so impracticable a character, and communicated with no one except Arias, and an obscure priest employed as his private secretary; and because while he importuned Louis with the minutest details of government, he set the example in murmuring against the interference of France. He was besides so ungracious and unpopular, that it was the common phrase of the nobles, "If the king or queen must be put to nurse, let the nurse herself rather govern, than one of our equals."

Similar objections occurred against placing the supreme authority in the hands of the queen without limitation; because from her extreme youth it was possible she might be influenced by her own family; and at all events it would expose her to the odium of failure without securing to her the merit of success. Equal difficulties were started with regard to the form of the regency. She could not be made regent under the guidance of a single minister, for that minister

* Noailles, v. 2, p. 200—215.

must necessarily be Portocarrero. It was therefore finally decided that the government should be vested in a junta, or council, consisting of Portocarrero; Arias; the marquis of Villafranca, high steward; the duke of Montalto, president of Aragon; the duke of Medina Celi, minister for the department of the Indies; and the count of Monterey, president of Flanders. Of this body the queen was to be the head, with the title of Regent, and the casting voice; and till her arrival in the capital, the conduct of affairs was left to Portocarrero. The three members of the cabinet who had attended Philip in Catalonia, were to proceed with him to Italy*; and in the absence of the count of San Estevan del Puerto, his office of grand master of the queen's household was filled by the count of Montellano, a nobleman whose judgment, moderation, probity, and conciliating manners, had secured the recommendation of both Portocarrero and the princess.

In the midst of these vacillations, and at the application of the archbishop of Saragossa, the queen was appointed lieutenant-general of the province of Aragon, and commissioned to preside in the assembly of the cortes, both with a view to conciliate the Aragonese, and remove her from the cabals and confusion of the capital.

At length all arrangements being completed, Philip departed for Naples; and the queen repaired to Saragossa, having previously issued the summons to the states. April 9. April 25.

Although the people of Aragon testified more affection for the person of the queen, than the Catalans had shewn towards the king; yet the cortes were not less stormy and refractory than those of Barcelona. They indeed expressed great inclination to acede to the royal demand of a donative; but they evinced peculiar jealousy in the most trifling forms, which re-

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2, p. 220.——Ortiz. t. 7, p. 7.

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garded their own privileges; they opposed every proposal which did not accord with their national prejudices and jealousy of the royal authority; and the order of hidalgos or gentry, in particular, which amounted to eight hundred members, might be compared in turbulence to a polish diet. From the accounts of the princess to the court of Versailles, we learn that this branch of the states was equally needy and venal, that a compliance with the demand of the court for a donative of 500,000 crowns would be almost a miracle.

May. June.

But while the queen and her able adviser were struggling against this factious spirit, the unpopularity of Portocarrero and the defects of the government called for their presence in the capital. In consequence of an order from Versailles, the proceedings of the cortes were hurried to a close. Some of the chiefs were gained, the disputes relative to privileges were suspended; the assembly was prorogued, and a verbal donative of 100,000 crowns was voted, not to the king, to avoid the delicate question of privileges, but to the queen. She sent this trifling supply to Philip, and took her leave of the cortes, from whom, amidst all this political discord, she had experienced much personal respect, with the semblance of good humour and satisfaction.

June 17.

"Here I am," she wrote to Louis, "out of Saragossa; and in the way to Madrid, in obedience to your majesty's commands. If I had remained a fortnight longer in Aragon, I should have succeeded in closing the assembly of the states, and sent 500,000 crowns to the king. But I was obliged to content myself with 100,000, and I sent them with much pleasure. I have great reason to be satisfied with the affection which the Aragonese have shewn me; as it was impossible to transact the business with more appearance of respect and a wish to oblige me than they have done.

"I have learnt by a messenger whom the king has sent from Naples, that he is gone from thence to the army which he is to command. You may judge of my anxiety. I pity my sister, who is in a similar situation; she has, however, the consolation to receive more frequent news from the duke of Burgundy than I have from Italy. Your majesty, who governs every thing with so much glory, has so much occupation that I will not make my letter longer."*

Louis had already done justice to the meritorious character of the queen for his past suspicions. He had already told Philip that his marriage was the greatest blessing of his life; that so much good sense, meekness, and complaisance were never before found in so young a person as his consort. His letters to her testified the same admiration, joined with that affectionate esteem which she so highly deserved. To her request for his advice he replied, "I ought rather to give you the praises which you so well merit, than the advice you ask for your future conduct. I am persuaded that you need only follow your own inclinations; but I will not withhold from you the information which I have drawn from my experience, though I am satisfied you will yourself anticipate my counsels, and leave me only to admire and assure you of my affection."

The queen was received at Madrid with a joy amounting almost to enthusiasm; but with the exultation of this reception ended all her unmixed satisfaction. She immediately devoted herself to the duties of government, and assisted several hours daily at the deliberations of the junta; yet great as her difficulties had been at Saragossa, they were still greater at Madrid. With that alacrity of spirit which she never lost, she observes, "This occupation is most honourable, though not very amusing July 8.

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 271.

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for so young a head as mine, particularly as I hear of nothing but pressing wants and the impossibility of satisfying them."

Indeed the difficulties of her situation would have embarrassed a masculine spirit and matured understanding. Portocarrero, though unequal to the weight of business, was yet unwilling to divide his power with others; and displayed on numerous occasions all the obstinacy and impracticability which natural temper and disappointed ambition could inspire. The same endless jarrings as on former occasions existed among the other ministers; and the admiral of Castile drew on himself the hostility of the whole body, by appearing to ingratiate himself with the queen and princess. That fulsome adulation which in the first moments of hope and exultation had been bestowed on every thing which bore the name of french, was now exchanged for the language of complaint and prejudice; and even the respect due to the person and sex of the queen was not sufficient to restrain those members who had been appointed at the instigation of Louis, from accusing France as the cause of all their national misfortunes; and declaring that in defending Spain on one side she ruined her on the other.* This general dissatisfaction hourly gained new force from the precipitate reforms of Orri, and the public interference of the princess in affairs of state; and the embarrassments were increased by the necessity of continual reference to Louis at Versailles, and Philip in Italy, in affairs of the most trifling importance.

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 294.——Targe.——Ortiz. libro 22. cap. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

1702.

Expedition of Philip to Italy—Transactions at Naples—Discontents of the Natives—Not acknowledged by the Pope—Repairs to the Army—Events of the Campaign—Battle of Luzzara—Hypochondriac Malady of Philip—Letter of consolation and advice from Louis.

MEANWHILE Philip experienced scarcely less difficulty and chagrin in his expedition to Italy.

He embarked at Barcelona, and after a passage of seven days, landing at Baiæ, renowned in classic writ, made his triumphal entry into Naples on Easter-day. But his arrival was hailed by none of those acclamations or testimonies of joy which spontaneously proclaim the general affection; for the crowds, who collected on the occasion, were rather drawn together by idle curiosity, than by respect or attachment to their new sovereign.

Even St. Januarius, the popular saint of Naples, or rather the spiritual guardians of his venerated relics, appeared to regard the accession of Philip with a sinister aspect. It is well known that the blood of the saint preserved in a crystal phial, generally liquifies on being brought near the shrine which incloses his head; and this ceremony, which is annually performed on his festival, is considered as a periodical oracle by a superstitious people, who regard the recurrence or failure of the usual miracle, as indicative of the pleasure or displeasure of Heaven.

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Cardinal Cantelmi, archbishop of Naples, considering that the exhibition of this miracle would produce a favourable effect on the people, induced the king publicly to visit the shrine, in order to witness the liquefaction. But, notwithstanding the efficacy of repeated masses, the miraculous blood still preserved its solidity; and after waiting several hours in anxious expectation, Philip was obliged to retire without witnessing the usual token of supernatural approbation*. To add to his mortification and disappointment, the liquefaction took place soon after he had quitted the church. This failure made a deep impression on the minds of the Neapolitans, nor was it wholly removed, notwithstanding the zeal of Philip led him a second time to the shrine, though in a less public manner, and the miracle was performed with the usual success.

Philip proclaimed a general amnesty to all concerned in the late insurrection. He diminished some imposts, and reformed various abuses in the administration of justice. He procured a decree from the Pope, uniting St. Januarius with St. James in the spiritual guardianship of the spanish monarchy†. He also heaped his favours on many of the nobles; and throwing off his natural reserve, endeavoured to captivate the people by frequent and public exhibitions of his person, and by joining in the royal diversion of the chace.

But nothing could warm the hearts of the people, or win the affection of the nobles. His reforms only spread dissatisfaction; his favours only occasioned selfish disputes and party feuds. He experienced as little encouragement from the head of the church, the feudal lord of Naples, whose approbation has generally been deemed, by the neapolitan sovereigns, a necessary

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 236.——Targe, t. 2, p. 125.

† Memorial of the Chapter of St. Jago to Charles 3, on the Patronate of the Virgin Mary.——Busching's Mag. v. 1, p. 202.

confirmation of their title, and an useful expedient to retain the fidelity of a people equally devout and changeable.

Louville was dispatched to Rome to announce the accession of Philip, and to request the papal approbation. But Clement the eleventh, however favourably inclined to the House of Bourbon, was overawed by the vicinity of the imperial army, and declined taking a step which might compromise his authority, or expose him to the resentment of the emperor. He, indeed, acknowledged Philip as catholic king, sent a legate to present the customary compliments, and received his agents and ministers; but no argument could induce him to accept the usual tribute, or grant the formal investiture of the kingdom of the two Sicilies. To give, however, a public proof of good understanding with the head of the church, Philip himself, at the head of a numerous cavalcade, met the legate without the gate of the city, accompanied him on horseback under the same canopy, and attended with him the public celebration of mass in the cathedral.

Notwithstanding all these demonstrations, the king and his adherents were fully sensible of the frail tenure on which he held this precarious throne. Popular discontent excited suspicion in the government; and the suspicion of the government, in return, aggravated the popular discontent. Rumours were continually spread of plots and conspiracies, and even an accidental whisper, or slight denunciation, was sufficient to spread alarm into the very cabinet. Many persons were arrested, and precautions on precautions were employed to secure the personal safety of the king; but from the fear of public resentment, or want of substantial proofs, no execution took place, and only a few were banished, or incurred the displeasure of the court *.

* Ortiz, lib. 22, c. 1.——St. Philippe, v. 1, p. 155—160.

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The season for military operations returning, Philip with alacrity quitted Naples, where he had experienced only ingratitude, mortification, and apprehension, to take the command of the army in Lombardy. On the 2nd of June, he embarked on board a galley; and after visiting the spanish presidii or garrisons, on the coast and isles of Tuscany, landed at Finale, in the genoese territories, and was welcomed by that republic, with the honours paid to crowned heads. Here he received the homage of the prince of Vaudemont and the nobles of the Milanese; and gave an instance of his magnanimity. Some german officers, recently made prisoners, being presented to him, he said, "I should regret that my presence should be of no advantage to you. I restore you to liberty; return to the imperial army; and tell my cousin, prince Eugene, that he will soon see me at the head of my troops."

After passing the Appenines, he held a conference with his father in law, the duke of Savoy, and at Alessandria, was welcomed by the duchess and the count of Turin. But harmony was banished from these meetings by the rigid rules of etiquette. In consequence of a dispute, on matters of ceremony, the duke captiously refused to assist at a public entertainment given to Philip, and the next morning returned in disgust to Turin. From Alessandria, Philip repaired to Milan, and after taking possession of the government, went to join the army, which was already in motion to expel the imperialists from the duchy of Mantua† July.

By a happy effort of spirit and skill, Eugene, the imperial general, in the spring of 1701, had traversed the mountains bordering the Vicentino, driven the united french and sardinians beyond the Oglio, and established himself in Lombardy; and

† St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 155—161.——St. Simon, t. 3, p. 183.——Targe, t. 2, p. 120—134.

the winter was passed by both armies in a vigorous struggle for the possession of Mantua, which was defended by Tessé with equal capacity and resolution. Eugene made a bold attempt to surprise Cremona, the french head quarters, forced his way into the town, and captured the general, marshal Villeroy; but this design was foiled by an error in the march of one of his columns, and by the spirited resistance of the french troops. After this failure he redoubled his exertions for the reduction of Mantua, occupied the principal posts along the course of the Oglio, and the northern part of the duchy, and gradually circumscribed the french garrisons to the two fortresses of Mantua and Goito.

Feb. 1.

In this situation, the enterprising Vendome was sent to replace Villeroy; and an army of 50,000 men poured into Italy. When the season would allow him to act, he advanced towards the imperialists, drove them from the banks of the Mincio, relieved Mantua and Goito, and reduced Eugene to concentrate his force in the Seraglio, or territory between Mantua and the Po.

May 23.

Confiding in his superiority, he made active preparations to expel the imperialists from Italy. He left a corps in the north of the Mantuan, to divide the attention of Eugene, and cut off his communication with Germany; and then directed his march to make himself master of the district south of the Po, from whence the imperialists drew their principal supplies. Here Philip joined the army, and assumed the nominal command; and new enterprises were formed to grace the presence of the spanish monarch.

June 11.

July 3.

The army crossed to the south of the Po, and, descending its course, obliged a corps of imperialists posted near Bercello, to withdraw to Vittoria. A detachment was sent against this corps, and by a rapid march, under the most intense heat, succeeded in

July 18.

July 26.

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surprising them; and, after an obstinate skirmish, killed, captured or dispersed the whole. Of this action Philip sent a modest account to Versailles, which was eagerly published by the court as the first proof of his spirit.*

Every movement now became of increasing importance. The french detachments reduced the posts in the Modenese; and the army re-united at Testa to the number of 35,000 men. As these movements induced Eugene to pass the Po,

Aug. 1. and concentrate his whole force, amounting to 25,000 men, at Sallietto, Vendome resolved to profit by his superiority, and risk an engagement, or compel his antagonist to fall back into the Mantuan. With this view the french army

Aug. 15. quitted Testa at midnight, passed the Parmegiana and the Tagliata, and proceeded in two columns, the right conducted by Crequi, the left by Tessé. Vendome himself headed the advanced guard, which was detached to mark out the camp; and the cavalry scoured the country on the flanks. Arriving at the castle of Luzzara, which was garrisoned by 500 austrians, Vendome summoned it to surrender, but was answered by a discharge of musketry. Not inclined however to employ himself in reducing a petty post which must fall in a few hours, he proceeded forward, and ordered the encampment to be marked out between Luzzara, and a large dike bordering the canal of the Zero, intending the next morning to pursue his march against the imperialists, who, as he supposed, were still posted on the southern bank of the Po.

Aug. 14-15. Meanwhile Eugene was accurately apprised of his movements, and formed the bold design of surprising the Bourbon army, after it had occupied its incampment, at the moment when the arms were piled, and the troops dispersed for forage and refreshment. Such a surprise would have led to their

* Hist. of Europe, 1702, p. 286.

total ruin, and chance alone prevented its success. When the camp was marked out, an adjutant mounted the dike from mere curiosity, and observed the imperialists disposed for the attack, the infantry lying on their faces, and the cavalry beyond in order of battle, partly exposed to view, partly covered by the intervening dikes and inclosures.*

The alarm was instantly given; the advanced guard resumed the arms which they had already begun to pile; and Vendome sent pressing orders to hasten the march of the columns. The troops were ranged as they arrived, the left supported on the Po; the right, where Philip assisted in person, extending nearly parallel to the Zero, and the principal part of the cavalry in an open space beyond.

Eugene, though discovered at the very moment of success, was not daunted or embarrassed by this untoward event. Aware that the broken nature of the ground would confine the conflict principally to infantry, and relying on the confusion which so sudden an onset must occasion, he ordered his troops to advance, traversed the Zero over five bridges previously constructed, scaled the dike, and while he occupied the right of the Bourbon army with a false attack, directed his principal effort against their left, with the intention of cutting them off from the Po, and charging that wing in front, flank, and rear.

Between six and seven in the evening the engagement began, and was vigorously sustained by both sides. Alternate charges and retreats took place, the troops joining wherever the ground would permit, with little attention to order; and in one instance they were so closely wedged together as scarcely to be

* This singular circumstance could scarcely be credited, were it not confirmed by the general accounts, and still more by two of the chief actors, Tessé and Eugene. Tessé 1. p. 341.——Memoires du P. Eugene, ecrits par lui-même, an. 1702.

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able to employ the bayonet. The conflict raged with great fury, till night and fatigue separated the combatants. Eugene intrenched himself in front of the Zero, and the combined army followed his example, at a small distance behind the field of battle.

The duke of Savoy, who headed his own troops, fought with his usual bravery, and Vendome, who performed the part of a general and soldier, by his skill and activity turned the fortune of the day. If we may give credit also to the french and spanish writers, Philip in this first essay of his arms gave proofs of great personal bravery, as well as patience of fatigue. He exposed himself to the hottest fire, with such rashness, that after ineffectual intreaties, his attendants hurried him away to a place of greater safety. But he still hovered near the contending ranks; continued forty hours without sleep, and almost without refreshment; and when at length he retired to repose, an officer was killed by a random shot in the adjoining apartment.

Both sides claimed the honours of the day, and both returned public thanksgivings for a victory. The number of killed and wounded, in each army, was nearly equal, and the loss in superior officers peculiarly severe; Crequi and three french generals being killed, and Tessé wounded, besides many of inferior rank; and of the imperialists several valuable officers fell in the engagement, among whom Eugene laments the prince of Commerci as his best friend and ablest general.

Eugene indeed remained last on the field, but the fruits of victory were reaped by the combined army; and the capture of Luzzara, Borgoforte and Guastalla, decided the advantage in their favour.

Aug. 17. Sept. 9.

At the siege of Borgoforte the young king particularly distinguished himself. He visited the trenches, animated the soldiers

by his presence and bounty, and had the satisfaction to witness its surrender. The remainder of the season was employed in reducing the rest of the places held by the imperialists south of the Po; and at the close of the campaign, the reduction of Governolo, by the prince of Vaudemont, cut off their only communication with the country on the north.

Two days after the battle of Luzzara, Philip quitted the army and repaired to Milan, on his return to his own kingdom *.

During this expedition he experienced the first symptoms of that hypochondriac malady to which he was afterwards subject. This disorder, which was originally derived from an hereditary defect of constitution, was aggravated by his absence from his queen †, and by the chagrin and anxiety which he experienced during his stay at Naples. It was accompanied by the usual symptoms, a disgust for life, yet dread of death, with the illusions of a disordered imagination, which all the care and solicitude of his attendants, and the consolations of Louis could not conquer. The occupations of the campaign produced a temporary relief; but at Milan the malady returned, and he carried into Spain the seeds of a disorder, which was never eradicated from his constitution.

Indolence and apathy were the natural companions of this distressing malady, and they became still stronger, because from constitution and habit, he was taciturn and reserved. "Philip," it was justly said by a female relative who knew him well in his early youth, "has a good disposition, and is an excellent prince; but he is subject to melancholy, and ought to have about him persons of understanding; for the qualities

* Different accounts in the State of Europe for 1702, p. 307. 340.——St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 168.——Memoires de Tessé, t. 1. ch. 6.——Vie du Prince Eugene ecrite par lui-même.——Memoires de Fenquieres, t. 3, p. 336.

† St. Simon, t. 3, p. 189.

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of the heart do not always supply the want of those of the head. If you wish to make him speak you must importune, and even vex him, otherwise he says nothing*."

With a prince of such a character and disposition, it was in vain that Louis the fourteenth employed parental authority and affectionate exhortation.

The following letter is one among the number of these earnest, but ineffectual remonstrances. "During the campaign, you have answered all the expectations I had formed of your courage; and, indeed, the proofs you have given, shew you worthy of the blood from which you are derived, and of the throne on which God has placed you. The zeal of the Spaniards seems to augment in proportion to the glory you have acquired; and I give you with pleasure, before your return to Spain, those praises which I was previously persuaded you would deserve, whenever you made yourself known. From me such praises will not be suspected.

"But while I praise your deserts, I am no less bound to acquaint you with your defects; my regard for you, as well as your confidence in me, requires it. No other person will tell you, what I can say to you; and therefore you would have just reason to complain of my silence, if I did not lay before you the evil which you have it in your power to correct. We must only maintain strict silence with regard to what passes between us on this subject.

"It is not sufficient that you have displayed valour at the head of your armies, you must also, for your own glory, strive to re-establish your affairs, and will never succeed without great pains and extreme application. You yourself are witness of the numerous disorders originating in the indolence of the kings, your predecessors; take warning by their example,

* Fragmens des Lettres originales de Mad. la Duchesse d'Orleans.

and remedy by an opposite conduct, the ruinous effects which they have intailed on the spanish monarchy.

"But I confess to you with concern, that while you freely expose yourself to the perils of war, you want courage to combat this odious vice, which overpowers and prevents you from applying to business. In a word, I speak it with pain, but I am informed that your letters to me as well as those to the queen are written by Louville. While he was here, I received several from you, and so I know you do not stand in need of assistance to write well. But the public will think differently; and you must not flatter yourself that the public will remain ignorant of such reports, which must be generally known before they can reach me; for none will be anxious to convey similar intelligence. Judge then how these reports will injure your reputation; reflect on the chagrin of the queen should she be informed of this want of your confidence and affection.

"You have no enemy so great as idleness; if it overpowers you, your affairs are ruined; and then you will lose the reputation you have already acquired by your courage. These hints I ought to give you as well from my affection, as to remind you of your duty to call forth your own application, if you expect me to continue my succours. Be convinced then that I shall never feel greater joy, than when I see you, in every particular, such as I have always anxiously desired."*

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 2. p. 255, 308.

CHAPTER VII.

1701—1702.

Impolitic conduct of Louis towards the Maritime Powers—Mission of D'Avaux to Holland—Origin and formation of the Grand Alliance between England, Austria, and Holland—Death of William—Declaration of War against France and Spain—Campaign in the Netherlands and Germany—Expedition of the Allies against Cadiz—Destruction of the Flota at Vigo—Defection of the Admiral of Castile—Discontents in Spain—Recal of Marsin and appointment of the Cardinal d'Estrees as Embassador to Philip—His Instructions.

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PHILIP did not continue with the army till the close of the campaign; for his presence became again necessary at Madrid, in consequence of the change which had taken place in Europe, in general, and Spain in particular.

When Louis accepted the testament of Charles the second, and placed his grandson on the throne of Spain; it became his interest by a prudent and moderate conduct to obviate the jealousy of other states, and to lessen those apprehensions which his past aggressions had excited, and which were now aggravated by the union of two powerful crowns in the same family. But fortunately for the independence of Europe he haughtily despised this obvious policy; he disdained to regard

the feelings of other nations, and hurried forward to the accomplishment of his project of universal dominion, equally inattentive to the maxims of prudence, and the respect due to the most solemn engagements.

Before the departure of Philip to take possession of the spanish throne, Louis issued a formal act reserving all the rights of his grandson to the crown of France, in default of issue male to his brother, without adverting to past renunciations, or indicating the slightest precaution to prevent the union of the two crowns on the same head.*

Louis was aware that nothing could more alarm the dutch than the prospect, however distant, that the spanish Netherlands would fall under the domination of France. Yet instead of soothing their alarm, he had not only taken forcible possession of the Netherlands, and obtained an injunction from the court of Madrid placing those important provinces at his disposition; but he constructed new works even within sight of their fortresses, collected magazines, increased his army, and displayed proofs of a resolution to resume his former hostile designs against the republic.†

Above all, it was his interest to avoid irritating England, from whose neutrality under the venal reign of Charles, he had derived such essential advantages, in his wars against the House of Austria; and from whose complicated government and contending parties, he had little to fear, while he disguised his ambitious designs, or avoided trenching on her commercial interests. So far indeed had this maxim been successful, that he had seen a powerful and high-minded nation waste its strength and resources in internal struggles; and all the abilities

* History of Europe, for 1701, p. 2.

† Lamberti, t. 1. p. 475. Letter from the States General to the king of Great Britain, 13th April 1701.

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and spirit of his able and inveterate enemy, William, obliged to bend to the rule of a predominant party.

Instead, however, of pursuing this judicious system, he displayed his controul over the spanish counsels by appropriating those sources of commercial wealth, which the two maritime powers had hitherto exclusively enjoyed or shared; by establishing french companies trading to Peru and Mexico; by wresting from the dutch the Asiento for the supply of negroes to the spanish colonies; and by excluding the ships of both the maritime powers from the spanish ports.

Interest and apprehension roused that feeling which had slumbered at the calls of honour and policy. The English began to tremble for the loss of their commercial profits; the forcible occupation of the Netherlands at once called forth a sentiment of alarm and indignation; and the people, as if awakened from a deep lethargy, began to appreciate the danger, arising from the union of the two great and powerful monarchies, formerly rivals, but now directed by the same head, and actuated by the same spirit.

William profited by this change in the public sentiment, and though shackled by a tory parliament, and thwarted by perverse factions, found means to obtain supplies, and to mature the preparations for a contest which he foresaw was inevitable. By his influence, subsidiary treaties were concluded with Denmark, Holland, and Brandenburg, and essential aid given to Leopold in combating the french influence in the empire.

Louis hoped to weaken or divert this rising spirit, by recurring to his usual artifice; and sent his minister d'Avaux to the Hague to enter into a negociation with the states general. But times and circumstances were changed. The hopes of the monarch and the address of the minister were baffled by the cordial union of the maritime powers, and by a clear and

Feb. 1701.

June.

positive demand of cessions, which would have frustrated all the plans of France. Satisfaction was required for the emperor according to the treaty of partition; the french troops were to be withdrawn from the Netherlands, and replaced by spaniards, walloons, or natives, or by those of the maritime powers, at the option of the king of Spain; Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, and other principal fortresses, to be occupied by the dutch; and Ostend and Neuport by the english; and the crown of France was to be precluded from acquiring under any title or pretence, any place or territory belonging to Spain, particularly the low countries. Finally, the dutch were to be restored to the same footing in Spain, as in the reign of Charles the second, and a power was reserved to amplify or change these demands, if necessary, in the future negotiation.

At the moment when the french minister took his departure, William repaired to Holland, and speedily united the different branches of his great political system, by the Grand Alliance, concluded at the Hague between England, Austria, and the States General. The public mind was not yet sufficiently prepared for the developement of that plan, which involved the safety and interest of all parties at issue against France; and therefore this treaty was conceived in cautious and general terms: to secure satisfaction to the House of Austria for its claims on the spanish monarchy; to wrest the Netherlands from France; to prevent the union of the two crowns under the same government; and to hinder France from appropriating any part of the spanish West Indies.

June 14.

Sept. 7.

A few days after the signature of this treaty, Louis gave a new and public insult to the people of England, by acknowledging the pretended prince of Wales as king of England, on the death of his father, James the second, in breach of his solemn promise at the peace of Ryswick.

Sept. 17.

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This outrage kindled the national feeling into enthusiasm. William, returning to England, dissolved the tory parliament, and appealed with success to the people: at length the

Dec. british monarch and parliament ventured to avow the objects of their policy, and to speak a language becoming a great and injured nation. Liberal succours of men and money were granted; the recent treaties were approved; the pretended prince of Wales attainted; and the celebrated act of abjuration passed, to exclude for ever the re-establishment of a family supported by the public enemy.

William, though declining in health, did not suffer this spirit to subside, nor the enemy to anticipate him at the commencement of the contest. He sent 10,000 men to Holland, under the command of the earl of Marlborough, and was preparing to organize and direct the operations of the war in person, when

March 19. 1702. his death robbed the british nation of one of the ablest princes who had ever worn its diadem.

This event, however, did not frustrate the plan which he had so essentially contributed to mature; for the power was transferred to those who were equally able to fulfil his designs, and who, however differing on petty and secondary questions, unanimously felt the necessity of reducing the overgrown power of the french monarchy, and establishing an effectual barrier against its future aggrandizement. Anne, the successor of William, a princess of weak understanding, and secretly attached to the claims of her family, was induced by personal esteem, and partiality, to entrust the whole administration to Marlborough and Godolphin, one as profound in the details of finance and internal government, as the other was distinguished in foreign policy and the art of war. They found a statesman guided by their own principles in pensionary Heinsius, and, by his intervention, England and Holland continued as cordially united, as when governed by the same head.

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At the same time, the emperor employed all his resources to forward the objects of the grand alliance. He gradually gained the majority of the german princes, forced the elector of Bavaria to enter into a treaty of neutrality, and drew from the diet of Ratisbon a declaration of war against Louis the Fourteenth, and against Philip, as the usurper of the spanish throne. The same day witnessed a similar denunciation at London, Vienna, and the Hague. May 15, 1702.

France and Spain were not less active than their antagonists, in preparing for hostilities. Reinforcements were detached into Italy, and an army of 45,000 men collected to cover the frontier, on the side of Germany; but in the Netherlands, the most vigorous efforts were made for offensive operations, and the duke of Burgundy, assisted by marshal Boufflers, was appointed to the command of the army, which amounted to 60,000 men.

However, the promptitude of the allies deranged all the measures of the Bourbon Courts, and prevented them from gaining those decisive advantages, which France had hitherto acquired, by a rapid and vigorous aggression, at the commencement of a war.

At the opening of the campaign, the duke of Burgundy made a movement against Nimeguen. But being forced to retire before Marlborough, at the head of 60,000 allies, he returned to court to avoid the dishonour of a defeat; and in the course of the campaign, Kaiserswerth, Venloo, Ruremond, Sevenswerth, Maseich, and Liege, were wrested from the French.

While the allies were thus successful in the Netherlands, the french army in Alsace, was obliged to witness the capture of Landau, which, after an obstinate defence of forty days, surrendered to the king of the Romans. It seemed probable that the imperialists would take up their winter quarters in Alsace, Sept. 10.

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and that in the ensuing campaign, the whole force of the allies would have united in Loraine, to assail the most vulnerable part of the french frontier. But at this juncture, the fortune of the war was turned by an irruption of the elector of Bavaria, who broke his constrained neutrality, and occupying Ulm and Memmingen, endeavoured to open a communication with the french army in Alsace. The danger arising from this sudden irruption was indeed diverted by the skill of the german commanders, and by the refusal of the Swiss, to allow the bavarian troops to traverse their territories; but the plan of operations was frustrated; the imperialists were forced to winter in Suabia, while the French secured themselves in Alsace, and detached a body of troops to cover their frontier on the side of the Moselle.

While these efforts were made in the Netherlands and Germany, a powerful expedition was fitted out, to execute a plan formed under the auspices of William, at the suggestion of the admiral of Castile, and the prince of Darmstadt. This design was to effect a landing near Cadiz, to reduce that fortress and the Isle of Leon; and, having formed a place of arms, to penetrate into the neighbouring districts, and rouse the people against a bourbon prince. The influence of the admiral, the connections formed in the southern provinces, as well as the general discontent, justified the hope that the allies would soon be joined by a numerous party, who only wanted the security of a protecting force to declare themselves. The fleet consisted of fifty ships of war, english and dutch, with a numerous convoy of transports, carrying 14,000 troops of the two nations, provided with every requisite for the enterprise. The command of the fleet was intrusted to sir George Rooke for the english, and admiral Allemond for the dutch; of the land forces to sir Harry Bellasis and general Sparre; and the supreme direction was vested in the duke of Ormond. They

sailed on the 1st of July, were joined by the prince of Darmstadt from Lisbon, and anchoring in the bay of Cadiz, immediately endeavoured to gain the chief officers of the neighbouring districts, particularly the marquis of Villadarias, governor of Andalusia, Don Scipio Brancaccio, governor of Cadiz, and Don Felix Vallaro, commandant of the cavalry.

Notwithstanding the extensive preparations of the maritime powers, so great was the apathy of the nation, or the improvidence of the government, that in the first moment of alarm, the marquis of Villadarias could only collect 150 foot and 30 horse; the garrison of Cadiz amounted only to 300 men, without provisions or stores; no magazines were formed for assembling the militia; in a word, at the approach of a bloody war, and at the eve of a dangerous attack, the country was in a more unprovided state, than an internal province in the midst of the most profound peace.

But the queen, though only in her fourteenth year, and at the head of a weak and distracted government, displayed a spirit and resources worthy of a mature age. She convoked the cabinet, declared that she would herself repair to Andalusia, and perish in its defence, she offered her jewels for sale, and by her eloquence and example, infused animation into the most sluggish of her ministers. All vied in offering their lives and property; even the admiral of Castile, to avoid suspicion, found it necessary to make a tender of his services. Portocarrero raised and maintained six squadrons of horse; the bishop of Cordova a regiment of infantry, and the nobles, ecclesiastics, and people, followed the example. Supplies were thrown into Cadiz, the militia armed by private persons, and a general rising took place throughout the country more immediately threatened with an attack.

All these exertions, however, would have been too late, had

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the powerful armament of the allies been promptly brought into action, or directed with spirit and prudence. But the very commencement of the expedition, proved that the chiefs were ill adapted to the delicate task of raising and forming a party against an established government; and that the original planners of the design had been equally deceived with regard to the dispositions of the people. The british admiral was avowedly hostile to the expedition, and the principal officers were without concert or cordiality. As the whole progress of the armament had been marked by delays and hesitation, so long debates and tedious examinations preceded the debarkation, which was effected in the Bay of Bulls. The prince of Darmstadt was the first who set foot on shore, exclaiming, "I swore to enter by Catalonia into Madrid; now I will go by Madrid to Catalonia*:" and a manifesto was published, declaring that the allies came not as enemies, but to deliver the people of Spain from the dominion of a bourbon prince.

The event shewed, however, that the object of the commanders was rather plunder than glory. The village of St. Mary, whither the citizens of Cadiz had removed their most valuable effects, became the first object of cupidity; the chiefs themselves setting a dishonourable example. The churches were violated; the images and sacred ornaments profaned; and females, dedicated to religion, exposed to the brutal licentiousness of the soldiery. A similar fate attended Rota and Fort St. Catherine, and some faint attempts were made against Matagorda, and the forts on that side of the Bay.

The consequences of these outrages, among a people who more patiently submit to injuries against their persons and property, than the profanation of their religion, might easily have been foreseen. Those who perhaps only waited for the first

* St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 184.

signal success to declare themselves, were deterred by the hesitation and disunion of the allied commanders, and the odium excited by their misconduct. The neighbouring peasantry were irritated by the exactions of the soldiery; and still more by their outrages against the churches, and objects of worship. The delays of the allies afforded time to secure the ships and gallies in the inner harbour; while under the direction of count Ferdinand Nuñez, they essentially contributed to the defence. Measures were taken to secure the entrance of the port, and repair the works on the land side; while the marquis of Villadarias, at the head of a small body of cavalry, which he had suddenly collected, hovered round the invaders, and prevented them from obtaining the slightest intelligence from the interior. In this situation, divided among themselves, baffled in their design, if any was really formed against Cadiz, execrated and shunned like a pestilence by the people, and alarmed by the inconsiderable but active force under Villadarias, success was hopeless. After a vain attempt to force a passage into the harbour, they re-embarked in disorder and disgrace, and directed their course towards England, leaving in the minds of the people an indelible prejudice against the cause and connections of the archduke. The governor of Rota, the only person who appears to have embraced their party, was negligently left behind, and made an immediate sacrifice by his offended countrymen.*

In the passage of the allies off the coast of Portugal they were apprised of the arrival of the flota from America under the command of Don Manuel Velasco, which being excluded from the usual port of Cadiz, had directed its course to the coast of Gallicia, under the convoy of a french fleet; and on the intelligence of the proximity of the allies took refuge in the Sept. 22.

* St. Philippe, v. 1. p. 181—190.——Hist. of Europe for 1702, p. 310—348.

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open harbour of Vigo. A resolution was instantly taken to attack an armament, which offered an irresistible temptation for plunder.

The fleet in Vigo consisted of 10 french ships of the line, forming part of the escort, besides the galleons, which were likewise armed, and the cargo was valued at £.3,500,000 sterling in bullion, exclusive of merchandise. This valuable property might have been secured, had not the chamber of indian commerce at Cadiz, from a jealousy of its privileges, forbidden the disembarkation. Every precaution, however, which time and circumstances would permit, was taken for its security. The ships of war were moored in proper situations for defence; a boom was thrown across the harbour, and the dilapidated forts or castles which commanded it, were garrisoned by the military. But these precautions were insufficient to resist so powerful an armament as the combined fleet, and troops who were stimulated by the hopes of plunder, and eager to wipe off their recent disgrace. The boom was broken by the first effort, while a land force scaled the forts, and the fleet advanced against the ships moored in the passage. All hope of resistance or escape being vain, the french set fire to their ships and took refuge on shore, and a similar attempt was made to destroy the galleons. In the midst of the scene of carnage and destruction which ensued, the victors succeeded in securing nine of the ships of war and six galleons; but a considerable portion of the property was either sunk or plundered by the peasantry after it was conveyed on shore. Having made a vain attempt to recover a part of the effects, the victors completed the destruction of the ships, re-embarked, and directed their course to England.

Although some of the merchandise and bullion belonged to English and Dutch merchants; yet the loss was of serious con-

sequence to the king of Spain, for he was thus deprived of the principal part of his american revenue, at a moment of great distress; and having lost the last remnant of his naval force, he was reduced to throw the trade of the colonies into the hands of the french, to the great detriment of his own subjects. *

These public disasters aggravated and inflamed the national discontents; and the most fatal symptoms of alarm and disaffection were heightened by the open defection of some of the principal grandees. Among these the most remarkable was the admiral of Castile,† whose vast possessions, splendid talents, and high descent, rendered him one of the most powerful and distinguished members of the nobility. After figuring in the late reign as the dispenser of court favour, and the confident of the queen; and after contending with Portocarrero for superiority, the accession of the new sovereign had exposed him to the vengeance of his political rival. Under the pretext of his attachment to the House of Austria, he had been deprived of the office of master of the horse, and the opposition of the court of Versailles alone prevented his exile.

Though he deeply felt these mortifications, and continued his correspondence with the court of Vienna, he made overtures either real or feigned to the new government, and even ingratiated himself with the queen and the princess Orsini.

These symptoms of reviving favour alarmed Portocarrero, and became the signal of his disgrace. To remove him from the centre of his influence into a species of honourable exile, he was nominated embassador to the court of Versailles, by the express order of Louis, at the suggestion of Portocarrero. The consciousness of his own duplicity, and of the implacable

* St. Philippe, v. 1. p. 201—209.——History of Europe, p. 387.

† Don John Thomas Henrique de Cabrera, count of Melgar and duke of Medina de Rio Seco.

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spirit of his antagonist, excited his apprehensions; he considered this appointment as the prelude to his arrest and imprisonment, in a country remote from his connections and influence. He affected to accept the office, made preparations for the journey, and collected money and jewels to a considerable amount. He took his departure towards Bayonne, but had no sooner reached the point where the road branches off to Portugal, than he devised a pretext for changing his route, and turning into Portugal, entered Lisbon with a train of three hundred attendants and an hundred and fifty carriages, accompanied by his cousin the count of Corzana. He was received with the consideration due to his high rank and powerful influence, and after declaring the will of Charles the second a forgery by Portocarrero, he transferred his allegiance to the archduke, as Charles the third, and published in justification of his conduct, a bitter satire against the Bourbon government. His nephew, Don Pascal Henriquez, son of the marquis of Alcanizas, was alarmed at this decisive step, and quitted him at Zamora, to return to the court of Philip; but the number of his partizans increased, and his example was followed by his friend and confident the duke of Moles, who filled the spanish embassy at Vienna.

The conduct of this powerful noble, the number of his dependants, the extent of his influence, and the consequences expected from his example, excited the most serious alarm at the court of Madrid, and his flight was regarded by all parties as the signal for a general defection among the grandees, and the prelude to a civil war.*

This series of unfortunate events rendered the presence of

* St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 72—200.——Desormeaux, t. 5. p. 224.——Ortiz. lib. 22. cap. 1 and 2.——Targe.——History of Europe for 1702, p. 396, where the reader will find his Letter to the queen regent of Spain.

Philip necessary in his capital, and he received the usual mandate of the court of Versailles to accelerate his departure from Italy. But as the attempts of Louis to rouse him from his apathy were far from being intended to awaken a spirit of independence, new and more refined precautions were adopted to sway his mind, and to maintain the influence of France over the spanish counsels.

A new principle of policy was now adopted by the french cabinet. Hitherto the misinformation and prejudices of its agents had given an erroneous impression of the spanish character, as if capable of yielding to every species of contempt and insult, and tamely submitting to any hand which might direct the government. But the recent events in Europe, and still more the rising discontents in Spain, together with the spirit manifested during the late invasion, had taught the french court to respect the voice of a people whose character they had misunderstood and despised. Orders were accordingly given to repress the petulance of Louville; and Marsin, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the spaniards, found it necessary to tender his resignation.

The precautions which accompanied the choice of the new embassador shew, that the french were now as attentive, as they had been before indifferent, to the feelings of the spaniards. The cardinal d'Estrées was selected for the mission, as well in consequence of the political talents which he had manifested in the embassies of Rome and Venice, as on account of his former intimacy with the princess Orsini at Rome. He joined Philip, as if from a motive of respect, at Milan; and was invited to assist at the deliberations of the cabinet council. Philip seemed to be charmed with his talents and manners; offered him the place of embassador, and condescended to employ his own influence in obtaining the acquiescence of the

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spanish ministers. The cardinal thus appeared to owe his nomination less to the choice of the court of Versailles, than to his superior merit, and to the request of Philip, sanctioned by the approbation of his principal courtiers.

The memoir of instructions to the new embassador, forms a supplement to those of Marsin, and shews the essential change which was now introduced in the political relations of the two countries.

It commences with a reference to the complaints against Marsin and Louville. "Since the departure of Philip to Italy, the spaniards bitterly complain against Louville; they censure the violence of his temper, his pride, and particularly his contempt of their nation. You will examine into their complaints. Should Louville have abused the confidence of Philip; should he have alienated the people from their king, he must be recalled. If these complaints are merely derived from envy, he must be charged to restrain himself in future; and you may usefully employ his agency to convey to the king of Spain, what you cannot communicate in person.

"Although the count of Marsin unites to his prudence all the requisite qualities, he has not been able to prevent the spaniards from considering him as one of those who have most contributed to prejudice their sovereign against them; and he himself avows that his return to Spain would injure the public service, because the warmth of his zeal has drawn on him the resentment of the whole spanish nation.

"The king, it is said, estranges the spaniards from his service, by his marked preference to his countrymen. It seems as if his subjects are insupportable to him; at least they complain of his indifference, and many adduce this reason to excuse their return to Madrid, instead of following him into the field. They declare that since Philip has quitted Madrid he has

ceased to use their language, and has displayed an extreme contempt for their nation. He is cold, the spaniards are reserved, there is no band of union betwixt them; and their national antipathy to the french is increased by this partiality.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"The king must exert himself to gain the friendship of the spaniards. If he feels little regard for them, he ought to conceal his sentiments; to recollect that he must pass his life among them, that he reigns over them. He must endeavour to form them; to call their talents into action. They will become still more incapable, and their zeal will be extinguished, if they are not supported by the hope of obtaining his approbation. Spain has produced as many great men as any other country, and may yet produce more. The king is young, and if he applies himself will soon see a favourable change of affairs. His friendship for the french is laudable; for he must never forget his birth, and indeed it is just that he should love a people who shed their blood for him; but his friendship for France ought to inspire him with the desire of promoting the union between France and Spain, while by openly preferring the french he will increase the antipathy of the spaniards against them, which is already too strong."

After praising the queen as she deserved, and declaring that since Philip must be governed, he will be better governed by her than by another person; it is represented as a fortunate circumstance that she is attached to the princess Orsini, than whom "no one is more worthy of confidence or more fitted to inspire her with proper sentiments;" and a wish is expressed that the cardinal should act in concert with the princess.

"Orri," it is added, "sees the necessity of relieving the people of Madrid from the imposts with which they are loaded, and he has proposed expedients to this effect. This is one of the reso-

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lutions which the king of Spain ought to adopt and execute without delay; for the ill effects of the early reforms in the commencement of his reign are evident. The abuses of the state must be corrected, but cannot be reformed at once: utter ruin is too often the consequence of precipitation."

The memorial concludes with expressing a full conviction, that the cardinal will display the same zeal as in his former employments, and with stating the extreme delicacy and importance of the embassy, as the reasons which had induced the king of France to select him as the fittest and most able person in his whole kingdom *.

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 334—340.

CHAPTER VIII.

1703.

Philip returns to Madrid, accompanied by the new French Embassador, the Cardinal d'Estrees—Situation of the Princess Orsini—Cabals of the Cardinal and the French Agents against her—Correspondence between the two Courts on this subject—Recal of the Cardinal d'Estrees, who is supplanted by his Nephew the Abbot—Retreat of Portocarrero and Arias; favour of Montellano; and change of the Spanish Ministry—Disputes between the new Embassador and the Princess—Displeasure of Louis—Philip's account of his Court—Recal of the Embassador and Louville—Resolution to recal the Princess.

PHILIP returning from Milan, received at Genoa the disastrous news of the destruction of the fleet at Vigo. He hastened his journey, landed at Antibes, and took the route through Catalonia to Saragossa. Here he was urged to close the cortes which had been opened by the queen, but he declined a measure which was probably expected to lead to a demand of further privileges, and by this refusal, left an unfavourable impression in the minds of his aragonese subjects*. Being received at Madrid with every demonstration of joy and affection, he resumed the reins of government, and hopes were cherished that his presence would suppress the contending factions, soothe the public discontents, encourage the loyal, and give new energy to every branch of the state.

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Jan. 27.

* Ortiz.

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The crisis was now arrived which proved the folly of the system, pursued by Louis, with regard to Spain. To imagine that he could direct with absolute sway the court of Madrid; that the king would quietly submit to be governed by the queen; the queen by the princess Orsini; the princess herself be perfectly subservient to the french embassador; and that the embassador would act with the princess in confidence and concert; finally, to suppose that the Spaniards, a people zealously attached to their own customs and laws, and singularly jealous of foreign interference, would, without a murmur, see their government modelled and remodelled, their finances administered, their customs violated, their laws changed, by a nation for whom they fostered a deep-rooted antipathy, was the height of weakness and absurdity. Yet such were the expectations of a monarch of no ordinary sagacity, whose judgment was perverted by long prosperity, and the habits of absolute sway, no less than by the misinformation of his agents.

During the absence of Philip, the extreme unpopularity of Portocarrero and Arias induced the princess to transfer her confidence to the count of Montellano, whose strong sense, integrity, and moderation, were universally acknowledged. His office of temporary master of the household, had given him frequent access to the royal apartments; and his supple and insinuating manners, the effects of confined circumstances, had won her confidence and esteem.

Assisted by this nobleman, the princess had taken on herself the principal direction of affairs, and exerted all her efforts to eradicate from the minds of the Spaniards, those prejudices which had been derived from the misconduct of the late administrations. Proud of her success, she boasted in a letter to Torci. "My favour with the queen daily increases; and I scarcely know which of their majesties honours me with

most regard." Again, "all is now tranquil; and I trust that the cardinal d'Estrées by his talents will complete the work of conciliating the nobles, and use with more effect, the arguments I have already employed to remove their jealousies. Behold, thank Heaven! *my administration*, if I may use the words, terminated to the glory of the queen. Henceforward, till you think proper to recal me, I will interfere less in affairs which do not regard me." Jan. 3, 1703.

In fact, the term 'my administration' was not too strong. The princess wholly swayed the queen; she was alone intrusted with the secret instructions of Louis; and it was scarcely possible to execute a most delicate commission with more address. Such indeed were the sentiments entertained of her services by the french cabinet. "You cannot," observes Torci, in reply, "better terminate 'your administration,' than with the negociation which you have so successfully employed to persuade the nobles to meet the king on his return to Madrid. You indeed give me an opportunity to praise you only on that article, while you merit the highest eulogium for the judicious conduct of the queen since your arrival in Spain. Judge, madam, therefore, whether your proposal to retire from Madrid was likely to meet with the approbation of the king of France, when in consequence of your complete success, we should rather have exhorted you to return if you had retired. Notwithstanding your threats to write no more on affairs of state, I trust the good of the service will induce you to continue your communications."*

Doubtless the praises of the french cabinet were as sincere as they were well merited; but the arrival of Philip introduced a different set of actors on the political scene, and placed the princess in a new and delicate situation.

The cardinal d'Estrées, the new embassador, was a prelate

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 358, 359.

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illustrious by his family and rank, distinguished for erudition, elevation of mind, probity, and liberality. He possessed superior diplomatic knowledge, and had matured his talents in such perfect schools of intrigue as Rome and Venice; but his very rank, and even his splendid qualities, were ill adapted for the office of embassador in Spain. His ecclesiastical profession and dignity rendered it impossible to avoid contests with Portocarrero and Arias for precedency, while his proud consciousness of superior merit, too often disposed him to look with contempt on his associates, and his multifarious knowledge as often led him into an ostentatious display of his superiority. Above all, he considered himself as the sole representative of the king of France, and as deputed not to receive, or suggest advice, but to govern at his own will the counsels of Spain.

He was accompanied by his nephew the abbot d'Estrées, who to equal pride and ostentation, united the presumption and inconsiderate ambition of youth; and whose views were directed to succeed, or even to supplant his uncle.

They were joined by Louville, the confidant of Philip, and one of the chief officers of his houshold. He was a man of wit, satirical, proud of the royal favour, and with the vanity and petulance of his countrymen, decrying and deriding every other nation. He fostered a personal antipathy against the princess; and as the constant and confidential agent of the french cabinet, he by his caustic representations contributed more than any other person at the court of Philip, to mislead the king of France, to foment the quarrels among his countrymen, and to heighten the antipathy which reigned between the french and spaniards.

A more dangerous member of this cabal was d'Aubenton, a Jesuit, the king's confessor, who was jealous of the favour enjoyed by the princess, and laboured to exaggerate her errors,

and misrepresent her conduct, hoping by her disgrace to attain his share of political power. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

It was impossible for persons of such discordant characters and clashing pretensions to remain long in peace. Scarcely a week therefore elapsed before the whole court was involved in one common dispute; and each individual striving who should most thwart or calumniate the others.

The princess soon discovered the views of the cardinal d'Estrées, and retorted his machinations. Notwithstanding her professions of moderation, the recent exercise of power had only served to quicken her ambition; and she was little disposed to exert her influence for the honour or advantage of others. "I perceive," she wrote in one of her confidential communications to the duchess of Noailles, "that my continuance in this country is absolutely necessary; for should the queen, and perhaps I may add, the king, fall into other hands, they may be involved in strange embarrassments. My fidelity, my zeal, and my continual application to their service, their security, and their glory, cannot be found in another woman; and I frankly confess that knowing this and the satisfaction it gives to the king of France, I have not the resolution to demand my dismission in the present state of affairs, notwithstanding the injury I suffer in my health. Indeed the queen, who has found me worthy of her confidence, would consider it as a great misfortune should I abandon her." Oct. 14.

She ironically touched on the vanity and ostentation of the embassador, and displayed her reluctance to admit him into a share of her authority. "It is my earnest desire, that his eminence should receive the satisfaction which he deserves and expects, that we may remedy the inveterate evils of this monarchy; that his vast, transcendent, and enlightened understanding may be rather employed to conciliate the spaniards

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than to win their admiration. But to speak freely, I will not warrant his success; for I fear a nation naturally proud will consider it as a mark of contempt, that France should send one of the *greatest geniuses in the world*; not to advise but to govern them, and that this measure will increase their aversion. For my part, I must often oppose, if possible, without offending. I must consider it as a miracle, if I am not detested; and shall attribute it only to the conviction of the spaniards that I love their nation*."

The smothered jealousy of the hostile parties was soon called into action by the imprudent eagerness of the cardinal embassador, to display his superiority, and appropriate the whole direction of affairs. He offended Portocarrero by insisting that affairs of state should no longer be transacted at his house, but transferred to the cabinet council. He also broke through the rules of spanish etiquette, by requiring the president of Castile to pay him the first visit, and bitterly complained of Philip himself for not enforcing this pretension. He confidently presented himself for admission into the royal apartment, when the king was engaged with the queen and ladies of the court; and to the remonstrance of the princess, who refused to permit such a breach of established form, he indignantly exclaimed, "another time I will bring my baptismal register with me, to prove who I am!" He even resented the refusal of the same privilege to his nephew, whose age and situation did not afford the slightest pretension to such a favour.

By this presumption he not only occasioned a total suspension of business, but united all the spanish courtiers against himself. Portocarrero declined assisting at the deliberations of the cabinet, in presence of the embassador, while d'Estrées equally refused to communicate with the president of Castile, or the marquis of Rivas, the secretary of state. In this di-

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 363.

lemma, Philip, by the advice of the princess, revived the custom of transacting business alone with the secretary, till the will of Louis could be known; though he offered the embassador the privilege of a previous communication. This was not only rejected, with reproaches and even with threats; but the embassador gave way to the most vehement invectives against the princess, stigmatizing her as the "woman who governed and beset the king." His whole party joined in supporting his complaints at the court of Versailles, and represented the prudent conduct of Philip and the firmness of the princess, as the result of a conspiracy to overthrow the french influence, and unite with the enemies of the two crowns. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

These exaggerated representations received more credit than they deserved. Louis, who hoped that the return of Philip, and the arrival of an experienced embassador, would immediately restore tranquillity, and who calculated on the most perfect union between him and the princess, was equally vexed and disappointed at their misintelligence. He soothed the discontent of the Spaniards, and particularly pacified Portocarrero; he recommended caution to the embassador, and enjoined him to submit to the formalities of the established etiquette; but he withdrew his confidence from the princess, without deigning to listen to her justification, or to the representations of Philip and the queen. His letters to Philip prove the harshness with which he reprehended the slightest deviation from his views, or the faintest symptom of a spirit of independence.

"During the two years which have elapsed since you began to reign, from too great distrust of yourself, you have never yet spoken as a master; you have never been able to throw off your timidity, although you have braved the dangers of conspiracy and the perils of war. You have scarcely, how- Feb. 4.

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ever, reached Madrid, before you are persuaded that you are capable of governing a monarchy, of which you have hitherto only experienced the heavy burthen. You forget the embarrassment of your affairs; and you pride yourself in directing your counsels alone. I was far from suspecting that such a snare would have been laid for you, or that you would have fallen into it.

" Consider well whether you make a proper return to my friendship, by employing your authority, for the first time, in excluding from your counsels the cardinal d'Estrées, whom I have chosen as my confidential embassador, to relieve you from the weight of business; whose zeal for my service induces him to become one of your retinue, when he might have enjoyed in tranquillity the reputation and honours which he has acquired by his merits.

" But I do not mean to reproach you. I know your heart; and the better I am assured of your sentiments, the more am I affected by the false measures in which you have suffered yourself to be entangled. It is not necessary to recal to your recollection all I have done for you; to tell you that I preferred placing you on the throne to my own interests, which I should have better consulted, by accepting the territories assigned to me in the treaties of partition. Those territories, you well know, could have made but a feeble resistance; and you are no less aware that I have *never attempted to acquire any advantage* for the succours which I have exhausted my own territories to furnish you. All Europe has leagued against me only to overwhelm you; and Spain, insensible to the evils which threaten her, contributes nothing for her own preservation. The labours, the expences, all fall on me, who have no other view than to support you against the efforts of your enemies. At least, your resolutions should be taken in concert with me;

and it is asking little of you to request that a confidential person, on my part, should assist in your councils. You have, indeed, had sufficient prudence to desire it yourself. I chose the cardinal d'Estreés, a man well skilled in affairs, and the most enlightened whom I could place about you; a man whose experience and abilities will be most useful to you. For my sake, he sacrifices his repose, his health, perhaps his life; with no other view than to testify his gratitude and zeal. And when you have most need of his talents; when it is most necessary to take prompt resolutions for your security, and that of your crown, you display a fatal facility of belief, that in a moment, you can govern a kingdom alone, which would have embarrassed the most skilful of your predecessors. I call that by the name of facility in you, which in another, I should term presumption; for I know you are far removed from presumption; but the effects of facility are not less dangerous.

"For this reason, your conduct alarms me. I love you too tenderly to abandon you. I shall, however, be reduced to that sad necessity, if you cease to communicate to me what passes in your councils. Now, how can I receive authentic information, if you exclude the cardinal from that participation which you yourself granted to him, as well as to Harcourt and Marsin, his predecessors.

"I shall, therefore, be under the necessity of recalling him; because an ordinary embassy is ill suited to his dignity and station. But in recalling him, I shall consider what my own kingdom requires: for it is not just that my subjects should be ruined to support Spain, in despite of herself. It will be a vain attempt, if I meet with nothing, on her part, but contradiction and apathy, and on yours a cessation of confidence in me and my embassadors; in a word, when our resolutions are no longer taken in concert.

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"Chuse then whether you will prefer the continuance of my aid, or suffer yourself to be deluded by the interested advice of those who wish your ruin. If you chuse the former, order Portocarrero to be admitted into your council, though only for six months; continue to admit the cardinal d'Estrées and the president of Castile. Do not shut yourself up in *the disgraceful effeminacy of your palace*; shew yourself to your subjects, listen to their demands, distribute justice, provide for the safety of your kingdom; in a word, acquit yourself of all the duties to which God has called you, in placing you on the throne. If you adopt the latter alternative, I shall be deeply afflicted with your ruin, which I shall consider as certain. At least, acquaint me with your determination; it will be a slight acknowledgment of your gratitude for my services, and will give me a considerable advantage by the facility which it will afford me in obtaining peace for my people*."

Philip was deeply affected by these cruel reproaches; and his chagrin broke forth in the midst of all the respect and deference of his reply.

Feb. 18-21, 1703.

"Your majesty's letter filled me with despair, and I cannot pardon the cardinal d'Estrées for the insinuations which have prejudiced you against me. I know I do not possess his abilities; but I will venture to assert that I am frank and candid; and that what I have presumed to write is in the sincerity of my heart. The cardinal has deliberately insulted me; first, in his suggestions to your majesty, that I have excluded him from my councils; and, secondly, that from presumption, I have taken the resolution to govern alone, and have fallen into that snare by the advice of persons interested to ruin me.

"If he speaks truth, I deserve your majesty's indignation;

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 3. p. 23.

but the fact is, I have never excluded him from my councils, nor has any one laid a snare to induce me to attempt governing alone. The unexpected resignation of Portocarrero, I do assure your majesty, has occasioned the whole embarrassment. For I could not suspend the meeting of the council; the embassador would not hear of the president, but wished to enter alone; the princess Orsini, far from recommending his exclusion, was of opinion, that we ought to pass no act without consulting him. He himself came every evening to give instructions on the routine of business. In fact the embassador ought rather to thank her for the part we have taken, since an insurrection would have been the consequence, if he had insisted on attending the council. He has nevertheless joyfully seized this pretext for attacking her with tales invented at pleasure; and his violent behaviour was only derived from a mere matter of etiquette, namely, her refusing the abbot his nephew the entry of the queen's apartment."

The queen likewise expressed her poignant feelings in a manner still more spirited and undisguised: "To what then, has your majesty exposed me in ordering the king your grandson to shew me your letter of the 1st instant. Is it possible that your majesty should be so much prejudiced as to suppose him presumptuous enough to undertake the task of governing alone, to exclude from his councils your embassador, to forget all your tenderness; and all this from the interested advice of those who are desirous to ruin him, by shutting him up in the *effeminate and disgraceful retirement of his palace!* How durst the cardinal d'Estrées presume to write such falsehoods? Excuse me, if I use that term, but in the grief of my heart, I know no other; in truth, it is the only one applicable to the suggestions which drew from your majesty the letter you have written; for not a single circumstance is true.

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Where, I repeat, did he learn that the king, your grandson, had the presumption to think of governing alone? Did he occasion the resignation of Portocarrero? Could he foresee it? Could he prevent it? Indeed what has he not done to induce him to return? The cardinal d'Estrées himself knew and saw this."

After describing the quarrel in the same manner as Philip, she continued, "Can the conduct of the king your grandson be called presumptuous; and could it authorise the cardinal to assert that the king of Spain had expelled him from his councils? In truth the king is most unfortunate in being exposed to the direction of so malicious a man; for not satisfied with the falsehoods he has spread, he even attacks the honour and probity of the king, in wickedly insinuating that he is unmindful of your kindness. What an outrage to a young prince!

"The same may be said of what your majesty calls the counsels of those who wish to ruin the king, by shutting him up in the effeminate and disgraceful retirement of his palace. What can be meant by such expressions! If I am the person whom he attacks, consider, I beseech you, the height of his insolence? To say that I wish to ruin the king; that I hold him in a disgraceful retirement! Can I suffer such an insult; I, who possessing the most amiable prince on earth, gratefully place my whole happiness in his glory? I, who concealed my tears not to detain him when he departed for Italy! I, lastly, who knowing him exposed to conspiracies and the dangers of war, suppressed my sighs, that I might not shake his fortitude by my despondency.

"The cardinal is equally unjust in his accusations of the princess Orsini. It is no more than truth to declare that I have always found her advice beneficial, and that her good sense and conduct have won the esteem of this nation. I will even say more; that her zeal for your majesty knows no bounds, and her principal anxiety is to impress the king and myself

with a grateful sense of the affection with which you honour us both.

After praising Philip for his affability and attention to business, she added, "He daily receives the nobles, is constant in the exercise of the chace,* regular in holding councils, and punctually transacts business with the embassador. Where then could the cardinal have discovered in the few days since his arrival at Madrid, that the king lives in the effeminate and disgraceful retirement of his palace? Alas, I have scarcely enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing my amiable king, before I am forced to share his grief under your terrible displeasure. We have also the mortification to learn that the cardinal, not content with displaying his triumph, even boasts that he has drawn upon us the reproaches we receive from the king our grandfather. To speak the truth, I abhor him as a monster. He does nothing but excite discord, and by the haughtiness of his deportment draws down the general hatred. He has alienated more hearts in the short time since his arrival, than your goodness had won since you took the crown under your protection.

"You deprive me of the princess Orsini. However deeply I feel this stroke, I should have submitted without complaint, had it been inflicted by your own hand. But when I consider that it is occasioned by the artifices of the cardinal and abbot, I do not hesitate to avow my despair. I intreat you to deliver me from the sight of these two men, whom I shall always regard as my most cruel enemies."

Louis considered this zealous defence of the princess as an aggravation of her offence, and was still more irritated by a spirited memorial which she ventured to address to him in her own justification. In this memorial she frankly avowed that Philip had acted in conformity to her advice, justified his con-

* The chace forms a part of the etiquette of the Spanish Court.

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duct as necessary to allay the jealousies of all parties, and even to prevent civil commotions, praised his capacity for business, and detailed the advantages which she expected to result from his decisions. After repelling the accusations against her, she expatiated on the presumption and vanity as well as the folly and violence of the cardinal and his nephew. She declared, however, her resolution to unite, even with them, to promote the honour of the king of France, as far as was consistent with her duty to the king of Spain. She reprehended the folly of attempting to prejudice Philip against the queen; and urged that it was wiser and more natural to secure a permanent interest at Madrid by gaining her confidence, than to embroil her with her husband by the agency of an embassador, whose continuance was merely temporary, and whose influence uncertain. She recommended a proper attention to the feelings of Philip, and rather to instruct him in the duties of his station, by teaching him to decide for himself, than to extort from him a blind assent to things of which he had no previous knowledge. "In this manner," she justly observed, "with his application and understanding, he will soon become as able as his ministers; and render himself respectable to his subjects *."

She did not condescend to advert to the charge of a connection with the enemies of the two crowns. She concluded by requesting permission to retire from her painful situation, as the only means to give credit and consequence to the embassador of France.

This spirited remonstrance increased the displeasure of a monarch peculiarly tenacious of his authority; he haughtily accepted her offer to retire, and accused her of ruining his affairs by want of cordiality with his minister.

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 52.

But the spirit of discord could not be allayed by the commands or interference of the french monarch. The embassador having, as he imagined, delivered himself from the controul of the princess, next endeavoured to obtain the dismission of Orri, whose talents and attachment to his patroness he duly appreciated. He therefore depicted him as corrupt, overbearing and vexatious to the spaniards; and with his characteristic pride expressed his indignation, that a man of his consequence, who had visited Spain to do honour to a post which neither suited his age or station, should be thwarted by an insolent upstart and his unworthy associates. Directing his spleen also against d'Aubigny, the secretary and supposed gallant of the princess; he asks, "Did you not send me hither to resist the grandees, not to enter the lists with two *freedmen ?*" He affected to hold the king in tutelage, treated both him and the queen as children; and filled many important offices without consulting them, silencing the objections of Philip by the never failing argument, the will of his grandfather. He did not scruple even to employ the assistance of the confessor, in furtherance of his designs; and induced the obsequious jesuit to prostitute the duties of his sacred office in order to alienate the king from the queen, and prejudice him against the princess.

But the very means employed to subvert her influence only served to prove its strength, and the necessity of her intervention.

The health of the queen was affected by her chagrin at the expected removal of her favourite. Philip displayed unusual firmness in enforcing the necessity of her presence; and every manœuvre of the cardinal and his partisans evinced the falsehood of their representations, that the spanish court and nation might easily be governed by force.

The king of France was now reduced to the most perplexing

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dilemma. He was sensible that the departure of the princess would give rise to new feuds and confusion, and increase instead of diminishing the difficulty of governing Philip. He wished her to remain; but he considered it as unbecoming his dignity to desert his embassador, and disgraceful to recal him at so critical a juncture. To reconcile these two discordant objects was no easy task, and it must be confessed that the expedients adopted by the cabinet of Versailles reflect little honour on their policy and address.

Torci wrote an equivocating apology to the princess, censuring the imprudence of her conduct, and giving no hopes of satisfaction; but at the same time requesting her to remain at Madrid. This was accompanied by a letter from Louis to his grandson. After enjoining him to follow the advice of the embassador, he continues: "In the midst of your affliction, I perceive that both your majesty and the queen desire the continuance of the princess Orsini. I do not oppose your wishes; but for your own service compel her to maintain a good intelligence with my embassador; for it would be highly inconvenient if not ridiculous in the face of Europe to change my ministers in Spain every moment. Should the cardinal d'Estrées no longer occupy that post, you must, for my service, and your own, pay the same deference to his successor. I entreat you, speak to this effect to the queen; she is more reasonable than any other person. Both of you may rely on my ardent affection, and I am much affected at the disapprobation and chagrin which I am compelled to express; but I should not love you as I ought if I disguised my sentiments."

These half apologies were not however sufficient to soothe the resentment of this high-spirited woman, who felt her power, and determined to assert it. She retorted the censures of Torci, by complaints of the harshness with which he had

treated her; and in demanding satisfaction for the recent insults which she had suffered, declared that, as she had received the command of the french king to retire, she would not remain at her post without an order equally positive. She proudly affected to overlook her past mortifications, while she displayed her own ascendency, and the misconduct of her antagonists, by dictating to the court of Versailles a plan of conduct equally calculated to forward their views and save the honour of Philip.

"Your injustice towards me does not affect me, but it excites general alarm in this country. If you are desirous to subject the Spaniards by force, give yourself no further trouble; if to unite the two nations by mildness, such conduct will overthrow all your designs. Messieurs d'Estrées and Louville, whom I consider as people marked for the vengeance of Heaven, rather than as reasonable men, will ere long, perhaps, convince you of this truth, if they do not follow, when I quit Madrid, the very maxims which they now impute to me as a crime. With their conduct they would not succeed in any country, but of all others, the Spaniards are the least likely to submit to such oppressors."

She combated the principle that the king of France was bound in honour not to disavow his embassador, by urging that he would thus render himself the accomplice of all the faults committed either by ignorance or treachery. She proceeded, "Nor can I conceal from you, that the health of the queen is deeply affected; and that she does not cease to make reflections above her age, on the mischiefs which may ensue from giving credit, in preference to herself and the king, to people who are eager to become masters, and who are interested to render them suspected."

Convinced that she was too far advanced to retreat with

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honour, she acted with the same spirit as she wrote. She openly employed her influence to heighten the resentment of the king and queen, against the insulting conduct of the embassador; and she ultimately succeeded in convincing the french monarch that nothing but her intervention could maintain the cordiality between the two cabinets. Louis, therefore, himself condescended to appeal to the gratitude and attachment of his minister, and exhorted him to suppress his own feelings for the public good; and to make the first advance for a reconciliation with the princess. The cardinal could not refuse to obey; but the symptoms of reluctance and indignation, which he suffered to escape him, neither tended to restore harmony, nor to remove the prejudices of Philip and the queen.

When he officially communicated the resolution of Louis to defer the recal of the princess, he magisterially asked, "if the princess knew that your majesties did not desire her departure, why did she proffer her resignation?" Philip replying, "She was aware that we should not suffer her to go:" the cardinal sneeringly rejoined, "I thank you, Sire, from the bottom of my heart; it is the first instance of your confidence since my arrival at Madrid. But I will take care to keep the secret; and promise not to disclose it to the camerara mayor." He then adverted, in the same sarcastic tone, to a publication, called the "Memorial of the People," in which the princess was compared with the most illustrious characters in holy writ, particularly Judith. He observed "the comparison would alarm me, if it were just. I should dread the fate of Holofernes; but I will save my head by the respectful visit which I will not fail to pay her*."

This reluctant and ungracious homage on the part of the em-

* Noailles, t. 3. p. 65.

bassador, was not sufficient to satisfy the princess. She maintained the same spirited and dignified language, and refused to recede from her demand of satisfaction, till, at length, the hackneyed politicians and proud sovereign of France, were compelled to bend before a woman, who had foiled and schooled them in the very moment of her intended disgrace.

Louis himself condescended to solicit her good will, in a letter written with his own hand. "If I had doubted of your zeal and fidelity, I would never have advised the king and queen of Spain to retain you at Madrid. But being assured of your attachment, I have reason to believe that your continuance will be for the good of my service, as well as for that of the king, my grandson. You cannot better confirm my good opinion than by a perfect union with the cardinal d'Estrées, who is honoured with my confidence, and charged with my orders in Spain; and be assured that I shall be happy to acknowledge my satisfaction with your conduct, by new marks of my esteem, and affection*."

By this honourable restoration to power and confidence, the pride and vanity of the princess were equally stimulated; and she exerted all her zeal and resources to convince the french court of the value of her ascendancy. Among various instances, in which she promoted designs hitherto attempted in vain, she prevailed on the king and the spanish ministers to confiscate the foreign property saved from the galleons at Vigo, and to transmit part of the money to France; she procured the condemnation of the admiral of Castile, which had been hitherto retarded by the cabals of his numerous partisans, and his powerful family interest. She also greatly assisted Orri, in the introduction of his financial reforms, and she promoted the augmentation of the army, and the formation of a body

* Noailles, t. 3. p. 68.

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guard, which had been incessantly demanded by the court of Versailles, but as strenuously opposed by the Spaniards; lest the increase of the military force should encourage the king to extinguish the last remains of their liberty, instead of contributing to the defence of the country.

But she gave a still more convincing proof of her zeal and influence. We have already mentioned the attempt of Louis to acquire the Netherlands; and the motives which compelled him to suspend his design. He again brought it forward at this favourable crisis. To clothe it with the appearance of disinterestedness, he proposed the cession of those countries to the elector of Bavaria, in recompence for his alliance and services in Germany; reserving to himself the fortresses of Luxemburg, Namur, Mons, and Charleroy, which assured to him the possession of the whole, even if he had been less convinced of the attachment of the elector.

The cardinal d'Estrées was charged to make the proposition to Philip; and to shew that the interests of Spain would be promoted by the transfer. "These provinces," it was observed, "only serve to ruin Spain, without producing the slightest advantage. The communication which they formerly opened with the austrian dominions, and the empire, is now not only useless, but prejudicial, from their vicinity to the states of the enemy. It is likewise to be apprehended that Spain, by retaining the Netherlands, may ultimately be involved in disputes with France. But even should this cession be deemed *a fatal* dismemberment, the loss cannot be put in competition with the advantages resulting from the alliance of the elector; nor with the compensation which France ought to require in return for her expences. This cession will, however, be accepted as an equivalent for every kind of compensation; although the king of France is not assured that he can

maintain possession of the towns reserved for himself. He recommends strict secrecy; and does not require the immediate cession, but merely a written promise under the hand of Philip himself."

The cardinal, however, was not suffered to acquire the honour of executing this important commission; for, before he had an opportunity to display his address and eloquence, the princess was apprised of the views of Louis by the abbot, obtained the written promise from Philip, and transmitted it to France.

But at the very moment when the princess had triumphed over the court of Versailles, she was herself the dupe of an inferior cabal, which formed the under-plot of this political drama. Louville, the abbot d'Estrées, and the confessor, however discordant in characters, had united to undermine both the embassador and the princess. They had, however, so artfully concealed their machinations, or so adroitly profited by her resentment against the cardinal, that the abbot was received into her full confidence, and Louville was joined with Orri in a mission to Versailles, to procure the recal of the embassador, and the nomination of the abbot.

In her correspondence with Torci, she observed "they both agree in their representations, though different reasons have occasioned their mission. Our situation is too wretched, and the cause too evident to occasion any difference of opinion. Since Louville has acknowledged his misbehaviour towards me, I cannot sufficiently praise him; and I trust that his conduct will be still more gratifying, for he candidly avows that he has no other dependence in this country than to follow my advice, which he considers as the best. The abbot also knows the right path, but he has too many obligations to his uncle not to deviate from it occasionally, in spite of himself, and this cir-

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cumstance obliges me to say, that he would do better if he were alone. His catholic majesty has occasion for M. Orri; therefore, Sir, send him back immediately. But, in the name of God, give credit to what he will tell you, and adopt some decisive resolution; for the evil is so extremely pressing that the smallest delay may occasion infinite mischief."

The personal representations of Orri and Louville were supported by the letters of Philip himself, who, in terms respectful though firm, appealed to Louis against the persecutions which he had experienced both from the french embassador and from Portocarrero. He lamented his embarrassment in being placed between two persons of such opposite principles, and obliged to dissemble what he knew, in order to draw from them the necessary information concerning the departments of finance and war. "Their principles," he said, "however different, are equally adverse to my interests, the general disorder increases, and the present situation of my affairs requires considerable changes. I intreat you to examine the plans which Orri will present. I request a rule of conduct; and as soon as I receive it, I will fulfil your orders, by acting with the authority of a master. In truth, Orri is a wonderful man, for your service, as well as for mine. The cardinal labours to ruin, Orri to retrieve, my affairs. I find also in Orri, a man after my own heart; from whom I draw, without parade, all the necessary information, and by his accounts, am enabled to decide myself, a mode I could never before adopt. I intreat you to overcome his delicacy, and order him to impart to me all his views, into which I enter with real pleasure *."

The representations of the two agents convinced Louis that it was necessary to sacrifice the cardinal. He charged him, therefore, to receive Orri, on his return to Spain, with cordiality;

* Noailles, t. 3. p. 99—104.

at the same time he secretly assured Philip of his intention to recal the embassador at a proper time, and to comply with his request in appointing the abbot his successor. But the indignant prelate neither attended to the orders of his sovereign, nor the dictates of prudence. He treated Orri with every mark of contempt and resentment; his dispatches were filled with accusations and invectives against the upstart financier, and the domineering princess; he did not even spare the king and queen; and his bitter censures were intermixed with exaggerated accounts of his own consequence and transcendent talents.

These extravagancies induced Philip and the queen to redouble their instances for his recal. "Every day," said Philip, "which he remains at Madrid, will do irreparable injury to France and Spain." And the queen, in still stronger terms, declared, "I and my husband detest him so much, that if we had the alternative to yield our crown, or suffer him to remain at Madrid, I scarcely know which we should prefer."

At length, the unceasing solicitations of all parties, joined to the imprudent conduct of the embassador himself, induced Louis to hint to him the propriety of withdrawing from his unpleasant office, by a voluntary resignation. The cardinal accordingly made a reluctant application for his recal; but he accompanied it with a detail of his long services, and a repetition of his invectives against the odious ingratitude of the princess, as well as of the injuries to which he had submitted from Orri. He concluded with requesting a delay of two months, as a proof that he did not wish to desert his post in the hour of danger, and was not dismissed in disgrace. He recommended, as his successor, his nephew, of whose duplicity and success he was then ignorant.

The king acceded to his application; but instead of granting Sept. 16.

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the proposed delay, recommended him, though in obliging terms, to quit forthwith a station where his presence was disagreeable to the king and queen, as well as detrimental to the service of France. At the same time, he announced the appointment of his nephew.

The recal of the french embassador was accompanied by an essential change in the ministry of Spain. Portocarrero, disgusted with the decline of his influence, and wearied with acting as the mere instrument of french agents, gave in his

Nov. 1.

resignation; and Arias was remanded to his see, by a papal order, obtained through the application of Philip. Montellano was raised to the presidency of Castile, and a seat in the cabinet council; and under the direction of the princess, exercised the office of prime minister. Even the marquis of Rivas, who had opposed the plans of Orri, was deprived of a part of his important functions by the transfer of the department of war to Canales, a more docile dependent of the princess.

Assured of the cordial support of her sovereigns, mistress of a dependent cabinet, and triumphant over the arts and authority of the court of Versailles, the princess wielded the whole power of the state, and formed the plan of an administration, calculated, indeed, to promote the welfare and independence of Spain, but, consequently, adverse to that despotic controul which it had been invariably the object of the french monarch to acquire. She purposed to employ Spaniards as the organs of the government, to level all the distinctions of austrian and bourbon partisans, and to admit into places of trust, persons of known talents and capacity. She formed the plan of a junta, or council, composed merely of Spaniards, and while she reduced the new embassador to a state of nullity or dependence, she arranged with Orri, her confidant and counsellor, the measures to be pursued in every branch of admi-

nistration, not excepting even those which are the farthest removed beyond the range of female capacity, finance and war.

The cardinal, at length, took his departure, and the abbot d'Estrees was established in the office of embassador; but he had scarcely time to enjoy the fruit of his intrigues before his duplicity and imprudence precipitated him into the same disgrace as his uncle. At the commencement of his embassy, he affected unlimited deference to the princess and Orri. He carried his servility so far as to consult her on the functions of his office, and at length prevailed on her to sign, in conjunction with Orri and himself, one of the secret dispatches, in which he detailed the reforms intended to be introduced in the financial department.

So singular an informality in diplomatic correspondence was highly offensive to the court of Versailles, and drew from Torci a reprimand which alarmed the princess. She was instantly aware of her imprudence, and to exculpate herself threw the blame on the embassador. She complained that since the departure of the cardinal, she had been importuned to interfere in state affairs; she expressed her disinclination to intermeddle with matters above her capacity, and hinted her suspicion that the abbot had employed this expedient, to represent her as an officious woman, who had intruded herself into the business of his department. She carried her affectation so far as to require a positive order, restricting her to her peculiar duties in the queen's household*.

This incident became the germ of new dissensions. The jealousy of the princess was roused by the communications of the cardinal, who from Versailles retaliated on his nephew, by informing her that while he loaded her with commendations in his public dispatches, he filled his private letters with the

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 171.

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bitterest invectives against her character and conduct; and was leagued with the confessor and Louville to ruin her credit. These suggestions inflamed her resentment beyond the bounds of discretion; and she obtained from Philip an order for intercepting the dispatches of the embassador. The substance of his confidential communications corroborated the information of the cardinal. It indeed appeared that at the very moment when he was cajoling the princess and affecting to extol the new arrangements, he had employed the most disrespectful language against the king and queen, and inveighed against the whole system of government. He had likewise advised the king of France to disregard the clamours of the spaniards; and repress the endless bickerings which agitated the court, by declaring that on the first rise of new disputes he would recal all the french without exception.

But it was against the princess in particular, that he levelled the heaviest accusations. He represented her as usurping the paramount authority, and regulating her conduct solely by the advice of Orri. To render her person odious, ridiculous, and contemptible, he entered into the details of her private life, and expatiated on her gallantries and pretended marriage with d'Aubigny her confidant and secretary.

So glaring and offensive a piece of hypocrisy excited the anger of the king and queen, and the fury of the princess. Philip remonstrated with proper dignity against the calumnies of the abbot; but the princess, too highly irritated to act with her ordinary prudence, sent a copy of the dispatch to Versailles, through the channel of her brother the duke of Noirmoutiers, enriched with marginal remarks not less abusive and virulent than the original text.*

* Among other passages of this curious commentary, St. Simon relates, that to the imputation of her private marriage with d'Aubigny, "èlle mit au marge de sa main *pour mariée non.*" T. 3. p. 199.——Memoires de Berwick, t. 1, p. 231.

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Perplexed and indignant at these incessant wranglings, and mutual criminations, Louis threatened to recal all the french at Madrid; and demanded from Philip a candid account of the real situation of his court. The reply opens a scene of intrigue and duplicity, which excites our regret, that a prince of a candid and upright character should have been so long the tool of a selfish and interested policy, and the victim of personal feuds and petty cabals.

Dec. 1, 1703.

"Your majesty deplores the melancholy effects of the divisions among the french, and represents the necessity of their union for the advantage of our mutual service. You likewise require me to state what I have myself witnessed of the situation of my court and kingdom.

"I am concerned that you should have had cause to press me on this subject, which I wished to keep from your knowledge. I must then inform you that the cardinal d'Estrées, having employed his nephew and Louville to excite a quarrel between d'Aubenton and the princess; and at the same time instigated him to prepossess me against her, and to alienate me from the queen, he had the mortification to find, that his schemes produced a contrary effect. For Louville apprised me of his intrigues, and after having disclosed the mysterious conduct of the confessor, recommended me to dismiss him, as the only expedient to baffle the designs of the cardinal, and enable them to live in perfect union with the princess.

"The resolution I adopted to dismiss d'Aubenton, alarmed the cardinal. Suspecting the interference of his nephew, he avenged himself by secretly acquainting the princess with his treachery, in vilifying her in his daily dispatches. She informed the queen, and as the intelligence reached us the very day in which we had written to request his admission into the cabinet council, I was desirous to be assured of the truth. I accord-

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ingly detained the courier, and opened the dispatches, which were written to Torci, and found that he had accused the princess of treachery and even of treason; though he knew that he owed his appointment as embassador and his admission into the council to her solicitations. But I was still more offended at his artifice in pressing you to menace with a recal, those who did not live in good intelligence with him; for he thus acquired the power of directing his accusations, and calling forth your displeasure against all whom he thought proper.

"I speak thus freely from my natural aversion to lies and liars. I do not, however, require you to recal him; because not to mention the mortification I myself feel at being duped, I am well aware of the detriment which would result from the smallest change in the present situation of affairs. But I intreat you to exhort him so to act in future, that I may have no cause to complain of his artifice. I demanded him for embassador, let him be so; I intreated his admission into the council, let him remain. But let him act for no other end than our mutual service; let him renounce the intrigues which he has employed to discredit the princess Orsini, who is so necessary both to the queen and myself; and to ruin Orri, whose labours are so useful and so generally approved.*"

This candid explanation and the disclosure of the cabals against the princess, did not suffice to excuse her conduct, nor restore her to favour and confidence. A deep impression to her prejudice was made by the representations of the cardinal d'Estrées, who in the interim had been received at the french court with marks of high distinction. Her haughtiness during her temporary disgrace, the airs of superiority which she assumed in arranging and controlling the affairs of every department, and lastly, her indiscretion in intercepting, copying, and com-

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 3, p. 173.

menting on a confidential dispatch from an embassador to his court, gave great and indelible cause of offence. At the same time the endless squabbles of the french agents excited no less indignation. Louville was remanded in disgrace; a resolution was taken to recall the princess and her adherents on the first favourable opportunity; and in compliance with the urgent instances of Philip and his queen, the abbot was to be removed from his embassy.

The unworthy machinations of d'Aubenton would have drawn on him a similar fate, had he not made an ample confession to Philip, and accused the abbot and Louville of having misled him by pretending that they were authorised by the king of France. This real or affected contrition of an old servant wrought on the easy temper of Philip, and the wily priest obtained the pardon of Louis, by the powerful interference of his brother jesuit, father de la Chaise. *

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 3, passim.——St. Simon, whose relations must however be received with caution, liv. 6. ch. 18. 19. 20.——St. Philippe.——Ortiz. t. 7, passim.

CHAPTER IX.

1704.

Invasion of Spain on the East and West—Campaign in Estremadura and Catalonia—Capture of Gibraltar—Sea-fight off Malaga—Defeat of the French at Blenheim.

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HITHERTO Spain had been contended for at a distance; but it now became the theatre of a long and bloody struggle, and in the first moment of danger seemed in too weak and exhausted a state to resist the threatened invasion.

A british fleet under the command of sir George Rook conveyed the archduke Charles to Lisbon, accompanied by 8,000 english and 6,000 dutch troops. The competitor of
1704. Philip landed at Lisbon on the 4th of May, and was escorted by the king of Portugal himself, who paid him the first visit on board of the admiral's ship. Both monarchs passed hand in hand under triumphal arches, and through the crowded streets of the capital to the palace. The recent death of the infanta, who was betrothed to Charles, occasioned no change in the sentiments of the king; the court mourning was suspended for three days, during which time the illustrious stranger was welcomed with illuminations and every species of rejoicing.

After a short interval, a declaration of war was published by the king of Portugal, and by the archduke as rightful king of Spain.

Charles having detailed his pretensions to the spanish crown in a long and laboured manifesto, declared his resolution to assert them, and encounter every danger to deliver his subjects from the slavish yoke of unjust tyranny, and the usurpation of the House of Anjou. He concluded with offering a general amnesty to all who should return to their duty within thirty days after his entry into Spain; and denounced exemplary punishment against all who should persist in their attachment to the Bourbon monarch.

The manifesto of the king of Portugal was evidently penned under the auspices of the admiral of Castile, and calculated to operate on the disaffected spaniards by depicting, in strong colours, the grievances and oppressions of the french government. After justifying the conduct of Portugal in joining the grand alliance, to restore liberty to the spanish nation, and support the rightful claims of Charles the third, it launched out into a vehement invective against the ambitious incroachments and domineering spirit of France.*

Charles had landed with the expectation of immediately taking the field, and penetrating into the defenceless provinces of Spain, before the enemy could be prepared to resist his attack. The army of Portugal was to amount to 28,000 men, which with the english and dutch would form a force of 42,000; and it was proposed to open the campaign early in May, by invading spanish Estremadura, where numbers of disaffected were expected to rally round the austrian standard. But numerous obstacles occurred in the execution of this design. A long peace had enervated the Portuguese; their fortresses were in a state of dilapidation; their troops raw and undisciplined; their officers unskilful, and scarcely a general

* The reader will find these two manifestos in the numerous publications of the times, particularly in the History of Europe for 1704.

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could be found capable of directing military operations, even in a subordinate situation.

In addition to these causes of imbecility, the king of Portugal, by the attack of an hypochondriac malady, had lost that vigour of intellect and bodily activity, which had given splendour and dignity to his hitherto successful administration. The tardy forms of the government clogged every operation; the principal ministers were in the interest of France, and the indisposition of the sovereign furnished pretexts, as it gave opportunities for neglect and delay. The horses which the king had engaged to supply for the cavalry, had been all purchased by the french embassador before his departure, and as scarcely any could be found of sufficient strength for service, not more than one third of the troops were mounted during the whole campaign. The army could not be assembled for want of magazines, and the greater part of the clergy employed their powerful influence to throw odium on a cause defended by heretics. These evils were aggravated by divisions among the leaders. Schomberg, the english general, was disgusted, because he was not raised to the supreme command. The equality of rank occasioned violent disputes between him and the dutch general, Fagel, and the Portuguese themselves murmured, because foreigners were raised to that authority, which they considered as peculiarly their due.

While the allies wasted their time in disputes and inaction, the spanish government suddenly assumed an alacrity and decision which had been long absent from its counsels. As a war with Portugal had not been foreseen at the commencement of the year, few troops were collected; and these, without clothes or pay, were thinned by frequent desertion; no magazines were formed, and no pecuniary resources provided. In this disastrous situation, the skill and uncontrolled interference

of the french agents could alone have overcome the apathy and indolence of the natives. Spanish troops were drawn from the Netherlands; the few regular regiments were embodied and organised; new levies raised in every part of the country, and the frontier places fortified. By these exertions, a force of 40,000 men was speedily collected, and the duke of Berwick, who was nominated to the chief command, entered Spain at the head of 12,000 french. Subordinate generals were spanish subjects, the marquis of Villadarias, the count of Aguilar and the prince of Tzerclaes Tilly; while he was organising his forces and forming plans of operation, the industry and resources of Orri were employed to furnish the means of execution, by establishing magazines and collecting pecuniary supplies*.

A body of 8,000 men was formed in the north to act against the Portuguese in Beira under Las Minas; the principal force amounting to 15,000 men was collected in the centre near Alcantara, and a third corps of 5,000 was formed in the south under the prince of Tzerclaes. While the northern corps made a diversion in Beira, it was intended, with the centre and left, to open the Portuguese frontier by the capture of the principal fortresses above and below the Tagus; to unite at Villavelha, and descend the Tagus towards the capital.

All things being ready for action, Philip, after publishing a declaration of war, joined Berwick, who commanded the principal army, near Alcantara, and the troops were put in motion in the beginning of May. Berwick captured, almost without resistance, Salvatierra, Penha Garcia, Segura, Rosmarinhos, 27 April.

* St. Simon has written a whole chapter against what he calls *Les Friponneries d'Orri*, in which, on the authority of general Puysegur, he accuses him of rapacity and corruption; but the testimony of Berwick himself does ample justice to the merits and services of Orri. This, with many similar examples, proves how much caution is necessary in receiving the assertions of the caustic St. Simon. St. Simon, t. 3, p. 197.——Memoires de Berwick, t. 1, p. 227.

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Monte Santo, and Castel Branco. At the last place, a contest arose between the French and Spaniards, for the division of the spoil, in which several soldiers were killed, and even the person of Philip was exposed to imminent danger. The tumult being happily checked, the central army pursued its progress; but the prince of Tzerclaes failing to execute his part of the plan, Berwick left a corps of 3,000 men, under Ronquillo, on the side of Castel Branco, and, advancing across the Tagus, formed the intended junction near Abrantes. This fortress, the key of the Tagus, though stronger than those already captured, was reduced with as little difficulty.

The delay, however, occasioned by this want of concert, frustrated the whole design. While the Dutch took up a strong position near Abrantes, and the English maintained themselves on the side of Elvas, the Portuguese not only repulsed the corps on the north, but suddenly advancing towards the Tagus, recovered Monte Santo, drove back the corps at Castel Branco, and endangered the communications of the gallo-spanish army. This movement again drew Berwick to the north of the Tagus; and being unable to bring the enemy to an engagement, he confined his operations to the reduction of Castel Vida. The summer heats soon afterwards compelling

July 16. both armies to retire into quarters, Philip returned to Madrid.

After a repose of a few weeks, both parties were again called into action. A reinforcement of 4,000 English arrived, and Schomberg was superseded by the earl of Galway. Charles, and the king of Portugal, who had somewhat recovered from his infirmity, took the field, with the intention of pushing the war on the side of Almeida, and advancing through a rich and defenceless country directly to Madrid. They defeated the corps of observation on the north, with considerable loss; captured Valencia de Alcantara, and directed their march through Guarda,

towards Ciudad Rodrigo. Their measures were frustrated by the skill and activity of Berwick. He left a corps to cover the country on the side of the Tagus, anticipated the enemy at Ciudad Rodrigo, and though inferior in force, succeeded in guarding the banks of the Agueda. After a weak attempt, which can hardly be called an attack, the scarcity of provisions, joined with the autumnal rains, forced the allies to separate, and Berwick having maintained the safety of the spanish frontier, followed their example*.

While these transactions were passing on the western frontier of Spain, the eastern and southern parts were exposed to similar dangers, and the fleets of England and France encountered in the Mediterranean. Encouraged by the representations of the prince of Darmstadt, that Catalonia was ripe for insurrection, and that Barcelona in particular waited only for the protection of a naval and military force to declare in favour of Charles, sir George Rook sailed from Lisbon, conveying the prince, with 4,000 troops, and appeared off the port. The prince landing with only 3,000 men, the austrian partisans, who had expected an army of 20,000 headed by Charles himself, were deterred from rising by the smallness of this force. Don Francisco Velasco, the viceroy, by his vigorous measures, not only checked the first symptoms of insurrection, but by his promises and threats even induced some of the discontented to betray the conspiracy, and many to join the party for the established government. The hopes which had given rise to this expedition being frustrated, the english admiral quitted a station where he had no prospect of success, and where he hourly expected to be attacked by a french squadron. May.

The satisfaction arising from this successful resistance, was

* Memoires de Berwick, t. 1. p. 227—270.——St. Simon, t. 1. p. 225—290.

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soon damped by the capture of Gibraltar. This important fortress, which might then, as since, have defied all attacks, was almost totally unprovided with artillery and ammunition, and guarded by a garrison of scarcely an hundred effective men, under D. Diego de Salmas. It was in this defenceless state when the english fleet appeared in the bay, on returning from Barcelona. The troops were landed on the neck to cut off all communication with the land, and, while batteries were opened against the town, a party of english sailors, with their characteristic agility and intrepidity, scaled a part of the rock which was deemed inaccessible, and by their unexpected appearance, struck a panic into the garrison. All resistance being deemed fruitless, the governor capitulated after a defence of only two days; the fortress was occupied in the name of the

Aug. 10.

queen of Great Britain; the prince of Darmstadt, with 2,000 men, was left to guard the conquest; and thus this important place, one of the bulwarks of Andalusia, and the key of the Mediterranean, was totally lost to Spain. They afterwards made an attempt against Ceuta, but the marquis de Gironella, the governor, who had bravely repulsed the attacks of the Moors, defended it with equal success against the english *.

To protect the spanish coasts, and secure the navigation of the Mediterranean, Louis had fitted out a considerable squadron at Toulon, which was commanded by his natural son, the count of Toulouse, high admiral of France; and he detached a second from Brest, which, escaping the english fleet, reached Toulon soon after the capture of Gibraltar. On this junction, the count of Toulouse sailed with fifty-two ships of the line, hoping to overpower the hostile fleet, or at least to recover Gib-

Aug. 24.

raltar. They met off Malaga, nearly equal in strength, and the long expected engagement took place. But neither seemed

* Ortiz, t. 7. p. 50.——History of Europe, 1704, p. 364.——St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 271.

anxious to come to a close fight, and after a distant and desultory, though long, cannonade, night separated the combatants. Much damage was sustained by both parties; the French lost 1,500 men, yet not a single ship was taken or destroyed.

The ensuing morning both fleets were still in sight of each other; but neither shewed any resolution to renew the conflict. The French, however, first retired, and left the sea to the English. Both parties published pompous accounts of the engagement, and both claimed the victory; yet though it was not immediately decisive, the french experienced the consequences of a defeat. Their ships were obliged to return to port, and their resources being drained to maintain the contest by land, they were unable to send out a squadron sufficiently powerful to dispute the mastery of the sea, during the rest of the war*.

On both sides the most erroneous and contradictory accounts were given of an engagement, which does not reflect great honour on either. On the part of the English, sir Cloudesley Shovel distinguished himself, and on that of the French, the count of Toulouse displayed great bravery. He was slightly wounded in the head, and five of his pages were killed by his side.

The internal distress of Spain was rendered still more alarming by the misfortunes which fell with accumulated force on the House of Bourbon. In the low countries, the military operations were merely defensive; and in Italy the French consumed the whole campaign in the capture of the three fortresses of Vercelli, Ivrea, and Susa, which may be considered as the out-works of Turin.

* See the different accounts of this engagement in the History of Europe, 1704, p. 456—478—480.

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But it was in Germany that a fatal blow was struck to that edifice of power, the superstructure of which had employed so long a period, and called forth such ardent exertions. Louis, indeed, made strenuous preparations to fulfil the plan so unexpectedly baffled in the preceding campaign. While on one side, the hungarian insurgents over-ran the greater part of Hungary, penetrated into Austria, and insulted even the capital, he strengthened the force already established in the heart of Bavaria, and collected vast levies to pour new armies into Germany, in order to carry the war at once into the austrian dominions, and dictate peace under the walls of Vienna.

Early in the spring 15,000 men traversed the black forest, and united with the gallo-bavarian army, which was already superior to the imperialists. Another body of 45,000 men was assembled on the Rhine, under Tallard, to watch the allies, who had threatened an invasion by the Moselle, and to assist the attack on the side of Bavaria, by continual reinforcements, and by protecting the communications with the french frontier.

But the allies, under the direction of Eugene and Marlborough, had now assumed that regularity of design and vigour of execution, which seemed hitherto the portion of the french alone. Leopold suspended the progress of the rebels in Hungary, by alternately employing negotiation and force; and succeeded in checking their incursions, though he was too weak to crush the rebellion. The treasure and power of England were exerted to rescue the House of Austria from impending ruin; and by british influence, the dutch and the german states were united against the common enemy.

Nearly at the same time, 22,000 men from the Netherlands, under Marlborough, and 14,000 from the Rhine, directed their march towards the bavarian frontier, to unite with the ger-

mans, under the margrave of Baden, while Eugene, with 15,000 germans, remained on the Rhine, to watch the movements of Tallard. Deceiving the enemy by menacing the frontier of Loraine, Marlborough pursued his march unmolested, and joined the Margrave in the vicinity of Ulm. With a force, which amounted to above 45,000 men, they baffled the designs of the gallo-bavarians, broke through their system of defence by defeating 15,000 men at Schellenberg, on the bank of the Danube, and after a fruitless attempt to detach the elector, carried the war to the very walls of his capital.

The rapid advance of Tallard, with 30,000 men, seemed again likely to change the fortune of the campaign; but the same skill and good fortune on the side of the allies, maintained the superiority. Eugene, with 15,000 men, followed the french from the Rhine, and notwithstanding his inferior numbers, and the central position of the enemy, succeeded in uniting with Marlborough near Hochstedt, at the very moment when the force of the gallo-bavarians was augmented by the army of Tallard. Conscious that every hour of delay would augment the advantages of the enemy, the allied generals advanced against their army, which they found strongly posted near Blenheim, on the bank of the Danube. They overcame all the obstacles of a difficult and morassy ground, attacked the enemy, and after a most desperate resistance, gained a decisive victory. The french were totally broken and defeated, and lost 40,000 men, including 13,000 prisoners, with Tallard himself, who was captured as he was attempting to rally the fugitives. Marsin and the elector with difficulty collected their scattered forces, and fled towards the Rhine, with the diminished remnant of that army which had threatened Germany with bondage, and the House of Austria with destruction*.

Aug. 13. 1704.

* State of Europe for 1704, p. 314—407.——Tindal, v. 16. p. 27.——House of Austria, v. 1. ch. 70.

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The effect of this defeat was felt in every quarter of Europe, but in Spain it produced a greater revulsion of sentiment than almost any other event of the war. It was hailed by the disaffected, as the downfal of french power; and even the loyal, hopeless of protection from France, became lukewarm towards the prince of their choice.

CHAPTER X.

1704—1705.

Arrangements for the recal of the Princess Orsini—Correspondence on this subject, between Louis, his Embassador, and Philip—Departure of the Princess from Madrid—Indignation of the Queen—Arrival of the Duke of Grammont, the new Embassador—Successful cabals to procure the return of the Princess—Her reconciliation with the Court of France—Recal of Grammont—Disgrace of Daubenton—Amelot appointed as the new Embassador, and preparations for the restoration of the Princess to power.

THE tumult of military operations did not allay the internal feuds of the cabinet. CHAP. X. 1704 | 1705.

Louis had no sooner formed the resolution to recal the princess, than he prepared the means of execution with the same precaution and secrecy, as if the fate of his empire depended on success. He endeavoured to lull her into security by the most extravagant flattery, and to an appeal which she made to his judgment; replied by his minister, among other expressions of confidence and esteem, "Enlightened and well-intentioned as you are, whatever you do will always be for the best."

From the affectionate attachment of the queen to her favourite, it was deemed necessary to remove Philip beyond the sphere of her influence. He was therefore ordered to join

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the army collected for the invasion of Portugal, and all the solicitations of the queen to accompany him were rejected.

Philip being arrived at Placentia, the plan of operations, as it was not unaptly called, was communicated to the abbot

March 19. d'Estrées by Louis himself. "The complaints," he wrote, "against the princess having so much increased, it is necessary to come to a final determination; and the evils derived from her continuance at Madrid are so evident that it is now time to remove her. I should not have so long delayed taking this resolution, had I consulted the good of my service; but it was necessary to wait till the king had retired from Madrid, that his sensibility to the tears of the queen might not raise obstacles to the design, and that his cooler reason might have time to operate."

He then commanded d'Estrées to concert with Berwick and the marquis of Rivas the most proper means to persuade Philip, and to ensure the prompt execution of the design. "If," he continued, "the king consents, of which a doubt can scarcely be admitted, the cardinal Portocarrero, and the marquis of Mancera, or some other minister at Madrid, must adopt the necessary measures secretly, and before the queen can be apprised, by presenting to her a letter from Philip himself, enjoining her to obey my orders without hesitation. Endeavour also to prevent the princess from seeing the queen, and if that cannot be done, at least render their interview as short as possible, and enforce her departure on the following morning. She may remain eight days at Alcala to prepare for her journey.

"Should the king resist, represent to him the burthens of the war, which I am waging for his interest. Do not say I will abandon him, for that he will not believe; but make him sensible that notwithstanding my affection, I may be induced if he does not comply, to make peace at the expence of Spain; and that I may at length become weary of supporting a kingdom,

in which I find nothing but disorders and contradiction. Let Berwick make the same representations, in a private audience. In a word, I must and will be obeyed; my own honour and the interest of my grandson, as well as that of his throne, are pledged for the success."

The abbot, however, had no cause to triumph; for in the same letter, the king informed him of his intended recal, as necessary to appease the king and queen, though he softened the unwelcome declaration with expressions of satisfaction, and promises of future reward.

March 19. "I have given you," he said, in his mandate to Philip, "many proofs of my friendship; but I never gave you a stronger than the disagreeable task which I now fulfil, in requesting you to dismiss the princess Orsini without a moment's delay. Do not hesitate to take this resolution; your safety depends upon it. Contribute at least to quiet the interior of Spain, while I employ all my strength in carrying on a war to maintain your interests without. The abbot d'Estrées has my instructions. I refer you to him; and I am persuaded that you will believe what I say, when ruin will be the consequence of opposition to my advice. Communicate this letter to the queen. I likewise inclose one for her.

"Your majesty must immediately appoint a new camerara-mayor, from four persons whom the abbot d'Estrées will name. I purpose to send you another embassador, and I hope he will please you. I can sincerely assure you that I omit nothing which may contribute to your interest and satisfaction.*"

Philip, however afflicted, made no resistance to this mandate; he only regretted and lamented the effect it might produce on the queen; and the marquis of Chateauneuf, who was returning from his embassy at Lisbon, was charged to deliver to her the

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 191.

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order of Louis, which was expressed in cold and decisive terms. The princess was directed to take the route through the south of France, and from thence to repair to Rome.

On this trying occasion the queen displayed a degree of coolness and discretion which seemed incompatible with the natural vivacity of her temper. She bowed in submissive though sullen acquiescence, to the decree which separated her from her friend and confidant, who had assisted in sharing the burthens of a laborious government, and whose spirit and talents had enlivened the tedium of her monotonous life.

April 11.

The princess also received the unexpected mandate for her dismission and banishment into Italy, with dignity and fortitude. She made no petulant complaint nor shewed the least hesitation. On the ensuing morning she departed from Madrid without seeing the queen, after exhorting her in a letter to submit with resignation to the will of Louis; and to prove her submission by instantly chusing a new camerara-mayor, from the persons named by the abbot. But while she made no shew of resistance in leaving the capital, she displayed no inclination to quit the kingdom within the eight days prescribed. She took up her abode at Alcala for a considerable time, in spite of repeated commands from Versailles to hasten her departure, and she seized every pretext to linger in the different towns in her passage towards Bayonne. At Vittoria she met the new embassador, the duke de Grammont, and rallied him on his affected secrecy in regard to her future destination.

May 28.

But in the midst of this apparent calmness and submission, she was buoyed up by the hope, that the unfavourable opinion which Louis entertained of her conduct, would gradually wear away; and that her numerous friends at Versailles would interest themselves in her behalf. She did not however conceal her indignation at the malicious representations of the cardinal and

abbot, to whom she wholly attributed her disgrace. She called upon the king of France to respect her injured innocence; she deprecated the injustice of listening only to the accusations of her enemies; and with the firmness of a person aggrieved rather than humbled, she demanded permission to repair to Versailles and vindicate her conduct.

It is a matter of great astonishment, that Louis, so profoundly versed in the wiles and machinations of those who surround a throne, should have been so little acquainted with human nature, as to imagine that the princess Orsini was the sole cause of the discontents which reigned in Spain; and to flatter himself that her removal would operate like a charm in restoring order and tranquillity to a divided court, and distracted country. Yet this, however absurd, appears to have been the opinion which he entertained of the state of Spain and the disposition of the nobles; for, in delivering his instructions to the duke of Grammont, he told him, that he would find a court without factions and a country without disaffection. The rule given to the new minister for his conduct, was to pay all outward regard to the nobles without allowing them real power; and in preserving the established formalities, to consult as little as possible the councils and other branches of the national administration.

A striking proof of the trite adage, "that circumstances make men," is displayed in the conduct of those who successively filled the embassy at Madrid. No sooner had they passed the Pyrenees, than they seem to have changed their very nature. Though before remarkable for discretion and address, they scarcely appeared in a court where they deemed themselves authorised to rule a weak monarch, and where instead of respect and submission they experienced nothing but difficulties and opposition, than they became equally

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remarkable for presumption and instability. Grammont, like his predecessors, entered Spain with the hope of exercising the power of a monarch under the exterior of an embassador. He had scarcely passed the frontier before he wrote, May 25. "I am clearly convinced, that for the sake of the king of Spain, it is necessary our sovereign should govern despotically. But the spaniards must not perceive it; nor indeed will this be a difficult task.*"

The very commencement of his office proved the fallacy of his expectations. He had persuaded himself, that the young queen would speedily lose her chagrin, and forget her favourite; and that he should encounter little difficulty in employing her agency to govern the king. But he, as well as his employer, had too lightly calculated on the strength of a mind of deep sensibility; and on the spirit of a woman, who though young, knew her own power, and who felt and resented the indignity she had suffered in the loss of her guide and friend. Instead of a tame and ready submission, she threw off her dejection, and expressed her indignation with a spirit far above her years.

In the private audience after the ceremonial of a public reception, "Tell me," she said to Grammont, "what are the complaints of the king of France against the princess Orsini? what has that injured woman done to justify such cruel indignity? Is there a single example that a person of her quality, whom the king and myself have honoured with our friendship, has ever been so unworthily treated without a cause?" In reply to the embassador, who attempted to expatiate on the general discontent of the spaniards, and her misintelligence with the french embassador, she continued, "All the accusations transmitted to the king our grand-father are false. It is to

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 3, p. 207.

be lamented, that he, the wisest and most prudent of men, should have given more credit to the reports of her enemies, than to the declarations of his grandson, who, he well knows, resembles himself in probity, and who was fully convinced of the rectitude of her conduct. No, duke of Grammont, no, I do not deceive you, when I add, I never shall be appeased!" At the conclusion of this apostrophe, she attempted to express her gratitude to the king of France, but was interrupted by sobs and tears.*

Soon after this affecting scene, the embassador repaired to Philip on the frontier of Portugal, and the queen, conscious of her power over the mind of her husband, submitted in sullen silence till his return to Madrid; when the heats of the season suspended the military operations. She then, with redoubled energy, resumed her efforts to procure the return of her favourite.

Her solicitations, however, produced no effect; for Louis, inflexible in his resolution, ordered Chateauneuf to announce his positive refusal: "Let the queen know," he wrote, "that when I resolved to remove the princess Orsini from Spain, and ordered her to return to her former residence at Rome, I did not act without mature deliberation, nor without such powerful reasons as render all change impossible. Let her know that I was not influenced by the intrigues and cabals of her enemies, or by false representations. In a word, explain to her that I decide all things myself; that no one can presume to suppose I judge from facts contrary to truth; for I always learn the truth from different quarters before I adopt a final determination." At the same time he spurned all the solicitations made by the friends of the princess, and gave a public proof of his approbation and favour to her most inveterate enemies, by

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 209.

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nominating the cardinal d'Estrées to the rich abbey of St. Germains, and conferring on the abbot the order of the Holy Ghost.

The determination of Louis, instead of discouraging the queen, served only to rouse an equal determination on her part; and while she laboured to infuse her own spirit into the king, the successive measures of the court of Versailles favoured her efforts. Not satisfied with the dismission of the princess, Louis next endeavoured to complete the overthrow of the administration formed under her auspices, by exacting the disgrace of all who were either connected or supported by her, not excepting even Orri, before so much eulogised by the french cabinet, and so justly approved by Philip.

He had been already marked as a victim in the instructions to Grammont. He is described in terms evidently borrowed from the representations of the two late embassadors, as one who had obtained the removal of Rivas and the substitution of Canales his own creature, that he might exercise his authority under the name of a native. He is depicted as one who affects the airs of a prime minister, despising *the usual forms of the government, and the antient custom of consulting* the tribunals; as one who would divert the funds destined for the pay of the troops to other purposes, should he continue in the administration. The representations of the king and the urgent remonstrances of the queen were in vain employed in his favour; he received his dismission in form, and was summoned to Paris to explain and justify his conduct.

This arbitrary proceeding was followed by a mandate to dismiss Canales, who was the creature of Orri, and to re-establish Rivas in the full exercise of his functions as sole secretary. Although the docile temper of Philip was inclined to obey, the queen exerted her influence, and not only prevailed on him to

resist the execution of this mandate, but to make the most strenuous opposition to the various changes which were to be introduced in the general administration.

Grammont, unable to vanquish the reluctance of Philip, found it necessary to recur to the queen, and endeavoured to employ her agency in the fulfilment of his instructions. She at first affected great repugnance, and even retorted the arguments which had been formerly employed against her interference: "*How can a girl of fifteen,*" she ironically asked, "without experience and without talents, presume to direct affairs of state?"

Meanwhile she caballed with the ministers of the cabinet who were never disinclined to oppose the exercise of foreign influence, and with those nobles who were dissatisfied with their exclusion from power. At her secret instigation, Montellano gave private orders in his extensive department, contrary to the decisions of the cabinet; and with her connivance if not suggestion, all the members of administration united in demanding the re-establishment of the antient forms, and remonstrating against the increase of the military force.

In consequence of this violent struggle a total suspension of business prevailed, at the moment when prompt and vigorous exertions were necessary to resist the increasing force of the allies, and crush the cabals of the austrian partizans. The most trifling, as well as the most important measures, were equally thwarted; and a scene of discontent and confusion ensued, which scarcely finds its parallel in the history of Spain.

In this dilemma, Grammont made a final appeal to Louis, and requested his powerful intervention, as necessary to soften the opposition of the queen, and induce her to employ her agency in restoring motion to the sluggish machine of government. Too adroit to avow her opposition, she affected com-

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pliance, but exacted conditions, which under the semblance of humility, were calculated to strengthen her influence. "What I ask," she wrote to Louis, "is that I may interfere in business with the king alone, and avoid public appearances, that his reputation may not suffer. I much fear that you will repent of this; for, though, assuredly, I wish to do my best, in promoting the service of the king; yet, at my age and with my little experience, many errors are to be apprehended."

July 25.

Louis found it necessary to affect satisfaction; and, after lauding her discretion and delicacy, condescended to solicit her assistance in promoting the reappointment of Rivas, and the establishment of a new administration. Yet, notwithstanding her professions and airs of humility; and, notwithstanding she affected to concur in the dismission of Canales, she persisted in opposing the reappointment of Rivas; and by her cabals with the disaffected nobles, and her influence with the king, obstructed every measure of the embassador.

Aug. 6.

Had the spanish arms proved successful, this singular struggle might perhaps have terminated in the emancipation of the court from the trammels of France. But the unexpected surprise of Gibraltar, which had been totally neglected, in spite of repeated remonstrances from Grammont, created an alarm highly favourable to the views of Louis. Grammont seized the opportunity to decry the existing administration. "Behold," he observed, "the good effects of the admirable management of Orri and Canales. Both deserve to lose their heads. God grant that the people may not rise against the queen and her wretched government!" The queen could no longer venture to resist; Canales was dismissed, Rivas restored, and a junta of government established by the recommendation, and under the auspices, of the french embassador.

But, although the consent of the queen was extorted, she

did not disguise her repugnance. She reminded Rivas of his former misconduct; she declared that the wishes of the french monarch had alone induced her to forget the past, to restore him to favour, and to become a surety for his future behaviour. She wrote, and dictated to Philip letters demanding the return of Orri, whose presence was necessary for the re-establishment of the finances; and she made the strongest protest against the nomination of Portocarrero, and del Fresno, as members of the new administration *. CHAP. X. 1704 | 1705.

Louis, irritated by these endless remonstrances, and the contumacy of Philip, expressed his resentment in terms of reproach and bitterness, which a pedagogue would scarcely employ with his scholars.

"You desire my advice," he wrote to Philip, "and I write my sentiments; but the best advice is useless when it is not called for till the evil is at hand. It is often more easy to prevent than to remedy; so I foresee, with sorrow, numerous embarrassments, if you do not establish order in the administration of your affairs. I require the dismission of Canales, and Orri: I find on your part resistance and opposition. You see the effects of their counsels, from the fate of your arms and the loss of your fortresses. It seems, however, that the interest of those individuals engrosses your whole attention; and at the very moment when you ought to form great designs, you condescend to enter into the cabals of the princess, with which I am incessantly perplexed. I am persuaded of your sincerity, and believe you when you promise to follow my advice. Profit then by that which I now give you with my usual friendship and affection. Aug. 20.

"You will never succeed while the present disorder reigns in your affairs. Establish a wise and enlightened council; the

* Noailles, t. 3. p. 227.

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duke of Grammont will name those whom I wish to recommend. Assemble them without delay; consult them particularly on the subjects of war, finance, and policy, and issue no order without their approbation. When I see such a council established, I will cheerfully send you the succours which you need. Before that is done, I have too much reason to consider the troops as lost which I may send into Spain. Shew that there are a king and council in Spain; that you command; that those individuals who abuse your confidence are not masters of the monarchy. I have never recommended to your majesty any thing but the true glory and interests of your kingdom. Labour for both: it is the only return which I require for all I do, and for the affection I entertain for you*."

These bitter reproaches awed the timid and docile Philip, and extorted his acquiescence. By the direction of Grammont, a new council was formed. To soothe the queen, Portocarrero and del Fresno were excluded. Arias was recalled from his diocese to take a share in affairs, and the only additional members were Monterey and Montalto.

In the midst of reluctant compliance, the real sentiments of the sovereigns, or rather of the queen, were displayed by the favours heaped on the friends of the princess. As if in contrast to the honours bestowed on the cardinal and abbot d'Estrées, Canales was raised to the rank of counsellor of state, and the post of gentleman of the bed-chamber, and rewarded with a pension of 12,000 ducats; and a pension of 2,000 was granted to d'Aubigni, the secretary and confidant of the exiled favourite. The new cabinet was also reduced to a mere cypher, by the arts of the queen, and by secret orders issued through the agency of Montellano.

This unabated perseverance convinced Louis that the queen

* Noailles, t. 3. p. 229.

was secretly tutored by the princess, to obstruct the measures of the government. This suspicion, or rather conviction, formed the subject of a letter to the queen, in terms no less reproachful than that to Philip, though blended with expressions of friendship and complacency.

Sept. 20, 1704. "The consequences which I foresaw are become so serious as to oblige me to express my sentiments to your majesty with my natural sincerity, and the liberty with which a grand-father addresses his grand-daughter. I gave you the princess Orsini, from my esteem for her; and from the hope that she would form your youthful mind, and inspire you with sentiments worthy of your exalted station. I selected an embassador who had been always considered as one of her friends, that they might more readily concert together the means of serving us. You well know also the pains I took to induce you to give your confidence to the princess. Nevertheless, forgetting our mutual interests, she has indulged an enmity of which I was ignorant, and incessantly contradicted those who were charged with my affairs. Had she felt a sincere attachment to you, she would have sacrificed her own resentment, whether well or ill founded, against the embassador, instead of implicating your majesty.

"Persons of your high station ought to raise themselves above private quarrels, and act with a proper regard to their own interests, and those of their subjects, which are always identified. It, therefore, became necessary either to recal my embassador, abandon you to the princess, and suffer her to govern your kingdoms alone, or to recal her also. This I did with the hope that you would conform to my wishes; and that, by the absence of the princess, those impressions which you had received from her, would be weakened.

"But it is not true that we ever suspected her of holding

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intelligence with our enemies; a supposition which she has herself suggested to acquire merit with you. We only accused her of desiring to govern Spain; of not inspiring you with all the sentiments which you ought to have felt for me, of forming friendships and enmities in a situation where she should have been actuated by no passion but for your interest.

"I judge of the counsels she gives you by their consequences. You have often thwarted what I proposed; you have placed no confidence in my embassadors; you hate or love at the impulse of the princess; *at the age of fifteen*, you are ambitious to govern a vast but unsettled monarchy, without advice. Can you follow better or more disinterested than mine? If the princess had acted with integrity, would she have given you any other? Had she indeed acted thus, you would have seen in me no resentment, no prejudice against her, nor any other views than for our respective interests, which cannot be different.

"Your understanding, I admit, is far above your years. I am delighted that you enter into business; I approve the full confidence which the king your husband reposes in you; but both of you will for a long time need advice, because you are deficient in experience. I cannot serve you as I wish, if we do not act in concert; and if you do not place confidence in my embassadors, who have no personal interest in Spain.

"Whenever you have any particular motive or wish, communicate it to me; I will cheerfully accede to it if not dangerous; for I desire nothing so much as to give you pleasure, and to testify my affection for you in the most trifling, as I trust I do in the most important concerns.*"

These reproaches only provoked a more decided opposition, on the part of the queen; and as Tessé justly observed, she seemed resolved to overthrow the kingdom and risk the

* Oeuvres de Louis 14. t. 6, p. 167.

crown rather than not satisfy her ruling passion, and attain the object of her ardent wishes.* In fact, Grammont himself, however unwilling to acknowledge his defeat, was convinced by bitter experience of the vast ascendancy of the princess; and that no other resource was left but her intervention.

By his representations, Louis was induced to change his plan of attack, and to effect by mildness what he could not obtain by threats and violence. He complacently listened to the representations of her numerous friends at Versailles; he affected a change of sentiment, and promised to employ his interest in raising her brother the abbot de la Tremouille to the purple, and to confer on him the embassy of Rome, promises which were both fulfilled. He permitted her also to take up her residence at Toulouse, instead of proceeding as he had originally ordered to Rome.

This indulgence was attended with the desired effect. A secret suggestion from Toulouse softened the queen. She appeared to listen to the counsels of Grammont; she even promised him her support, and changed her conduct from coldness and reserve to affability and confidence. At her instigation, Montellano expressed his anxiety to act in confidence with the embassador, and promote the views of the court of Versailles. Grammont was caught in the snare; he boasted that he had cut off the heads of the hydra; he announced the return of confidence and tranquillity. His dispatches were consequently filled with praises of the queen, and expressions of gratitude for the services of the exiled favourite.

The queen profited by this change of sentiment, to obtain the recal of Berwick,† who was too independent to take a share

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, p. 157.

† "C'est un grand diable d'Anglois sec, qui va toujours droit devant lui," was the reply of the queen, when asked by Tessé, why she procured his recal. Mem. de Berwick, t. 1, p. 274.

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in these petty cabals; and the nomination of a general, calculated to further her design. She wrought on the jealousy which Grammont entertained of Berwick, and lured him with the hope of obtaining the nomination of one of his own friends; but at the same time she employed the agency of her sister the duchess of Burgundy, and madame de Maintenon, to direct the choice of the court on Tessé, whom she knew to be favourably inclined to the princess.

At length measures were prepared for unravelling the plot of this political comedy. She boldly requested, not that her favourite might be restored, but as an act of justice heard in her own defence. This artful application was successful, and drew from the king a gracious permission for the princess to repair to Versailles, which was the signal of her triumph. The arrival of Tessé at Madrid hastened the developement of the intrigue; and his representations of the conduct of the princess and of the state of Spain, assumed a colouring far different from that which had appeared in the correspondence of the late embassadors.

The joy and triumph of the queen were complete. The services of Montellano were rewarded with the rank of a duke and grandee of the second class, accompanied with increased favour and confidence. Rivas was again removed, and his office divided between Don Pedro del Campo, marquis of Mejorada, secretary for state affairs, and Don Joseph, marquis of Grimaldo, secretary of the finances and war, a personal favourite of the king and queen, who now commenced his long political career.

Grammont had the mortification to discover that he had been made the instrument of his own degradation. Irritated by the appointment of Tessé instead of one of his own creatures, and perceiving that he should be reduced to a mere cipher by the superior influence of the princess, he gave way

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to his disappointment and indignation, and filled his dispatches with invectives against her, as well as against the odious government of the queen, and the despotism which she exercised over her doting husband. He even attempted to brave her influence; and after the example of the cardinal d'Estrées employed the intervention of the confessor to sway the mind of Philip. If he did not succeed in his design, he at least persuaded a prince, who had no will of his own, to express to the king of France his disapprobation of the queen's conduct, his shame at being governed by a *girl of fifteen*, and to add that he desired the recal of the princess merely in compliance with her importunities. Proud of an apparent advantage gained at so critical a time, Grammont, in the exultation of success, described Philip as a new man, perfectly disposed to obey the impulse given by the court of Versailles. The confessor in the cant of his order considered the change as the work of God alone, whose will it was to draw the king from the abyss into which his blindness had plunged him.

But this act of imprudence accelerated the change which Grammont fondly hoped to avert. Louis, however deceived in the preceding instances, had now better learnt to appreciate the character of Philip, and the unbounded power of his consort. In his reply to the embassador, he therefore dwelt on the danger and impracticability of an attempt to estrange the king from the queen. "You know his weakness. Should he change his opinion, he will probably inform the queen that you endeavoured to govern without her; that you acted by my orders, and that I consider her interference as disgraceful to his character and opprobrious to his government. She will regard as a flagrant insult this attempt to lessen her power, to which perhaps she feels scarcely less attachment than to her husband. You are doubtless ignorant, that at the very time when he ap-

Jan. 6, 1705.

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peared to you as if he disapproved her conduct, he gave her a new proof of his deference, by requesting his father to solicit the return of the princess Orsini, as necessary for his interest and welfare. Such contradictions plainly shew the little reliance to be placed on his firmness and secrecy. The queen will be always mistress, and it is more prudent to avail ourselves of her ascendancy, than to make a fruitless attempt to subvert it.

" The king of Spain must not be informed of my sentiments on this subject, for it would only discourage him ; and the frequent reproaches I should be obliged to make on his incurable timidity, would likewise serve to render him still more timid. Tell him that I learn, with pleasure, his resolution to follow my advice; assure him that I will give none which is not consonant to his glory and welfare; that I am convinced he will receive and follow it, as coming from a father who tenderly loves him, and who is more attached to his interests than to my own. You may express my satisfaction at his firm attachment to the queen, and my persuasion that if she did not entertain the same sentiments as himself, or was capable of estranging him from me, he would not hesitate to sacrifice his affection to the solid interests of his crown. Lastly, strive, as you have begun, to gain the confidence of the queen, and not excite any suspicion that you are desirous to counteract her influence. We can rely too little on the firmness of the king, to think of reposing implicit confidence in him *."

The queen, who, during the whole intrigue, penetrated the designs of the embassador, had no sooner drawn the advantages she expected from his co-operation, than she gave way to her indignation, and solicited his recal with no less eagerness than she had shewn in procuring the dismission of his predecessors,

* Noailles, t. 3. p. 256.

the cardinal and the abbot. She even prevailed on Philip to disavow the double part he had acted, and to join in her solicitations. While he confessed his full and unabated attachment to the princess Orsini, he acknowledged that his great affection for the queen, had led him to regret that her time and regard should be shared with the princess; and that Grammont, profiting by this momentary displeasure, had drawn from him declarations contrary to his real sentiments. "I now reproach myself," he added, "for my blindness in writing against the princess and Orri, and intreat you to excuse my weakness." He bitterly complained of the attempts of d'Aubenton to estrange him from the queen, and demanded another confessor, who would confine himself to the duties of his priestly office. CHAP. X. 1704 | 1705. March 10, 1705.

Such an humiliating avowal of mental weakness, must have removed all the doubts of Louis, had he still doubted, whether his grandson was capable of governing alone, and proved that every attempt to oppose the queen could only tend to disconcert his own designs. He relinquished, therefore, his sanguine expectation of governing Spain, without intermediate agency; and recurred to his original plan of swaying the queen by means of the princess Orsini, whose utility he had now learned to appreciate. He likewise acknowledged the meritorious services of Orri, since whose removal the finances of Spain had relapsed into their original chaos, and he announced to Philip his resolution to gratify his wishes by restoring the princess and Orri, and recalling the duke of Grammont and the confessor.

The reception of the princess at the court of Versailles far surpassed her most sanguine expectations. Persons of the highest distinction, as well as the duke of Alva, embassador of Spain, went out to meet and escort her to Paris; the members of the royal family honoured her with their visits; her residence was crowded like the royal levees, and by the express com- June 4.

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mand of Louis, Torci, the most vehement opponent of her return, was constrained to testify his respects. Her appearance at Versailles was no less marked with honours and distinctions. She was received not as a suppliant, but as an injured person called into notice to render the disgrace and disappointment of her calumniators more public. She was admitted to frequent and confidential interviews with the king and madame de Maintenon, and experienced from Louis such unusual marks of favour and condescension, as shewed his anxiety to efface the recollection of his past resentment.

To the honour of this extraordinary woman, she bore this tide of returning favour with the same outward marks of serenity and firmness, as she had shewn in her disgrace. She was, however, too much gratified with such flattering and lavish distinctions to hasten from the scene of her triumph. Whether she hoped to exercise the same rule at Versailles as at Madrid, or whether she felt a real reluctance to encounter the difficulties of her former situation, is doubtful; but she suffered many months to elapse, equally disregarding the solicitations of her royal mistress, and the hints of the french cabinet that her presence was necessary in Spain.

The visible ascendancy, which her captivating manners gained over the mind of Louis himself, at length awakened the jealousy of madame de Maintenon, who omitted no effort to remove so dangerous a rival. In such circumstances no difficulties were permitted to prolong her stay; and she was allowed to new model at pleasure the government and administration of Spain. Orri was restored to his former post. At her recommendation a new embassador was appointed to fill the place of Grammont; and her choice was better adapted to the situation of Spain, than any which had been made since

the ministry of Harcourt; for Amelot, whom she selected, was not likely to embroil the court of Madrid with pretensions derived from high birth or station. He was president of the parliament of Paris, a man of great capacity and information, and had already distinguished his abilities and address, in embassies to Venice, Switzerland, and Portugal. But the qualities which had recommended him for his office, were tried prudence, circumspection, insinuating suppleness of character, and above all, an unbounded devotion to his patroness.*

* For the contents of this chapter, see Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 1. passim. ——Noailles, t. 3.——Berwick, t. 1.——Tessé, t. 2. c. 9.——Ortiz, Desormeaux, and Targe.

CHAPTER XI.

1705.

Memoir of Tessé to the French Cabinet, on the State of the Court, Cabinet, and Nation—Arrival of Amelot and Orri—Difficulties of the new Embassador—Opposition to the proposal for the admission of French Garrisons into the frontier Places—Vehemence of Montellano—Supposed Conspiracies against the King and Queen—Arrest and Banishment of Leganez—Dissatisfaction of the Grandees.

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A MEMOIR transmitted by Tessé to Chamillart, minister of war, for the information of Louis, presents a curious and interesting, though overcharged, picture of the cabinet and kingdom, at the close of the political struggle, which terminated in the restoration of the princess Orsini.

"*Camp before Gibraltar, April* 11, 1705.

"The marquis de Maulevrier will converse with M. Chamillart on the total indifference, indecision, and uncertainty of the king, entirely governed by the queen, who, with youth and sense, has not the slightest tincture of business, nor will have any, except by the allurement of the person placed about her, and in whom, whether man or woman, she may place her confidence. The mind of the queen, and perhaps her heart, would be naturally inclined to pleasure, and to keep a court with that state of freedom which women enjoy in France, and to which she was accustomed in Piedmont. The Spaniards are averse to this custom; but she would establish it in spite

of them, if the king himself, on his part, was not more solitary and less social, even than the Spaniards; for, except his favourite diversion of the chace, in which, indeed, he is almost alone, his temper inclines him to shut himself up. If the etiquette was not established in Spain, he would establish it.

" The infatuation of the king for the queen is so great, that she entirely governs him. This princess, who has been brought up by a father animated with unspeakable hatred against the French, would be glad, were it possible, to have no need of the French. She receives them only from necessity, and pays them with fine words and a flattering address; she fears and greatly respects our king, and is anxious to acquire his esteem; she naturally hates continued application; but she is desirous of information, and would be offended were any thing transacted without her knowledge.

" The Spaniards would rather be exposed to a general revolution than be governed by France; they might have submitted at first, but it is now too late. The queen is implacably averse to the duke of Grammont, because she has been informed by the king, that he attempted to exclude her from business. He at first spoke to her of the princess Orsini, as of a person, who neither for her interest nor that of France, ought to return into Spain. The queen knows from the king himself, that the embassador and confessor united to prevent the return of her favourite. A residence in the interior of the palace would be necessary, to ascertain whether it be from motives of pleasure, amusement, or business, that the queen so passionately desired her restoration, as to be capable of overturning the kingdom, and proceeding to extremities, if the king had not consented to it.

" The president of Castile*, who has a principal share in affairs,

* Montellano.

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manifests good intentions, provided every thing passes through the council, which considers itself as the guardian not only of the kingdom but of the king. I have seen private letters and orders from him to corregidors and judges, totally contrary to the decisions of the despacho,* so that he thus almost always combats what the despacho (of which he is a member) has decided. The consequence is, that whatever is granted is obstructed in the execution.

"The king of Spain will never be really king till the authority of this council is diminished: nothing would be more easy if he chose to speak, because the members may be removed at a moment's notice, without a murmur from any, even from him who is dismissed. But the king, naturally timid and indolent, says nothing; nor will he say any thing. He thinks justly, but he had better think less and speak more.

"The marquis of Mancera, who belongs to the cabinet, and knows only the antient routine, is a mere cypher. The duke of Montalto may have good intentions, but I would not answer for them. He has never been in the field, he hates war, is ignorant of it, and incapable of application. The count of Monterey has served in Flanders, and was successful; he is of a more intriguing character than the others; but as for war, he knows no more of the detail, than if he had never been governor of Flanders. The marquis of Mejorada is a man of probity, rich, well inclined; he has never served in the army, will answer for nothing, nor take any thing on himself; he would be a good and faithful clerk under any one who would carve and decide on his business; but of his own accord he will never carry his views farther than to please his superiors. These, with the french embassador, compose that cabinet so much envied by others; of a young king who thinks only of his wife, and is

* The cabinet.

fascinated by her charms; of four ministers who, though divided among themselves, agree in opposing every thing which tends to establish the royal authority; of the secretary of state who merely obeys, has no deliberative voice, and would be sorry to have one, because it would draw on him a responsibility which he will not incur. Rivas is more intelligent and capable than all of them; but he has unfortunately quarrelled with the princess Orsini, and has therefore incurred the aversion of the queen. Lastly, this council, I repeat, of the despacho, is composed of the persons aforesaid, and the french embassador, who makes the principal figure, but whose opinion is always thwarted by the four others. He goes directly to the fact and the good of the service, and acquaints the king with what is proper to be done. The king has not the necessary firmness; the despacho is passed in contradictions; the clock strikes; the king, who never puts it forward to hasten the opening of the assembly, is charmed when the time arrives for the close, and nothing is concluded.

"With regard to the council of war, it is composed of people who have never been engaged, who have read some old books on the subject, who have an inexpressible aversion and contempt for what is called war; they wish for success, yet would do nothing to promote it. The king will never have troops, armies, stores, places, fleets, arms, magazines, finally any thing which constitutes the stability and greatness of a monarchy, while he never labours for those objects which maintain it; or if he does not chuse to do business, while he has no prime minister who crushes the rest, and plays the same part in Spain, that cardinal Richelieu did under the late king, or Mazarin during the minority of the present.

"The general of a spanish army is, in Spain, the same as the doge at Venice; he has only the outward appearance; and

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except the day of action, he passes the rest of the year thwarted by a council which is never wrong. This council has not forgotten that the duke of Alva, after having conquered Portugal, was not allowed to kiss the hand of his sovereign, and, indeed, was fortunate in being permitted to retire to his home.

" The duke of Medina Celi, who has no share in business, is proud and vain of his birth; he might, perhaps, be capable of being prime minister, and flattered with holding a placé sufficiently high to give a new form to the government. But at the same time, after having employed him, one ought to be certain, at the end of two years, of hanging him.

" In the total ruin of the infantry, the council has taken the resolution of raising recruits; but to judge from those who are chosen, it is only a waste of time and money. The priests and officers of justice are charged with this levy, of which the men will carry away the clothes and arms. Till the officer is made responsible for his company, there will never be troops.

" The president of Castile names almost all the corregidores, who render him an account of every thing; and nothing is done in the towns but by them. It is consequently the spirit of the council of Castile which rules in Spain, and this council, guardian of the king and kingdom, holds both in tutelage.

" Philip the second began to place the profession of arms below that of the robe. This is carried to such a degree, that those who have longest served in the military profession, or the vice-royalties, for their recompence and establishment, look forward to a return into the council, where they no longer wage war, but pass their time in thwarting those who do. If affairs do not mend, the support of Spain will be the ruin of France. It signifies not at Madrid, whether Philip or Charles be king, provided they have one who acts only as they wish. Except half a dozen persons at most, who would follow the king, from

a point of honour, should a general revolution happen, I do not know any one at Madrid, who would not kiss the hand of the archduke.

" Notwithstanding the attachment of Philip to his grandfather, he is at times extremely obstinate. Oppose his wishes, he does not answer, but he orders the contrary to what has been advised. The queen alone can make him change from black to white.

" The only thing which rendered the duke of Berwick insufferable to the king, was because his majesty wished to return to the queen, and the duke firmly opposed it. To reconcile the service with the impatience of the king, the princess Orsini had resolved to repair with the queen to Badajoz, when she received the order to quit Spain.

" With regard to the following campaign, the best that can happen, will be not to make it. The force of the enemy will decide it; their position, where it is to be made, and how conducted; for not being superior to give the law, we must receive it. The general imagines that he has arranged his measures, and has an object in view; no such thing, a whim at Madrid occasions positive orders, and every thing is overturned.

" I have promised the king to make this campaign. I will make it with all its inconveniencies, faults, and variations; after which, I request him to order the king, his grandson, to direct his attention to some spanish general. In my situation, the king, my master, may send me to the gallies, and I will row like a slave for his service; but no upright and honest man can serve in this country, in the present general disorder, which those at Madrid wish to maintain.

" The king cares about a household, about horse and foot guards, whether his attendants be clothed, whether

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he has a carriage of oiled cloth or velvet, whether he has a court or not, exactly as I care whether I have a footman more or less.

" From the services of cardinal Portocarrero, in obtaining the testament of the late king, he ought to be employed and consulted, but he is out of the question. He is full of good intentions; yet cannot be in the ministry because he must be at the head. He cannot suffer a colleague, and is incapable of being the chief.

" The archbishop of Seville would be capable of taking the lead; and if ever the king had a first minister, would be a fitter person than any other; with the exception, however, that a cardinal priest in Spain will always be dependent on Rome, and the clergy, which is contrary to the good of the state.

" The count of Aguilar * is one of those who has most sense. He is closely united with Medina Celi. All these gentry have only one principal object, to lower the king's authority; to prevent him from forming an army, that he may never be master. The other grandees have no share in state affairs. They have their private cabals and their intrigues, but the general principle is rather to suffer a revolution than change their customs.

" Place in Spain a king who chuses to be master, who speaks, labours, and decides; or even one who selects a prime minister, gives him his whole authority, and only signs what he has settled; in a single year the king will be master, or his first minister stoned or poisoned †. It is better to risk this alternative than to drag after us, as at present, a cord which will strangle us, if peace be not made. For, it is the reigning principle

* Frigiliana.

† This remark is plainly justified by the administration of Alberoni.

in Spain, to keep every thing in suspence, to do and undo, to change the ministry every six months, to have no established fund for war, to leave all military details to the council of war, of which no member is acquainted with any thing, except scrawling on paper. It is fighting one's shadow, to think that war can be maintained on such conditions.

" The people are faithful and love the king; the army, if paid, would be faithful also; but the council does not chuse that it should.

" If any one appears truly attached to the king and to the support of his crown, all unite in a moment to overwhelm him.

" Orri had begun to sap the foundation of the authority of the councils, and was able to do it, because he made the king sign what he pleased. I know not whether all he proposed was feasible; and it is necessary to be on one's guard against the fascination of his projects, which he almost always grounds on impracticable principles. But if he had succeeded, the king of Spain might have been a powerful monarch, and facilitated every thing to our sovereign. He was supported by the queen, to whom he was agreeable; this fellow would have been hung, or become a great man."

" The foregoing is a vague piece of reasoning, which only tends to prove that the affairs of no kingdom were ever in the same degree of confusion as those of Spain; and that it is necessary, perhaps, to imitate those gamesters who throw every thing on a last stake, which ruins or enriches them *."

Such was the state of the cabinet and court, at the period when the princess was restored to authority. Amelot and Orri were dispatched to resume their respective offices, and to prepare the way for her reception.

Louis himself now condescended to own that he had injured

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2. p. 154.

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his own interests as well as those of his grandson, by interfering too much in the internal affairs of the spanish court. "Were I," he observed to Grammont, "as intimately acquainted with Spain; were I as well instructed in the details of her government as my own; were the spaniards as well known to me, as my own subjects, I could not be assured that I should give just advice in all particulars. Things will change their nature, before my letters can arrive; and the very resolution, which would be proper some days before, will perhaps be injurious at the time when it reaches Madrid. I shall therefore restrict myself to advise my grandson in general affairs, whenever there shall be time for deliberation; leaving him to draw proper lights from past experience for the regulation of his personal conduct.*"

Feb. 15. 1705.

Amelot also was strongly imbued with principles contrary to preceding embassadors. He left Paris with a conviction, that the success of his mission would depend on imitating Harcourt, in bowing to the genius of the spanish nation; in obtaining the co-operation of the ministers, not by affecting to rule, but by employing mildness and argument to convince them, that the measures he was charged to propose, were calculated to promote the glory of the sovereign and the welfare of the monarchy.

But a short stay at Madrid was sufficient to convince him, that the state of Spain and the characters of the persons with whom he was to treat, were far different from the notions which he had conceived at Versailles. For though the disposition of the queen was changed, and she now employed her power to promote the views of Louis; yet the court itself began to experience the mischievous effects of that opposition which she had recently encouraged. Not merely the discontented party, but even the ministers themselves privately obstructed or

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 271.

publicly thwarted the measures of the government; and the consequences of their open opposition or petty cabals were felt in every department of the state. CHAP. XI. 1705.

Even Montellano, whose assistance the queen had so successfully employed and liberally rewarded, had now tasted the sweets of power, and was unwilling to give place to the agents of France. He threw off the suppleness which had proved the instrument of his rise, and, without openly opposing the return of the princess, joined with the french embassador in persuading the king to appoint the duchess of Bejar as the new camerara-mayor. By an air of frankness and independence, he had gained the respect of the king and queen, and he was venerated by that party of the spaniards who were decidedly adverse to foreign controul.

Indignant at the spirit of opposition, which he encountered in every rank and party, the french minister observed, "It is the invariable object of the nobles to keep the king in tutelage, and the crown in a state of weakness; and without firmness and decision, the king of France must be exposed to endless contradictions. Nothing beneficial can be carried into execution, and all attempts to re-establish the affairs of the state will be desperate." He laid down the maxim to shew outward respect to the dignity and privileges of the grandees; but to govern as much as possible without their concurrence, and pay little attention to their sentiments or complaints.

In detailing to Louis the fall of Albuquerque and the rising symptoms of rebellion in Catalonia, he continued, "Every day augments the evil. The few troops, who still remain under their standards, daily desert for want of bread. The officers in command, destitute of every requisite, tender their resignation. The ministers of the cabinet are tranquil, seeing and hearing reiterated proofs of these miseries with perfect apathy; as May 27.

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if it concerned only their neighbours. These misfortunes are continually attributed to the want of money; yet no one gives himself the slightest trouble to raise it, nor ever dreams that it is possible." Orri proposed as an immediate remedy to resume his former plans; but for fear of giving an unfavourable impression at the very commencement of his embassy, Amelot suspended the design.

Amelot had soon reason to adduce a new proof of the truth of his observations. The irruption of the Portuguese army into Andalusia, and the dread of a rising in Catalonia and Arragon, induced Louis to provide against a reverse of circumstances by securing a stable footing in Spain. He therefore proposed the admission of french garrisons into St. Andero, St. Sebastian and St. Lucar, and the forts on the coasts of Guipuscoa and Alava. By the interposition of the queen, he obtained the acquiescence of his grandson, and his minister was charged to lay the proposal before the cabinet council.

The demand was accordingly made in the presence of the king. The members were at first startled, and preserved silence, till Montellano had the boldness to combat the proposition, and to expatiate on the disgrace which would fall on the spanish nation, should the king adopt a measure so derogatory to his own dignity, and so injurious to his subjects. He even vehemently arraigned it as calculated to increase the animosity between the two nations; and pointedly adverted to the jealousy entertained of the french army which was defending the frontier on the side of Portugal. The other members were not bold enough to follow his example; but they did not conceal their reluctance. Amelot himself lost his usual discretion; he inveighed against the apathy and prejudices of the natives, and vehemently represented the necessity of depending on France for the preservation of the monarchy.

Philip was roused by these altercations, and expressed his indignation with unusual warmth, declaring, that no distinction ought to be made between the french and spanish troops, while their two sovereigns were closely united. He sanctioned the proposal of Amelot, and insisted that orders should be given for its execution without delay and without reply.*

But notwithstanding the decision of Philip, similar difficulties were raised against the financial plans of Orri, to collect funds for the prosecution of the war; and similar altercations took place on the means for increasing the army, and improving military discipline.

A new cause of obloquy was derived from the detection of a plot, real or supposed, to seize the king and queen at the festival of the Holy Sacrament, when the court repaired with great ceremony to the palace of Buen Retiro. The chief of this conspiracy was the count of Leganez, a grandee of high rank, abilities, and influence; captain general of the artillery, and governor of the royal palace, who had been long suspected of an attachment to the House of Austria. It was to have been carried into execution by means of the english, german, and dutch deserters or prisoners of war, who had been collected in the capital, and in their extreme distress, were visited and relieved by Leganez. The plot was, as is usual, highly exaggerated by popular rumours. Insurrections were expected to take place in Madrid, Grenada, and Cadiz, where secret intelligence was maintained with the enemy; on the same day, the french and their partisans were to be massacred; the king and queen to be conveyed to Lisbon, or, if likely to be rescued, to be put to death. The explosion of the plot was to be the signal for proclaiming the archduke; while the movements of the Portuguese army, joined with the appearance of hostile squadrons

* St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 362.——Noailles, t. 3, p. 287.

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on the coast, were considered as intended to facilitate its execution.

Amelot discovered the design, and caused Leganez to be arrested, without waiting for the approbation of the french cabinet. No public proof was ever produced either of his guilt, or of the conspiracy itself; but he was sent prisoner first to Pampeluna, and afterwards conveyed to France, where he died in 1711.

The grandees were highly offended by the arrest and imprisonment of a grandee, contrary to the privileges of their order, and the forms of justice, on the foundation of vague suspicions, without formal proofs or a regular process. The informality of his arrest created an additional interest in his fate. His innocence was loudly and generally proclaimed; and this obnoxious measure threw an odium on the first proceedings of the new embassador, which neither his own discretion, nor the united approbation of both courts, were sufficient to remove *.

* Noailles, t. 3. p. 291—300.——St. Philippe, t. 1. p. 361.——Tessé, t. 2. p. 196.

CHAPTER XII.

1705.

Failure of the Siege of Gibraltar—Letters from Marshal Tessé—Events of the Campaign in Portugal—The Allies land in Catalonia—Capture of Barcelona—The Eastern Parts of Spain declare in favour of Charles.

UNDER the administration of Amelot, the most afflicting events threatened the throne of Philip and the downfal of the french power in Spain.

The capture of Gibraltar made a deep impression on the mind of Philip, and he sacrificed every other military object, for the recovery of this important fortress, the loss of which at once wounded his pride and endangered his safety. As early as October, he dispatched the marquis of Villadarias with a body of troops from the army in Estremadura to lay siege to Gibraltar by land; while a french squadron from Cadiz under the command of the baron de Pontis, blockaded it by sea. But from the inexperience of the general, and still more from the want of every requisite for so arduous an undertaking, the besiegers made little progress.

At length the operations on the western frontier were suspended for the pursuit of this darling object. Tessé, who had recently succeeded Berwick in the command, was dispatched to press the siege, and encouraged with the promise of immediate

CHAP. XII. 1705.

succours and supplies. But the intrepid governor and brave garrison held out against all attacks by land; while the british squadrons threw in continual reinforcements of troops, as well as supplies of provisions and stores. On the other hand the operations of the spanish army were frustrated or delayed by a degree of improvidence scarcely conceivable, no less than by the obstacles derived from the peculiar nature of the country.

Jan. 2. 1705.

"Here I am," wrote Tessé, to the prince of Condé, "before the pillars of Hercules; and this siege which has been undertaken with more perseverance and spirit, than means of ensuring success, would have been happily terminated, if those means had been provided.

"But in Spain, to use the old proverb, we live only from day to day; and think not of remedies, till evils appear. I found the siege indeed farther advanced than I had reason to expect, notwithstanding the supplies of succours to the besieged, one instance of which I had the misfortune to witness. The English set us an example in keeping the sea in all seasons with as much tranquillity, as your swans at Chantilly. But when the breaches had been rendered practicable; and only a few days were required to batter down what remained, our ammunition failed, and our useless artillery could not be changed. The squadron of baron Pontis, without which the reduction cannot be completed, was detained by contrary winds. No convoys made their appearance, no cannon arrived, and on a mere point of honour a few shots only were fired every hour. Thus the enemy had time to repair their damages, while our army is almost annihilated.

"I was told on my arrival here, that I should find 20 pieces of artillery and 300,000 pounds of powder; but the cannon are still at Cadiz, and I have no intelligence of the powder, which was to be forwarded from Toulon. If you ask why we

do not raise the siege? I reply, the cannon and stores cannot be carried away by land, and we have no means to convey them by sea. In a word, notwithstanding all the measures said to be adopted for obtaining money and other requisites, they are still in the same wretched condition at Madrid as we are here.* CHAP. XII. 1705.

In this situation of affairs the squadron of Pontis arrived, and sanguine expectations were formed of immediate success. But in the midst of these hopes it was defeated by an english fleet; three men of war were taken, and the remainder with difficulty escaped. This disaster rendered the farther prosecution of the siege impracticable; and the reluctant consent of Philip was extorted to leave Gibraltar to its fate.† April 1705.

On the day the siege was raised, Tessé wrote to Louis in the same querulous style which we find in all his letters from Spain. April 24.

"I received between Xeres and Seville, the honour of your majesty's letter. I admire your majesty's firmness and goodness; for if you had scolded us all, beginning with the king your grandson, you would not have treated us according to our deserts. Never, to use the old proverb, was a plough so ill harnessed as this country; where every thing passes without order, without precaution, without decision, without money, without objects; in a word, without every thing which is the support of states. If it was intended to ruin the monarchy, nothing could have been done more to the purpose.

"Your majesty will have seen by my letters to Chamillard, the strange situation of what is here called war, troops, money, magazines, and preparations. God grant that the arrival of Orri may be a remedy for so many disorders; at least, that

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, p. 147.

† Targe, t. 2, & 3. passim.——St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 284—305.——Tindal, v. 16, p. 55.——Cunningham, c. 7.——History of Europe, 1704—1705, passim.

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one person may be found near the king of Spain who can give orders. Three months have passed, and nothing whatever has been forwarded in the department of war. The duke of Grammont has worn out his lungs, and I my patience.

"We have failed before Gibraltar for want of method and precaution; and of those arrangements with which no one is better acquainted than your majesty. The unfortunate loss of your ships only happened because they do not comprehend at Madrid either the effect or practicability of what they order; they one day destroy what they do another.

"The general spirit of the Spaniards, even of the most zealous, is to foresee nothing; to think that they are exculpated for the misfortunes they bring on themselves, by yielding to superior power. The king himself seems occasionally to desire that chance should furnish what can only be hoped for from the best combined precautions, and his specific orders have an air of obstinacy which must injure his service.

"I will not answer for being able to settle at Madrid the levy of militia, or of many other things which I feel to be necessary. I thought the queen would enter into business. She promised me, and she is capable; but your majesty knows what a young person is, however perfect.

"As to the funds which your majesty commands me to establish for the subsistence of the troops, they have never laid before me any thing but impossibilities; and the troops are neither paid nor recruited. In a word, Sire, all things are in a miserable state.

"I will inform your majesty of what passes at Madrid; and I will, as I am commanded, speak freely to the catholic king; for I cannot spend my life in saying agreeable things when I do not feel them*."

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, p. 187.

On resuming his command on the Portuguese frontier, Tessé was scarcely less embarrassed. The army being inefficient and ill provided with stores, he was forced to separate his troops and remain on the defensive. He had the mortification to witness the capture of Salvatierra, Albuquerque, and Valencia de Alcantara, and deemed himself fortunate in preserving even Alcantara and Badajos, and covering the spanish territory from the incursions of the enemy. CHAP. XIII. 1705.

In one of his letters to the prince of Condé, he depicted his situation in strong colours. After tracing the unfortunate circumstances of the campaign, he added, "Such is the short detail of the past; but if I wrote as diffusely as St. Austin, I should never sufficiently describe by what premeditated contradictions the most faithful have been disgusted, and the most zealous discouraged. I have been compelled to leave at Cadiz, more than a hundred leagues from hence, two french batallions, and a regiment of dragoons, because I was obliged to hurry away, and because spanish lethargy had provided nothing. We shall see what the new reign or government will produce: it cannot be worse than the past. The illness and delay of the princess Orsini, throw me into despair. There are many things of importance which cannot proceed till she is at Madrid *." June 17.

"A few hours later," he wrote to Amelot, "and Badajos would have been taken, to the joy of the garrison, because the spanish troops were unpaid, and the officers highly discontented; because the necessary orders were badly given, and worse executed; and the spirit of insubordination universal." He pressed for french officers in the garrisons, adding, "I would not trust a Spaniard, however brave, with the defence of a steeple. They fight duels; but

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, p. 195.

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as a body, and for their country, is an idea which never enters their heads *

In proportion to the misfortunes of the army, and the embarrassments of the court, internal discontents increased; the disaffected became bolder and more active, and the public mind was agitated with rumours of real or pretended plots against the government. The count of Cifuentes, a nobleman of high rank, and turbulent spirit, fitted by his skill in intrigue and popularity to become the head of a faction, had in the preceding year, formed an austrian party in Andalusia, where his connections were extensive. His machinations being discovered, he was arrested on his return from Madrid; but he found means to escape, and secretly traversed Arragon, Valencia, and Andalusia, increasing the number of his partisans, and preparing the way for a general revolt †.

The designs of Cifuentes were scarcely discovered before the conspiracy attributed to Leganez, created additional alarm, and diffused a sentiment of discontent and suspicion throughout the court and capital ‡.

In the midst of the disquietudes which agitated Spain, the defection of the duke of Savoy was an irreparable misfortune to the bourbon arms in Italy. This prince, whose necessary and fundamental principle of policy was to maintain the balance between the two great rival powers, had no sooner secured his own personal interest, and the establishment of his daughters by the bourbon alliance, than he endeavoured to reduce the preponderance of the house of bourbon in Italy, which threatened his own independence. He, therefore, tampered with the allies; and at the very moment when

* This petulant remark savours more of ill humour than justice, as the whole history of the war will prove.

† St. Philippe t. 1, p. 250.——‡ See page 181.

Vendome had led a considerable force into the Trentin, to favour the operations of the army in Bavaria, he suddenly declared in favour of Austria, and announced his accession to the grand alliance. His machinations, however artfully conducted, could not be entirely concealed from the vigilance of the french monarch. Vendome hastened back from the Trentin, arrested his officers, and incorporated many of his troops in the french ranks; while an army under the command of Tessé advanced through Savoy, and a laconic epistle from Louis denounced the vengeance of an injured sovereign. The principal places of Piedmont were rapidly reduced; and the duke would have fallen the sacrifice of his varying policy, had not the imperial general Staremberg suddenly broken up his quarters in the midst of winter, joined him by a rapid and masterly march, and enabled him to maintain the struggle against a vast superiority of force, till succours could arrive from the allied powers.*

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Sept. 1704.

Dec. 1704.

These events, while they distressed the court of Madrid, gave new encouragement to the allies and partisans of Austria; and contributed to hasten the measures taken in Portugal for the intended invasion. Other incidents gave additional union and strength to the cause. The duke of Cadaval, principal minister of Portugal, was disgraced in consequence of his secret connections with France. A new attack of the apoplexy having reduced the king to a state of imbecility, the queen dowager was called to the regency; and the administration intrusted to those who were well inclined to England and Austria. The bickerings and rivalry between the prince of Darmstadt and the admiral of Castile, which had greatly tended to mar the designs of the allies, were also terminated by the decline of the admiral's influence and his subsequent death, the effect of chagrin and disappointed ambition.†

* House of Austria, v. 1, ch. 69.——† St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 323.

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With this auspicious change in their prospects, the allies sent a reinforcement of 15,000 men to Portugal, under the command of the gallant Peterborough; and made active preparations for a vigorous campaign. It was intended that while the combined forces invaded Spain on the side of Beira and Alemtejo, an English squadron should convey the archduke himself with 6,000 men to effect a descent on the coast of Italy, and assist in the unequal struggle which the duke of Savoy was maintaining against the bourbon arms. This detachment departed under the command of Peterborough, and on reaching Gibraltar the prince of Darmstadt joined the expedition as a volunteer. From his extensive influence in Catalonia, he urged the advantage of landing in Spain instead of Italy, and profiting by the general discontent; but Peterborough, who better appreciated the weakness of his force, persisted in the original design. Charles himself, however, naturally espoused the proposal of the prince, and Catalonia was destined to become the scene of action and the source of a civil war, which shook the throne of Philip, and was not extinguished till after peace was restored between the contending powers.

While the squadron lay at anchor in the bay of Altea near Valencia, Peterborough published a manifesto declaring that he was come to assert the just rights of the House of Austria to the spanish throne, and deliver the country from the irksome yoke of a foreign domination. This address was actively dispersed by means of the austrian partisans, particularly of Basset, an enterprising officer who had accompanied the expedition. The inhabitants of Altea and the neighbouring districts rose with one accord, and flocked in crowds to hail the archduke as their deliverer. At the same time a commotion arose in Denia, and the garrison surrendering without opposition, were replaced by a body of 400 men from the fleet, under the

command of general Ramero, one of the spanish adherents of the archduke. In this petty town, Charles was first proclaimed king of Spain with the usual solemnities. CHAP. XII. 1705.

Elate with this success the new sovereign over-ruled the opposition of Peterborough; and after a short delay the squadron proceeded directly to the road of Barcelona, and landed a body of troops to the east of the city. Aug. 25. The difficulties attending their situation were however so great, that during three weeks no progress was made in its reduction. The garrison was not inferior in force to the besiegers; and the fortifications were commanded by the strong citadel of Montjuich, which from its lofty situation might be deemed almost impregnable. Velasco, the gallant viceroy, who had before saved the city, still held the government, and was assisted by the duke of Popoli, who had equally distinguished himself in the preservation of Naples. By the firmness of these nobles, and the zeal with which they inspired the garrison, the inhabitants were retained in their duty to Philip, the disaffected in the vicinity intimidated, and the magnificent representations of the prince of Darmstadt, that the whole country waited only the signal to rise, were proved to be as fallacious as on the former occasion. The austrian standard was joined only by about 1,500 miquelets or mountaineers, men who gained a precarious subsistence by smuggling and plunder, and were averse to the slightest restraint of discipline.

In consequence of this disappointment, the allied camp became a scene of disunion, tumult, and despondency; the generals, far from devising plans for the annoyance of the enemy, seemed wholly occupied in accusing and recriminating each other. Repeated councils of war only tended to aggravate and prolong their disputes; the prosecution of the siege was publicly declared an act of madness; and the dutch gene-

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ral even announced his resolution to disobey the orders of the commander in chief, rather than sacrifice his soldiers in so wild an enterprise.

In the midst of these feuds, the increasing representations of the prince kept up the resolution of Charles not to re-embark the troops. The garrison imprudently suffering themselves to be shut up within the walls, the desultory parties which had joined the austrian standard, aggravated the internal discontents by intercepting the supply of provisions; while the austrian emissaries roaming over the inland country, made continual though silent accessions to their cause.

At length Peterborough himself was stung with the reproaches of Charles and the prince; and called forth his resources to complete an enterprise, which he had represented as impracticable. As the fort of Montjuich commanded the fortifications on the weakest side of the town; and as the garrison, from confidence in the strength of its works and towering situation, were likely to be unprepared for a sudden attack, he formed the daring design of surprising this important post. To conceal his purpose, he called a council of war both of the land and sea officers, and acquiesced in their decision, that if the siege should be deemed impracticable on a certain day, the troops were to be re-embarked, and an attempt made on the coast of Naples. No circumstance was suffered to occur which might encourage the prosecution of the siege. On the appointed day, he ordered the battering artillery to be sent on board, and coolly made the requisite preparations for re-embarking the troops, disregarding alike the bitter remonstrances of Charles, and the murmurs of those whose hopes were disappointed. Sensible that secrecy was the soul of such an enterprise, he suffered not the slightest hint to escape, even to his confidential friends Stanhope and Methuen. He

silently matured the arrangements for his design, prepared the necessary artillery, and posted 1,000 men in a convent midway between the citadel and the town.

In the evening, and at the very moment when the inhabitants of Barcelona were rejoicing for their apparent deliverance, he headed a detachment of 1,200 foot and 200 horse; and stopping in his march at the quarters of the prince, disclosed the design, and claimed his assistance. Although all intercourse had been suspended between the two rivals for several weeks, the challenge was as readily accepted as it was gallantly given, and these two great but eccentric men, in a moment, buried all memory of their former animosity to unite their skill and bravery against the common enemy.

Taking a circuitous route at the foot of the heights, they arrived early in the morning under the hill on which the fortress is situated, about a quarter of a mile from the outer works. The earl waiting till the break of day, formed a part of his detachment into two bodies, each consisting of a forlorn hope of 30 men, and an additional party of 60 supported by 200; while 500 were drawn up in the rear, as a corps of reserve.

The rival heroes headed the party which was destined for the most dangerous part of the enterprise, the assault of a bastion on the side of the town. At the appointed signal, the troops advanced over the glacis, coolly received the fire of the enemy, leaped into the covert way, dispersed its defenders, and gaining the bastion, fortified its gorge with a heap of stones, left there by accident. This attack engrossing the principal attention of the garrison, the other body advanced with far less danger, gained a demi-bastion on the western side of the fortifications, cast up a slight entrenchment, and turned the artillery against the inner works. The garrison being driven from the exterior works, orders were given to bring up the artillery, pre-

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viously prepared, and to advance the 1,000 men posted in the convent.

But the alarm had spread into Barcelona, and a party of dragoons was detached by the governor, 200 of whom dismounting, reached the citadel. On the arrival of this succour, the garrison gave a shout of exultation; and the prince of Darmstadt mistaking it for an offer to surrender, incautiously advanced towards the inner works with a party of 300 men. The garrison suffered them to enter the ditch, and then suddenly sallying forth, took 200 prisoners, and poured a heavy fire on the rest who were making their escape. The prince fell by an accidental shot in the conflict.

At this moment, a new alarm was given to the assailants by the approach of a strong corps from the town. Peterborough riding forward to observe them, his officers and soldiers were seized with a sudden panic, abandoned their posts, and began their retreat. Fortunately apprised of this movement before it was discovered by the garrison, he returned, rallied the troops, and led them back to their posts. At the same time, the 200 men just captured by the spaniards, and sent down to the town, met the hostile party advancing, and gave the intelligence that Peterborough and the prince of Darmstadt were themselves present in the assault. The commander of the reinforcement naturally supposing that the general in chief would not engage in so desperate an enterprise, without the support of the whole army, was alarmed for his own safety, and hastened back to the town lest he should be intercepted.

The body of 1,000 men now arriving from the convent, the posts which had been taken, were properly secured; a communication was opened with the camp to the east of the town, and the battering artillery re-landed. Two mortars were brought to bear on the inner fortifications, and by a continu-

ance of the almost miraculous good fortune attending this singular enterprise, the shells set fire to a magazine, which blew up the face of one of the bastions, and killed the governor, with some of his principal officers. The alert and active miquelets seized the advantage of this moment of confusion and terror, rushed into the works, and being supported by the regulars, the remnant of the garrison could only escape an instant massacre, by surrendering as prisoners of war.

On the capture of Montjuich, 14,000 Catalans at once joined the austrian standard. But, notwithstanding this accession of force, the loss of the citadel, and the effect which the besieging batteries produced on the works, Velasco still held out, and declared his resolution to bury himself under the ruins of the town. Had the inhabitants been animated by similar ardour, they might have defended themselves till the arrival of succours. But the austrian party was rapidly increasing, and the garrison discouraged: the people clamoured for a capitulation, and many of the troops either deserted to the enemy or joined the disaffected. The intrepid governor was at length reduced to capitulate. He obtained the condition that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, and be escorted to the neighbouring fortress of Roses; but, in quitting the place, was exposed to the fury of the people, and he, as well as the loyal adherents of Philip, owed their safety to the personal exertions of their gallant conqueror*.

* The best and most accurate account of the siege of Barcelona, and of the motives which actuated the earl of Peterborough, is to be found in the Memoirs of Captain Carleton, who accompanied his lordship, and took an important part in the expedition. He proves, beyond a doubt, that the enterprise was solely planned by Peterborough, and that the prince of Darmstadt only joined him when marching to the attack. Such undoubted authority relieves us from the trouble of examining the controversy respecting the conduct of Lord Peterborough, which was agitated with such acrimony at home, and of which an analysis may be found in the pages of Rapin.

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On the 23d of October, Charles was received in the capital of Catalonia with extraordinary transports of joy, and solemnly proclaimed sovereign of the spanish monarchy; and, at the same time, the inhabitants exultingly burnt the charter of privileges given by Philip, to receive a new grant from the hand of their chosen sovereign.

Of the garrison which took the road to Roses, all except 1,000 men, joined the austrian standard. Desertion and disaffection appeared in every quarter, and rapidly extended over the eastern part of Spain. In Catalonia, the insurgents under the direction of Cifuentes, and supported by the allies, secured, almost without a struggle, the important posts of Taragona, Tortosa, Lerida, and Girona, and the principal places of the province, except Roses, and even spread themselves into the neighbouring districts of Aragon. A regiment of 750 horse, which had been employed to blockade Denia, went over to the archduke, and, under the command of Romero, favoured a general rising of the people of Valencia. Basset, with a party of Catalans and Valencian insurgents, advanced against the capital, where a strong party was formed for the archduke. Confiding in their support, one of the chiefs advanced to the very gates, holding in one hand his drawn sword, and in the other a portrait of the austrian prince. The people burst into a transport of enthusiasm, even the soldiery joined in the revolt, and the city received the austrian partisans without a moment's opposition. The viceroy, the marquis of Villagarcia, was permitted to retire; but the archbishop affecting to yield to force and surrender himself prisoner, embraced the cause of Charles, and afterwards became one of his favourite and confidential ministers. Finally, the principal places were rapidly reduced, and nothing remained to Philip in Valencia and Murcia, except the fortress of Alicante and Peñisola.

As the season was too far advanced for farther operations, the fleet took its departure. One division under Sir Cloudesly Shovel returned to England, twenty-five sail under Sir John Lake wintered at Lisbon, and a light squadron of six frigates remained for the protection of Barcelona. The city was placed in a state of defence, and the inhabitants enrolled and disciplined. Six native regiments were raised to reinforce the small army of Charles; while Peterborough and Cifuentes, at the head of a flying corps, established garrisons in the frontier towns, and cut off all communication with the interior. The ferment extended so rapidly, even into Aragon, that the archbishop of Saragossa could scarcely maintain the peace of that capital, where the inhabitants rose against the french troops sent for their protection. Disaffection, however, continued to increase; it was deemed imprudent to call the troops into action, and no operations could be undertaken to check the progress of revolt, till the arrival of a french force*.

* St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 267—342.——Ortiz, lib. 22, c. 4, 5.——Targe, t. 4, p. 109, and seq.—Desormeaux.——Defence of the earl of Peterborough—Carleton's Memoirs.——History of Europe for 1705—Tindal, Cunningham.

CHAPTER XIII.

1705.

Arrival and honourable reception of the Princess Orsini—Increasing feuds in the Cabinet—Dissatisfaction of the Grandees, and dispute on a point of etiquette—Correspondence of the Princess with Torci—Farther changes in the Cabinet—Montellano removed from the Presidency of Castile—Increasing discontents of the Nobles—Spirited resolution of Philip to head the army in Catalonia—Establishment of the Regency on his departure—Interesting Letter from the Queen to Louis the Fourteenth.

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AFTER long delays the princess Orsini departed from a court of which she appeared as the reigning divinity; and her entrance into the capital of Spain resembled the triumphal entry of a sovereign into his own dominions. At the distance

Aug. 5.

of two leagues, she was met by the king and queen, and after an affectionate embrace, was invited to take a place in the royal carriage.* But she was now become too discreet to violate the rigid rules of spanish etiquette, by accepting an honour to which a subject was not entitled. She resumed her office of camerara-mayor, by the resignation of the duchess of Bejar, and the queen seemed as if unable to testify the warmth of her affection to the princess, or the extent of her gratitude to the king of France. Her return was hailed by both courts, as the

* "Le roi et la reine la reçurent avec des demonstrations de joie, dont on n'a point d'exemple de souverain à sujet, &c." St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 301.

panacea to close the wounds which her recal had inflicted. Louis himself, with a degree of humility to which he had long been a stranger, acknowledged his own error in recalling her from Madrid; and in his letters to the queen, he observed, "The confidence you will please to place in her, together with her understanding and zeal, will restore the affairs of the monarchy, and effectually promote the interests of the two crowns."

The presence of the princess did not, however, allay the feuds which had been called into action during the recent struggles. The nobles, proud of the part they had acted, and presuming on the attentions of the court, endeavoured to maintain their temporary influence, and profited by the public distress to resume their ascendancy over the crown. Even those who had been chosen for ministers, with the hope that they would obey the hand which had raised them, had disappointed the expectation of their employers; they had either been dismissed in disgrace or voluntarily withdrawn from responsibility, and by their example and complaints contributed to increase the public odium. Of all who had originally promoted the accession of a bourbon prince, scarcely a single person now remained in power.

In such a disposition of the public mind, every proposal to draw forth resources adequate to the exigency of the moment, was either evaded or opposed. An attempt to introduce a new species of pole tax, after the example of France, almost excited a rebellion, and was never carried into effect; and to meet even the ordinary necessities of the government, the king was reduced to accept a donation of two millions of livres from France. The troops, left without pay or appointments, deserted in whole companies; discontent spread through every rank, and the officers themselves, who were intrusted with the defence

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of places, were merely anxious to obtain an honourable pretext for capitulation.

The first subject of opposition encountered by the princess arose from that invariable object of jealousy, the royal guards.

Considering the doubtful tenure of the spanish crown, the degraded state of the royal authority, and the prevailing discontents, it had been long the object of the french cabinet to abolish the antient guards, and replace them by a more numerous as well as more loyal body of troops, both to give dignity to the crown and security to the person of the king.

Such an innovation among a people accustomed to see their sovereigns almost unattended, like a father in the midst of his family, excited the greatest apprehension and jealousy: it was opposed by all ranks and parties, who considered it as a measure calculated to extinguish the remains of their liberty and independence. No persuasion or lure could subdue this opposition, till the new government was perfectly established, and the increasing dangers from without, as well as rumours of plots within, silenced, though without suppressing, the national sentiment. The fertile genius of Orri had discovered funds to provide for the expence; and the address of the princess was employed to obviate the objections of the most strenuous remonstrants. To reconcile the higher ranks, four companies of cavalry were formed, two of spaniards, one of italians, and one of walloons, consisting of 200 gentlemen each. The captains, who bore the rank of colonel, were the count of Lemos, the dukes of Sessa and Popoli, and the prince of Tzerclaes Tilli. To these companies of parade were added an efficient force of foot guards, consisting of two regiments of 3,000 men each, one walloons and one spaniards.

But neither custom nor interest could reconcile the spaniards to the innovation; and it was incessantly opposed, not only by

remonstrances from the grandees in avowed opposition, but even by the nobles attached to the court, and not unfrequently by the cabinet itself. CHAP. XIII. 1705.

A petty incident which happened immediately after the arrival of the princess, shewed the jealousy with which the nobles regarded this obnoxious body. The prince of Tzerclaes, whose military talents and services had procured him the command of the walloon company, was created a grandee, and honoured with the privilege of seating himself, instead of standing, between the king and the body of grandees at the public celebration of mass. This privilege, though shared with the other captains, was immediately made a pretext for complaint. The grandees joined in a representation to the princess against this breach of etiquette, and the privileges of their order, which was entitled to precedence next to the royal family; and refused to attend the mass unless it was revoked. A consultation was held in conjunction with Amelot, and the princess was deputed to reply, that the king would listen to their representations, but persisted in his resolution. They departed in high disgust, and only three appeared at the next celebration of the mass. To pacify them, the king declared that there was no intention to infringe their privileges; but the greater number still continued refractory, and at the Te Deum for the victory of Cassano, the king assisted without parade, to avoid a public appearance of disrespect to his person. Still only eight were gained over, and it was found necessary to remove the two spanish captains, the count of Lemos and duke of Sessa, and to transfer their offices to the duke of Ossuna and the count of Aguilar, who had shewn more flexibility and attachment to their sovereign.

At length this contumacious and captious spirit seems to have exhausted the patience of the princess herself, though she

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had been hitherto the principal advocate for conciliating the nobles. We find her observing in a letter to Torci, "the

Oct. 14.

essential requisite is not to gratify the grandees; for that cannot be done without confirming the power they have usurped, which would occasion the loss of the throne, and risk the life of the king. We must pursue our plans for raising troops and finding the means of paying them, and despise the rest." *

About the same time she ventured to dissipate the illusion which still prevailed in the french cabinet, by a true though unvarnished picture of the real state of the spanish nation, and the views of the different parties.

Nov. 6.

"It is, Sir," she said in a letter to Torci, "an incontestable truth, that the spaniards delivered themselves over to a french prince, merely from the apprehension of not being succoured by the emperor. The grand alliance was disunited; France had stationed powerful armies on the frontiers; and the House of Austria appeared to be abandoned by the allies, who demanded the dismemberment of the monarchy. Doubtless these reasons operated on those who advised Charles the second to make the will in favour of the duke of Anjou. Philip was accordingly received with acclamations, and no disaffection appeared as long as these sentiments prevailed.

"But scarcely had the principal powers of Europe declared for the archduke, before the french were no longer safe at Madrid. Blecourt, who was there at the time, will acknowledge this; and I have several letters from cardinal Portocarrero, during my residence at Barcelona, which prove my assertion. The defection of the duke of Savoy, and the war with Portugal, shook the public mind; but it was the fatal day of Hochstedt which produced an almost total alienation, and was considered by this country as the ruin of France. From that mo-

* St. Simon, t. 3, p. 228.

ment, the nobles, forgetting the favours and liberality of their king our master, conceived that they could not otherwise prevent the division of their monarchy, than by ranging themselves with the allies, who appeared the strongest side. The people also, disgusted by the extinction of commerce, habitually detesting the french, and seduced by numerous agents, who were scattered over the provinces without the fear of punishment, began to consider the acknowledgment of the archduke as the means of disposing of their wool, the riches of Spain, to the english and dutch, and of securing the safety of their galleons, the whole profits of which, as they complain, are monopolised by the french.

" These considerations, and the opinion that France is reduced to the last extremity, have thrown the most loyal into their present state of apathy. All other pretexts are mere inventions to cover the real motive. Hence, to have an excuse for changing their king, without incurring the charge of disloyalty, the spanish government, last year, ruined the troops by barbarous usage; and none can be induced to serve in the infantry. If Grammont deserves reproach, it is for not having discovered this iniquitous mystery, and for having laboured, like others, in reducing the affairs of Spain to the deplorable state in which Amelot found them.

" I pass, Sir, to the changes which have taken place since the arrival of the new embassador. As these changes were mostly made in my absence, you will easily believe that I am not interested in approving them. Nevertheless, without entering into details, I do not hesitate in declaring that there is not one which does not contribute to avert the ruin of the monarchy. Some have re-established, in a certain degree, the royal authority; others have given occasion to assemble troops; and none have been in the least connected with the revolt of the Catalans, or

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the disaffection of the natives of Valencia and Arragon. Those provinces are the best used; they pay little to the king, and, as far as I know, not the smallest of their privileges has been violated."*

Without the complete direction of the cabinet, it was in vain to propose beneficial or consistent plans. Accordingly Montellano, who had acquired great popularity by his strenuous opposition to the recent innovations, was removed from the presidency of Castile. His office was transferred to Ronquillo, formerly corregidor of Madrid, who, with the duke of Veraguas, obtained a seat in the cabinet. These two ministers were selected in consequence of their professed attachment to France; and as the princess could not be admitted on account of her sex, the french embassador, who was the ostensible organ of the two courts, became the invariable object of spanish odium.

Dec. 1. The grandees on their part were not baffled or discouraged, but united their whole strength to obtain the establishment of a spanish administration. Their proposal was at first eluded; but the loss of Barcelona, the defection of all Catalonia except Roses, and the rising insurrections in Valencia and Arragon, compelled the princess and Amelot to overlook the mischiefs already derived from the tardiness and contradictions of the spanish councils. They accordingly held a new conference with the duke of Medina Celi and the count of Frigiliana, the chiefs of the opposition, listened to their representations of the national grievances, and offered to form a new cabinet, and revive the antient mode of transacting business with the spanish secretary of state. But the concession being deemed a proof of weakness, new demands were brought forward, and it was insisted that the french embassador should not assist in the cabinet, unless the spanish embassador was admitted into that of Ver-

* St. Simon, t. 3, p. 233.

sailles. The two chiefs recommended themselves and the duke of Veraguas as alone capable of directing the helm of state; but Medina Celi declined the offer of a seat in the cabinet, under the pretext of his infirmities. The other nobles either rejected all offers, or were unable to afford efficient support, from want of abilities and want of influence.

The negotiation was accordingly again broken off, and the french agents persuaded Philip to adopt the only alternative which his situation permitted, and throw himself intirely on the support of Louis. He made therefore an earnest and pathetic appeal to his grandfather. After representing the deplorable state of his kingdom, the disaffection of his subjects, the dilatory spirit of those who were most faithful to his cause, and the alarming deficiency of money and troops, he urgently solicited assistance. "To you," he said, "under Providence, I am chiefly indebted for my crown. You will not, I am convinced, permit the sceptre to be wrested from the hands in which you placed it, nor leave me to return to France a deposed sovereign, a disgrace to my family, and a burthen to my country." He concluded with declaring his resolution to lead his army into Catalonia, and crush the party of his rival before he could receive reinforcements. With this representation, the count of Aguilar was dispatched to Paris.

Louis, though not deficient in natural affection, was too sensible of his own interest to need this pathetic appeal to his feelings. Although he was pressed on all sides by numerous enemies; although his own frontier was exposed to invasion, he made the most strenuous efforts to sustain the throne of his grandson, and promised to detach a considerable reinforcement to join him under the walls of Barcelona.

The departure of Philip to the army being decided, the next object was to settle the government during his absence. Ac-

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cording to former precedents, the king would have been accompanied by a part of the cabinet and the french embassador, while the administration was vested in the queen with the title of regent. But past experience had taught both the queen and princess to regard this arrangement with real or feigned reluctance. The princess therefore proposed, that Philip should be accompanied by the count of Frigiliana in the capacity of grand master of the household, to gratify the spaniards, and regulate himself by the advice of Tessé; while Amelot was to remain at Madrid and assist her in directing the operations of the regency. The queen testified her embarrassment in a letter to Louis.

"I never," she said, "loved to rule; I am already too well acquainted with the difficulties of government and find nothing agreeable in it. The unfortunate situation of our present affairs will render my office still more troublesome; and I own that I should have found it unsupportable, did not your minister, in whom I place implicit confidence, assist me, and witness my conduct. He will doubtless inform you that my character was greatly mistaken, when I was represented as a princess who loved to interfere in business. Would to God that I had no other business than that which occupies most women, namely, to amuse myself with such trifles as would enable me to pass a life less agitated than at present."*

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 326.

CHAPTER XIV.

1706.

Expedition against Barcelona—Philip joins the army under the direction of Tessé—Siege of Barcelona—Arrival of succours; and precipitate retreat of the French and Spanish army beyond the Pyrenees—Insurrection of Arragon and Valencia—Charles proclaimed at Saragossa—Philip returns to Madrid—Removes the royal residence to Burgos—Spirited conduct of Philip and the Queen; and zeal and loyalty of the Castilians—The allies occupy Madrid—Toledo declares for the archduke in consequence of the intrigues of Portocarrero and the Queen Dowager—Able Campaign of Marshal Berwick—Forces the allies to retreat into Valencia—Philip returns to Madrid and resumes the Government—Military operations in the Netherlands and Italy—Siege and battle of Turin—Loss of the Spanish Dominions in Lombardy.

EVERY exertion was made and every consideration sacrificed for the expedition against Catalonia, on which the fate of Spain seemed to depend. All the french troops except four squadrons were drawn from the western army; the frontier was left to the defence of the native militia, and the new levies. But to supply, as far as possible, the deficiency of force by the abilities of the general, the duke of Berwick, who was deservedly beloved in Spain, and distinguished for his skill in defensive warfare, was appointed to this arduous command.

The meditated invasion of Catalonia was not however carried into execution without a recurrence of the same difficulties as had already marred so many of the designs of Philip.

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Tessé was ill calculated for the arduous and delicate enterprise. Though personally brave and skilful, he was cautious and indecisive, and in all his designs looked rather to safety than success. Accustomed to the mechanical regularity of a despotic government, and the prompt obedience of a well disciplined army, he was confounded and perplexed by the cabals of the court and nobles, the disaffection of the people, and the insubordination of the troops; and his letters to Versailles were filled with alarms and forebodings, complaints and despondency. He represented the plans formed at Madrid, as the fantasies of drowning persons who eagerly catch at shadows; he described the spaniards as anxious for a change of sovereigns, and declared that an army in every province would scarcely suffice to maintain the royal authority. He dwelt on the difficulty of traversing sixty leagues of country embarrassed with defiles, intersected by mountains and rivers, and unable to furnish the most indispensable supplies. He shewed the uncertainty of the communication by sea, in the presence of a powerful fleet; and expatiated on the consequences of a failure with an army unequal to the enterprize, and with the hostile places of Lerida and Tortosa in its rear. He did not hesitate also to predict, that the diminution of the army on the western frontier would invite a new invasion from Portugal, and enable the confederates to penetrate to Madrid.

These representations being over-ruled, he proposed to prepare the way for the reduction of Barcelona, by the capture of Lerida, Tortosa, Valencia, and Girona, the possession of which would at least secure a safe retreat.* But Philip, eager to crush the insurrection in its focus, and expel his competitor from Spain, overlooked all the difficulties and obstacles which alarmed his cautious general, and being supported by the opi-

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, p. 211.

nion of his spanish officers, the army was ordered to proceed directly against Barcelona. CHAP. XIV. 1706.

During the march, an unfortunate accident occurred, which though not uncommon, in similar circumstances, increased the perplexity and difficulties of Tessé. A lieutenant was massacred in his bed in the town of Guerrea, nine leagues from Saragossa. When the circumstance was discovered, the troops of the division to which he belonged, returned into the town, razed the house where the murder was committed, and plundered the inhabitants. The tumult became a signal for the neighbouring peasantry, who flocked into the town to assist their countrymen; and it was not quelled till many lives had been sacrificed. The incident sufficiently proved the hostile disposition of the country; and the general aversion to the bourbon government.

At length the army was put in motion. Tessé, at the head of 20,000 men, descended along the course of the Ebro from Saragossa, and was joined by Philip at Alcaniz. From hence he directed his march towards Lerida, which it appears to have been still his intention to reduce; but an order from Versailles induced him to continue his progress to Barcelona. Meanwhile Noailles, with the promised reinforcements, had penetrated through the eastern Pyrenees, left a detachment to blockade Girona, and advancing along the coast joined the main body under the walls of the capital. At the same time a squadron of twenty ships, under the count of Thoulouse, cast anchor in the road to cut off the supplies of the besieged by sea. The greater part of the Catalans retired on every side before the royal forces, wasting the country, poisoning the wells, and opposing every obstacle to their march.

March 23.

April 6.

The state of Barcelona might have justified the most sanguine hopes of success. The force which had given the first

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impulse to the insurrection being dispersed to occupy the places which had declared for an austrian prince, scarcely 3,000 regulars were left to defend a town which required a garrison of at least 15,000 men. Dazzled with the success of the allied arms, and deeming themselves secure from an immediate attack, the inhabitants had given way to overweening confidence, and neglected the requisite preparations for defence. At the same time the petty court of Charles was distracted by the squabbles between the native spaniards and his german adherents. Peterborough, who with the flying camp watched the passes of the country, repeatedly warned him of the impending danger, and urged him to retire; and these intimations were seconded by many of those about his person.

But either from a natural firmness of mind, or from a just apprehension of ruining his cause in Spain, by deserting his adherents at such a crisis, Charles determined to abide the issue of the contest. He had likewise the address to influence in his favour that religious enthusiasm which is inherent in the spanish character. He repaired to one of the churches, prostrated himself before an image of the blessed Virgin, and having performed his devotions, appeared in public with an air of joy. He declared that the virgin, attended by two angels, had manifested herself to him; adding, "with the assurance of her divine protection, I will never quit Barcelona, but remain and share the fate of my brave catalans."* Such a revelation was hailed as a miracle, and its effect was heightened by the exhortations of the priests and the enthusiasm of the women.

As if to make amends for their former apathy, all ranks vied in the most strenuous exertions. All who were capable of bearing arms were enrolled and disciplined, and the whole city was encouraged by the example of Charles and his attendants,

* Tessé; t. 2, p. 219.——Noailles, t. 2, p. 348.

who assisted in repairing the breaches, and strengthening the works. The priests and monks flew to arms; the capuchins appeared on the parade with their beards ornamented with party coloured ribbands; and the women and girls formed into companies, guarded the posts less exposed, or worked on the ramparts like the common pioneers.

To favour the efforts of the besieged, Peterborough, with a flying corps of 3,000 men, seconded by Cifuentes, drew towards the neighbourhood of the town, and by incessant attacks kept the besieging army in constant alarm. The garrison also was continually reinforced by convoys of light vessels from the neighbouring coast, which profited by the shallows, or found means to elude the vigilance of the blockading squadron.

Notwithstanding all these exertions, a town so extensive and weakly garrisoned could not long have resisted the well directed efforts of a powerful army. But its fall was retarded by the desperate resistance of the citadel of Montjuich against an attack of twenty-three days, during which Philip animated the assailants by his presence. General Donegal the commandant being killed, the garrison retired into the town; and the besiegers, masters of the works which crown this commanding height, turned their whole force against the body of the place. The approaches were rapidly made, and practicable breaches formed in the rampart. Notwithstanding the unaccountable delay derived either from the circumspection of Tessé, or from some cause, which cannot now be developed, arrangements were made for the decisive assault; and Philip within a few hours hoped to see his rival at his feet, and to extinguish the last embers of a revolt which had endangered his throne.*

April 26.

* History of Europe, 1706, p. 64.——Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, ch. 10.——Noailles, t. 3, liv. 7.——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 1.——Targe.

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At this moment of awful suspence, a british and dutch squadron, charged with reinforcements and supplies, appeared in sight. In an instant the state of the contending parties was totally changed. The french squadron quitted the road and retired towards Toulon; the combined fleets approached the shore; the troops were landed and continued under arms the whole night, to repel an assault which was hourly apprehended from an impulse of desperation.

The arrival of such a reinforcement, and the suspension of all communication by sea, discouraged the cautious and deliberative Tessé. He over-ruled the spirited resolution of Philip to prosecute the siege, and in the middle of the night made a precipitate retreat, abandoning his heavy artillery and stores, and consigning the sick and wounded to the humanity of the enemy. In the morning the sky was overcast with a total eclipse, from which the superstitious augured the eternal setting of the bourbon sun.*

The retreating army had however to encounter more formidable mischiefs than the sinister aspects of the Heavens. They were severely harrassed in their march through a broken and impoverished country, by the daring attacks of Peterborough and Cifuentes; and being precluded from all communication with the central provinces, were reduced to force a tedious and dangerous way through the eastern Pyrenees into Roussillon. Philip himself arrived at Perpignan on the 19th of May.

A retreat effected under such adverse circumstances, the danger which impended over the western frontier, and the effects which were apprehended from the return of Philip to Madrid, defeated, disgraced, and without an army, joined to the disasters which had already marked the campaign in

* The sun is the device of the House of Bourbon. Memoirs of lord Walpole, v. 1, p. 9. 8vo.

Flanders, induced Tessé to recommend Philip to retire to Paris. Even Louis opposed his immediate return to Madrid, and ordered him to repair with a few regiments to Pampeluna, and there remain till sufficient reinforcements could be sent to escort him with honour to his capital.

But Philip, the vigour of whose mind was never called into action except by adversity, despised the advice of his more timid counsellors. He declared that he had taken his resolution to assert his rights to Spain on spanish ground. Without waiting for the opinion of his grandfather, he hastened by the common road to Pampeluna without an escort, and at once astonished and gratified his subjects by appearing in his capital within a month after his unfortunate retreat.

June 6. He arrived only to witness new mortifications. Notwithstanding the dignified conduct of the queen, and her earnest appeals to the nobles, she could only procure a contribution, which was rather a mockery than a relief. The nobles stood aloof, lukewarm in his cause, or preparing to hail the victorious arms of his competitor. In an assembly summoned by the orders of Louis, in which to ascertain their disposition the french minister declared that his master could not maintain Philip on the throne, contrary to the wishes of the nation, the duke of Medina Celi spoke the common sentiment, in a bitter invective against the controul of France, and against the malversations of the princess Orsini, whom he accused of a shameful traffic of governments and offices.* This appeal therefore produced little effect except cold professions of attachment, and acclamations of "Long live Philip the fifth."

On the western frontier, the duke of Berwick, with an army, too weak even for defensive warfare, had retreated before the invading force of 40,000 men from Portugal. The capture of May 12. June 7.

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 359.——Larrey Histoire de Louis 14. t. 9, p 25

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Alcantara, Cuidad Rodrigo, and Salamanca, opened to the enemy a way to the very capital, and they only waited the intelligence of the advance of Charles from Catalonia to prosecute their success. On the eastern side of the peninsula, where the fatal blow had been first struck, the danger continued to spread. Don Luis de Cordova, count of Santa Cruz, went over to the austrian party with a treasure of 60,000 crowns, which he was commissioned to convey to Oran, and by his intelligence and influence promoted the capture of Carthagena,

June 24. which contained the remnant of the spanish fleet. The insurrection extended into Aragon; while the army which had saved Barcelona, swelled by numerous partisans from the neighbouring provinces, was preparing to advance into the heart of the peninsula, and join the forces from Portugal at Madrid.

In such disastrous circumstances the court was reduced to abandon the capital. Philip took the road of Guadalaxara to join the army of Berwick, which though amounting to no more than 8,000 men, principally cavalry, was the only force left to protect his person and his crown. The whole court was panic struck. Some of the nobles pressed the king to strengthen the army by withdrawing the french garrisons of Fuentarabia, St. Sebastian and Pampeluna; and others to remove the court to Pampeluna, as the only expedient to secure a retreat into France. But this timid and imprudent proposal was over-ruled by Berwick and Amelot, who represented that a retreat into Navarre, would confirm the general suspicion of a design to

June 17. abandon the country. They therefore persuaded Philip to remove the royal residence and tribunals to Burgos,* the antient capital of Castile; and a decree was accordingly published, announcing this removal, and permitting all who were not attached to the court by their offices, to remain.

* Memoirs de Berwick, t. 1, p. 351.——Ortiz. t. 7, p. 89.

After publishing this decree, the king departed, and was followed by a great body of the nobles. The duke of Medina Sidonia, Montellano, the count of Frigiliana and Ronquillo, president of Castile, accompanied him as members of the cabinet. The dukes of Popoli and Ossuna, the count of Aguilar, with the prince of Tzerclaes, captains of the horse guards; and the marquis of Aytona who commanded the foot guards, did not abandon their sovereign. The gentlemen of the bed chamber, the count of Benevente, high steward, the marquises of Quintana and Jamaica, the counts of San Estevan de Gormaz and Baños, don Alonzo Manrica, constable of Castile, and grand master of the household, and the chamberlains of the week, repaired also to the army.

The queen likewise was not deserted by a single person of her household. She was accompanied by her grand-master the count of San Estevan del Puerto, and the marquis of Almonacid, her master of the horse. The presidents of the councils, and those grandees, whose age or infirmities did not permit them to follow the army, repaired to Burgos, particularly the marquises del Fresno and Mancera, the dukes of Montalto, Jovenazzo, and Veraguas, as well as the greater part of the members belonging to the councils of Castile, Aragon, the Indies and Italy, the list of whose names would be too long to enumerate.

In this trying situation, and amidst all its attendant embarrassments, the young queen did not belie the spirit which she had hitherto displayed. "After a journey of eight days," she wrote to madame de Maintenon, "I arrived at Burgos yesterday July 6. in the evening, extremely fatigued with rising early, overpowered with the heat and dust, finding no repose but in the most wretched hovels, so dilapidated, that in one instance the wall fell down, to the peril of all within. From this you may

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judge of the rest. We hoped, on our arrival here, to be lodged with more comfort and convenience; but we have been much disappointed. Notwithstanding these distresses we shall be happy if the king overcomes his enemies. The worst is, scarcely a day passes without bad news. Saragossa revolted without even seeing the enemy; Carthagena is lost, and the Portuguese are established at Madrid."*

Before the departure of Philip from the capital, the light troops of the enemy already hovered on the neighbouring
June 25. heights; and in a few days, a column of cavalry, the vanguard of the Portuguese army, under the marquis of Villaverde, took
27. possession of the capital, and proclaimed Charles the third. Two days afterwards the earl of Galway and the marquis de
29. las Minas made their triumphal entry at the head of the main body, which consisted of 30,000 Portuguese, English, and Dutch.

But to their extreme disappointment, no crowds nor acclamations welcomed their arrival. The nobles who had written to invite their approach, instead of joining them, did not make their appearance, and were principally those fluctuating characters, who, in every political storm, are anxious only to secure their own safety, or persons who had experienced the displeasure of the court. Among these last, we distinguish the count of Lemos, the patriarch of the Indies, and Don Balthazar Mendoza, bishop of Segovia. Oropesa, without openly espousing the cause of the archduke, suffered himself to be captured by the allied troops, at Guadalaxara, with the count de Haro his son-in-law. Scarcely, therefore, could the allies obtain respectable members to fill the different departments of their ephemeral government. At Madrid, their orders were obeyed only from apprehension, and beyond the reach of their

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 361.

military force were set at defiance. It is remarkable that the marquis of Rivas was among those who remained and took the oath of allegiance to Charles; yet no inducement or importunity could prevail on him to acknowledge that the testament of Charles the second was surreptitious.

Toledo was the only city of consequence which evinced a decided attachment to the austrian prince; but this was a mere temporary effervescence excited by the cabals and example of the queen dowager and Portocarrero. The queen testified the most extravagant joy at the success of her nephew; she relinquished the mournful sables which are constantly worn by the widowed queens of Spain, assumed a gala dress as well as her whole household, and wrote a congratulatory letter to Charles, accompanied with a present of jewels. Portocarrero had long manifested an aversion to the sovereign whom he had assisted to place on the throne. He stigmatised the french as tyrants; he charged Philip himself with the basest ingratitude; and made a public display of his sentiments when the austrian troops entered Toledo, by blessing their standards, performing a solemn *Te Deum* in the cathedral, and concluding the day with a sumptuous banquet, and an illumination of the episcopal palace.*

Meanwhile every effort had been made by the court to profit by the dilatory proceedings of the enemy, and the rising spirit of the people. Philip himself shook off his natural reserve and indolence, and displayed such activity and address, that we scarcely recognise him as the prince described by Tessé. "His cold and silent deportment is ill calculated to gain the affections or excite the enthusiasm of those about him. He seldom speaks; do well or ill, it is the same; he thinks still as though he never thought, and after this campaign his

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 66.

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presence at the head of his armies will only be prejudicial to his service."*

But accumulated difficulties kindled the spark of animation that lay smothered in his breast. To counteract the effect of the rumours that he intended to abandon Spain, and to check the desertion from the army which formed his only resource, he rode through the ranks, addressing the soldiers with the most tender and gracious expressions. He called on them to perform their duty towards a sovereign, who, rather than abandon Castile, was determined to tinge its beloved soil with his blood, and declared, that he waited only for the reinforcements, which were hourly expected from France, to lead them to a glorious death or victory. So spirited and affectionate an address produced its due effect on a romantic nation; the troops displayed all the ardour of spaniards in the cause of a prince, who had placed his life and crown, his hopes and safety, in their hands. To gratify the people, Orri, who as the minister of finance was most exposed to the national hatred, was detained in France, whither he had been sent to obtain supplies.

The enthusiasm inspired by the address and spirit of Philip, spread into the provinces. Delighted with the assurance that they should preserve a sovereign whom they had voluntarily acknowledged, and who was pledged to maintain the integrity of their monarchy, and disdaining to receive a prince whom they considered as forced on them by rebels, enemies, and heretics, a new sentiment animated every heart. They lavished their property in his service, supplied his army with provisions, and flocked to combat under his standard. In Castile, almost every individual became a soldier; even the distant province of Estremadura maintained an army of 12,000

* Tessé, t. 2, p. 220.

men; in Salamanca the allies had scarcely quitted the town before the inhabitants rose, again proclaimed Philip, and levied a corps of troops, which cut off all their communication with Portugal. CHAP. XIV. 1706.

Two letters written by the princess, during this trying crisis, highly illustrate the spanish character, and shew the returning tide in favour of the bourbon cause.

July 15. 1706. "The spanish troops display so much eagerness and zeal, that we begin to be apprehensive, lest the enemy should abandon Madrid before we are prepared to attack them. Should they be rash enough to risk a battle, the reign of the archduke will terminate in Castile; few of the Portuguese will return home, and Saragossa will not long remain in revolt. Andalusia, and the neighbouring provinces, are making such considerable exertions, that we have no cause of apprehension in that quarter, or for Cadiz. Valladolid, which appeared to waver, gave, on the 7th instant, a convincing proof of fidelity. Men, women, and children, issued from their houses with arms in their hands, exclaiming, in a transport of enthusiasm, "long live Philip, and perish traitors;" yet, to the credit of their forbearance, this burst of loyalty was not followed by the massacre of those who were suspected of partiality to Austria.

"These provinces, poor as they are, vie in raising subsidies for the king. We are already sure of 8,000 pistoles, and though we have not yet received them, I obtained a considerable part of that sum on my own credit, and sent it to the embassador. We are now negotiating for 15,000 more. These sums will prove considerable resources in the present time of disorder and interruption of commerce. We learn from Aragon that several large towns have formed associations to defend themselves, and attack Saragossa; but, unfortunately, we have no advance to supply the money which is required."

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The second letter was written after the retreat of the enemy, and the example of the capital had given a new impulse to the national enthusiasm.

Sept. 9. "Since the people of Madrid have been able to give proofs of fidelity to their king, the joy has been general and unmixed; and never was there an example of greater affection and zeal for his royal person.

"The provinces continue to raise troops for their defence. The poorest villages contribute what they can, nay, even beyond their means. The day before yesterday, a priest brought an hundred and twenty pistoles to the queen, from a village which only contained an hundred and twenty houses. He said, 'my flock are ashamed of sending so small a sum; but they desire you to consider, that in the same purse are not less than an hundred and twenty hearts, faithful even to death.' The good man wept as he spoke, and we wept also. Another small village of twenty cottages, sent yesterday fifty pistoles, with similar protestations."*

During this arduous struggle, Berwick had conducted the army, which formed the final hope and resource of the monarchy, with a degree of skill and judgment proportionate to the magnitude of the cause at issue. Arriving at Badajos in the latter end of March, he assumed the command; but so ill had the preliminary arrangements been executed by the agents of the court, that he found himself anticipated by the enemy, who had taken the field; and was reduced to witness the reduction of the frontier fortress Alcantara, into which he had thrown the best part of his infantry. With an army which now consisted principally of cavalry, he was only able to watch the move-

May 4. ments of the enemy, and gradually retired before them in the direction of Palencia, to Peralda, as they advanced to Madrid.

* St. Simon, t. 3, p. 237—239.

Fortunately for his little corps, and for the cause which it defended, the allies were totally ignorant of the transactions on the western side of Spain, and were afraid to push forward to the capital, lest the reduction of Barcelona should enable Philip to return, and overwhelm them with his whole force. After considerable delay and hesitation, they quitted the direct road to Madrid, reduced Ciudad Rodrigo, and turned their march towards Salamanca, where they proposed to wait the result of the attack on Barcelona.

At length, apprised of the relief of Barcelona, and the retreat of the french army across the Pyrenees, they moved towards the capital. But Berwick, still avoiding a contest, left some detachments under the marquis of Bay, to maintain the country south of the Tagus; he hung on the march of the allies, skirted the borders of Castile, and at the time when they reached Madrid, occupied the position between Sopetran and Xadraque near the Henares. He thus secured the passes of the neighbouring mountains, covered Old Castile, kept open the communication with France, and was enabled to retard the junction of the force advancing with the archduke, from Barcelona.

His little army consisted of not more than 9,000 men, and had the allies vigorously pushed their successful career, he must have abandoned Castile, and perhaps Spain itself, before reinforcements could have arrived.

Fortunately, new errors of the allies favoured his plan of defence. The generals who occupied the capital, contented themselves with pushing a corps to Toledo, and suffered their troops to waste the important moments in such excesses, that the hospitals were crowded with above 6,000 sick. A part of the force under Peterborough was sent by sea to Valencia, in order to penetrate through that fertile country into

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the interior; and in consequence of the insurrection in Aragon, Charles himself, after loitering several weeks in Catalonia, was

July 15. persuaded to repair to Saragossa, and take possession of that kingdom.

Of these delays, the french commander skilfully availed himself. Behind the Henares, he was joined by the troops who had retreated from Barcelona, and after a rapid march through the southern districts of France, had re-entered Spain by the way of Pampeluna. In this position, and with this increase of force, he prevented the allies from making any movement to re-establish their communication with Portugal, which was cut off by the detachments left in the south as well as by the parties in the north, and he kept their whole attention fixed on Saragossa, by threatening to interrupt the march of Charles.

Aug. 5. Meanwhile new levies crowded to his standard; and at length, when the archduke effected his junction with the allies at Guadalaxara, they were astonished and embarrassed to find themselves in the presence of an army, equal, if not superior, to their own. They were now reduced to an alarming situation. Their communications, both towards the east and west, were interrupted by the people, who unanimously flew to arms; their troops were rapidly wasting away from the effects of the climate; and the consequences of licentiousness, with the active warfare, waged by the peasantry, completed the ravages of disease, hardship, and fatigue. At this moment, Berwick began to act offensively. He pushed a detachment to recover Madrid; and the posts occupied by the allies in Estremadura were rapidly reduced.

Aug. 25. Having thus closed the way to Portugal, he pressed on the allies in their retreat towards Valencia, now their only resource, and by a vigorous and active pursuit, rendered their loss scarcely less decisive than an absolute defeat. He succeeded

in driving them beyond the mountains which border Aragon and Valencia, and closed the campaign with the recovery of Orihuela, Cuenca, and Carthagena. CHAP. XIV. 1706.

" Thus," he observes, " finished this campaign, one of the most singular, from the variety of its events. The beginning threatened us with total ruin; but the progress and close were equally advantageous and glorious to the arms of the two crowns. The enemy masters of Madrid; no army to check them; the king obliged to raise the siege of Barcelona, and retire into France: all seemed to decide the fate of Spain. And, doubtless, had the enemy profited by the conjuncture, and pushed their point, the archduke must have been king, without a hope of return for his catholic majesty. But the glaring faults of their generals, joined to the unparalleled fidelity of the Castilians, gave us the time and means to regain the upper hand, and drive them again out of Castile."

" The two armies made," if we may use the expression, " a *tour* round Spain. They began the campaign near Badajos, and, after traversing the two Castiles, finished it in the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia, at the distance of an hundred and fifty leagues. They occupied eighty-five camps, and, although no general engagement took place, we obtained the same advantages as from a victory; for, according to calculation, we made ten thousand prisoners."*

Philip quitted his army on the borders of Murcia, and returned to his capital. His distresses and fortitude having endeared him to his subjects, he was received with an universal burst of joy, far more impressive than the acclamations which had hailed his first accession. Meanwhile the council of Castile proceeded to chastise those who had espoused or favoured the party of the archduke. Those in office, who had refused to Oct. 4.

* Memoires de Berwick, t. 1, p. 372.

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accompany the court, were dismissed; some of the more distinguished, suffered imprisonment, exile, or confiscation of property; and numbers of inferior consequence were compelled to take refuge in Catalonia. The temperate conduct of Philip on this occasion, has been too much lauded; for his lenity was confined to particular objects. The queen dowager was respectfully requested to withdraw from a country which was the scene of trouble and danger, and conveyed to Bayonne. The defection of Portocarrero was overlooked, in consideration of his age and services; and Rivas, after a temporary exile to his estate, was permitted to return on the birth of the prince of Asturias. The count of Lemos, the patriarch of the Indies, Mendoza, and some others taken on different occasions by the spanish parties, were liberated after a short confinement.*

Louis now did ample justice to the fidelity and spirit of the Castilians.

"Your enemies," he exultingly wrote to Philip, "can no longer hope to succeed, since their progress has only served to display the courage and fidelity of a nation equally brave and loyal. Your people cannot be distinguished from regular troops, and doubtless, such convincing proofs of their attachment to you, must augment your affection for them. This is due to them, and I should exhort you to give frequent proofs of it, did I not know that your sentiments on this subject are conformable to my own."†

This zealous loyalty was equally admired by their enemies. Peterborough, whose gallant spirit was captivated by congenial ardour, declared that all the force of Europe was not sufficient to conquer Castile.

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 62—66.——Ortiz, 7, p. 108.

† Noailles, t. 3, p. 366.

While Philip was maintaining the struggle in the peninsula, the distant dominions were severed from his empire.

In the Netherlands the french under Villeroy* were totally defeated by Marlborough at Ramillies, with the loss of 13,000 killed and prisoners, 50 pieces of artillery, and 120 standards. The broken army found a shelter behind the fortresses which covered the frontier; but the immediate consequence of the defeat was the total loss of almost the whole spanish Netherlands. On the very day after the engagement, the victorious army entered Louvain; Brussels opened its gates, Mechlin, Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, and Oudenard, surrendered at discretion; Ostend capitulated after a siege of ten days; even Menin, the key of Flanders, and the master-piece of Vauban, though defended by a garrison of 6,000 men, did not check the conquerors more than twenty days; and the campaign was closed by the reduction of Dendermond and Aeth. Thus not only were the richest and most populous provinces of Europe wrested from Spain; but the french were expelled from those outworks which their profound and active policy had erected on the boundaries of their vast monarchy; and the allies obtained possession of a country, which had hitherto involved the safety of Holland, and given to France a decisive advantage in all the military contests of Germany.

To compensate for these misfortunes in Flanders, Louis redoubled his efforts to re-establish his superiority in Italy. As the possessions of the duke of Savoy were circumscribed to Turin, the french were anxious to reduce a fortress which was the only obstacle to the consolidation of their power beyond the Alps. Every exertion was therefore made to secure the places

* This presumptuous and unfortunate general had been recently released from captivity, and by the ill judged partiality of Louis, appointed to the command in the Netherlands.

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commanding the principal avenues into Lombardy. Nice and Villafranca were reduced; and the capture of Montmelian after a blockade of eighteen months, opened a way through Savoy, into the centre of Piedmont. On the side of the Mantuan, Vendome suddenly collected his forces, surprised the imperialists in their quarters, routed them with considerable slaughter, drove them beyond the Adige, and took measures for closing the passages from Germany. The enemy being thus expelled, and the requisite communications opened, reinforcements were dispatched across the Alps, preparations were made equal to the importance of the intended siege, and the investment was formed by an army of 50,000 men, under La Feuillade.

Before the circumvallation was completed, the duke of Savoy left count Daun with a garrison of 10,000 regulars and a body of militia, to defend the city; and at the head of his cavalry took refuge in the valley of Lucerna and the recesses of the Alps. Mendovi and Ceva were surprised by the french; Asti was besieged by the militia of the Milanese; and the duchess of Savoy, with her infant family, was compelled to take refuge in the territories of Genoa.

In the commencement of June, began the memorable siege of Turin. The trenches were opened against the citadel and some outworks which stretched towards the Doria. The approaches were pushed in the regular form; the outworks successively carried; the body of the place itself attacked; and the brave garrison, after exhausting all the resources of defence, was on the point of yielding to superior numbers and skill.

But at the moment when success seemed likely to crown the efforts of the french, the prize was wrested from their grasp; and they experienced a new reverse, scarcely less decisive than that which had already shaken their power in the Netherlands and Germany.

Eugene reached the frontier of Italy, at the moment when the imperialists were broken and dispersed by Vendome, and secured the retreat of 10,000 men, the remnant of the army. On the arrival of succours from Germany, he again descended by the sources of the Brenta into the Veronese; left a corps at St. Martino, to keep up his communications, and crossed to the south of the Po. By the junction of successive reinforcements, he was enabled to baffle all the defensive measures of the french, who endeavoured to check him on the Adige, and the Parmegiana; and after a march scarcely paralleled for length, rapidity, and difficulty, he reached the Piedmontese territories, and united with the duke of Savoy at Villastellone.

In the interval, Vendome being recalled to remedy the effects of the defeat in the Netherlands, his successor Marsin, leaving a corps in the Milanese, hastened to join the besieging army, and press the reduction of Turin, which was now at the last extremity. From an eagerness to attain this object, they permitted the allied forces to attack them in their entrenchments, and suffered a complete defeat: 6,000 men were killed, 2,000 made prisoners, and the artillery and stores fell into the hands of the conquerors. The place was not only relieved, but the french were driven in disorder beyond the Alps; the passes were closed against their return; and the corps left in the Milanese defeated and forced to take refuge in the fortresses. The Milanese was conferred on Charles by his brother the emperor Joseph, as an imperial fief, and Eugene installed as governor in his name. The attachment of the duke of Savoy was rewarded with the cession of Valenza, Alessandria, the Lumellina, and the Val di Sesia.*

* Muratori Annali d' Italia, 1706—p. 47—53. House of Austria, v. 1, ch. 73.

CHAPTER XV.

1707—1708.

Overtures of Peace made by France—Disunion among the Allies—Neutrality concluded for Italy, and Conquest of Naples by the Emperor—Fruitless Expedition against Toulon—Battle of Almanza, and successful Operations in Spain—Reduction of Valencia and Aragon, and abolition of their Constitution—Capture of Lerida, by the Duke of Orleans—Birth of the Infant Don Louis—Campaign of 1708—Reduction of Tortosa, by the Duke of Orleans—His Contentions with the Princess Orsini and Amelot, and his Views on the Throne of Spain.

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IN the course of this year, the war may be said to have languished in the low countries and in Germany, while the south of France, Italy, and Spain, became the theatre of active operations.

The success of the last campaign produced its usual effect, division and jealousy among the allies. A powerful party in England clamoured for peace, or for some decisive operations to crush the marine of France; and the merchants of Holland began to regret the loss of their commercial advantages. The emperor, apprehensive of being deserted by the maritime powers, was eager to appropriate the distant provinces of the spanish monarchy; the duke of Savoy was only anxious to augment the portion which he had already dismembered from the Milanese.

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Louis was well acquainted with this change of sentiment, and endeavoured to divide those whom he could not conquer or deceive, united. Soon after the battle of Ramillies, he made secret overtures to the maritime powers, offering the alternative of Spain and the Indies, or the italian provinces, to Charles; the guaranty of the protestant succession to England; a barrier in the Netherlands to the dutch; and great commercial advantages to both powers. Failing in this quarter, he next employed the agency of the pope to open a similar negotiation with the emperor, and lured him with the cession of the italian provinces, on the condition that Philip should retain Spain and the Indies *.

These negotiations were, indeed, fruitless, if the object was really peace; but the views of the proposer were not totally disappointed; jealousies increased among the allied powers; and the consequent discord greatly contributed to thwart the operations of the ensuing campaign. The emperor, with the connivance of the duke of Savoy, hastily concluded a treaty for the neutrality of Italy, suffered 20,000 french troops, who were shut up in the different fortresses of the Milanese, to return to France, and detached a considerable part of his force for the conquest of Naples.

This enterprise was executed without the slightest difficulty. The flower of the soldiery having been already withdrawn to strengthen the army in Spain, and the french troops recalled to gratify the prejudices of the people, the country was left almost defenceless. Accordingly, general Daun, the brave defender of Turin, marched from Lombardy with 9,000 men, traversed the papal dominions, advanced without hesitation into the interior of the kingdom, and was every where

* Hare's Letters to a Tory Member.——Lamberti, t. 5, p. 266.——Walpole's Answer to Bolingbroke, p. 173.

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welcomed by the acclamations of the people. The duke of Escalona, the spanish viceroy, with difficulty escaped the popular fury, and, with a few faithful nobles, threw himself into Gaeta. The magistrates of the capital advanced to Aversa, and delivering the keys to the austrian commander, pledged their allegiance to Charles. Within a short period, the austrian government was universally acknowledged. Gaeta was taken by storm, after a long blockade, and the conquest completed by the reduction of the petty forts in Calabria.*

The activity and prudence of the marquis de los Balbases, viceroy of Sicily, alone prevented that island from following the example of Naples; for the natives were no less averse to the bourbon government than the neapolitans. By a proper mixture of severity and conciliation, he suppressed the rising commotions; while, on the other hand, the want of force and of the means of transport, prevented the austrian commander from attempting so easy a conquest. Hence Sicily remained under the dominion of Philip, till the close of the war.†

Meanwhile the importunities of the english cabinet prevailed on the emperor and the duke of Savoy to join in an expedition against Toulon. Great efforts were made for this important operation; but the clashing interests of the different parties, the jealousies of the commanders, and the reduction of the allied force by the expedition to Naples, joined to the prompt and strenuous exertions of France, frustrated the design. The allies, indeed, penetrated through Provence, and attacked Toulon; but the reduction of a few outworks was the sole fruit of their ill-fated enterprise; and at the end of the campaign, October. they, with difficulty, effected their retreat into Italy, after

* Muratori, Annali, 1707.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 123 ——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 130.——House of Austria, v. 1, ch. 74.

† Muratori—St. Philippe.

14,000 men had fallen a sacrifice to sickness and fatigue. The capture of Susa and Orbitello, two fortresses which closed the passages of the Alps, was an advantage of too inferior importance to counterbalance the effects of this failure.*

By the neutrality of Italy, Louis was enabled to detach a considerable force into Spain, and the duke of Orleans was nominated to the command of the principal army. On the side of the allies, likewise, an expedition of 12,000 men, originally formed to effect a landing near the mouth of the Garonne, but frustrated by contrary winds, was sent, partly to reinforce the army in Portugal, and partly to that which had wintered on the borders of Murcia and Valencia. Both sides were, therefore, disposed for an arduous struggle; and the fortunate result of a single battle not only decided the fate of the campaign, but restored the tottering authority of Philip.

Various plans of operation were agitated at the courts of Versailles and Madrid; till, at length, the advice of Berwick prevailed. The duke of Noailles, with a small force, was to effect a diversion, as before, on the side of the eastern Pyrenees; but the expected succours from France were to be concentrated in Navarre. From hence a part was to be detached to recover Aragon, while the remainder might join the army of Berwick, which was to follow the allies, whether they again attempted to penetrate into Castile, or made an effort to spread themselves through Murcia, and recover their superiority in the south. To check any invasion from Portugal, a force, sufficient for defence, was detached under the marquis of Bay to the western frontier.

The campaign, however, commenced before these arrangements were matured. The confederate generals, Galway and

* History of Europe for 1707.——House of Austria.——Memoirs of Lord Walpole.

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Las Minas, were anxious to anticipate the arrival of the succours from France. Hoping to crush in detail the forces of Berwick, they suddenly collected their troops to the amount of 30,000 men, and endeavoured to break into his quarters. But

April 6. the french commander detained them by throwing garrisons into Villena and Chinchilla, till he had re-united his army, and took post in the Vega, or plain of Almanza, where he was opportunely joined by a part of the expected reinforcements. The allies, ignorant of this circumstance, hurried on to an engagement, though inferior in cavalry, and on ground highly favourable to that of the enemy.

April 25. Berwick ranged his army in the usual order; while in that of the allies, the cavalry and infantry were intermixed, to balance the superiority of the bourbon horse. The engagement commenced with a bold effort of the allied forces on the left, who passing a ravine before their front, gained a height, which the french commander had strengthened with a formidable battery, and prepared to turn his right. The spanish cavalry made a desperate charge to regain the height, and drove back the allies; but were checked in their turn by the fire of the infantry, and a second charge ended in a similar failure. Meanwhile, the battle had extended along the centre and left; the first line of the spaniards was broken; and two english battalions penetrated through the second, to the very walls of Almanza.

However, the skill and firmness of Berwick remedied the confusion, and restored the fortune of the day. The routed infantry were rallied, and again brought forward, and a brigade detached under the enterprising Asfeld, to support a new charge on the right. This movement was successful. The united cavalry and infantry broke the allies, and turned on their flank; while the centre and left made a vigorous effort along their front. At this crisis, Galway and Las Minas were

both dangerously wounded and forced to quit the field; and the confusion became irreparable. Deprived of their chiefs, the allies fought without order or effect; they were attacked and broken on all sides; the carnage was dreadful, and the route complete. Count Dohna, with thirteen dutch, english, and portuguese battalions, cut his way through the hostile ranks and took post in the neighbouring wood of Caudete; but was reduced by famine to surrender on the following day.

The baggage and artillery were taken. Among the trophies of the victory, no less than an hundred and twenty standards were sent to Madrid, bearing the arms of almost every power leagued against Philip, besides those of the revolted kingdoms of Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia. The victory was decisive: the spaniards lost scarcely 2,000 men, while of the allies 5,000 were left on the field, and 12,000 made prisoners.*

The anguish of a severe wound did not damp the ardour of Galway, who had already lost an arm in the preceding campaign. He collected the scattered remnants of the army, threw garrisons into Xativa, Alcira, Denia, and Alicante, and with his colleague Las Minas, evaded pursuit, by a rapid retreat towards the Ebro, behind which they hoped to maintain themselves till joined by reinforcements. On their arrival at Tortosa, they could muster no more than 5,000 men, of whom only 800 were infantry.

In gratitude for a victory which may be justly said to have saved Spain, Philip conferred on Berwick the rank of grandee, with the title of duke of Liria and Xerica, and distinguished the town of Almanza with peculiar privileges. The spot was

* Berwick, t. 1, p. 388.——St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 110.——History of Europe for 1707,—p. 175, 184.——House of Austria, ch. 74.——Ortiz. lib. 22, c. 7.

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afterwards marked by the erection of a column bearing an inscription commemorative of the event.*

Few victories were ever followed by more rapid successes. On the ensuing day the duke of Orleans joined the army in the moment of triumph, deeply regretting that he had arrived too late to share the honours of the field. He paid due praise to the valour of the troops and the abilities of the general; and assuming the command, hastened to profit by the victory. He detached Asfeld with 8,000 men to reduce the country beyond the Xucar, and with the main army advanced towards Valencia. The city being unprovided for defence, the count of Corzana, governor for Charles, withdrew by the route of Murviedro, and deputies were dispatched to meet the royal army in its route, bearing the keys, and imploring mercy for the repentant inhabitants.

May 26.

May 8.

Without a moment's delay, the duke left Berwick to complete the reduction of the province; and with a strong escort, took the route to the capital. Instead of waiting to share the joy and receive the congratulations of the court, he proceeded towards Navarre. At Tudela, he met the troops which had arrived from France; and with the speed of a traveller directed his march towards Saragossa, which was no less unprovided for resistance than the capital of Valencia. On his approach, the austrian garrison retired to Lerida, and left the city to its fate.

May 9.

"On coming in sight of Saragossa," he wrote to the king of France, "I galloped forward at the head of the cavalry, merely to reconnoitre the place, and alarm the inhabitants. The garrison instantly retired, and deputies were seen coming out to propose a capitulation. I did not, however, wait their arrival, but pushed forward some infantry, who with unloaded

May 25.

* Berwick, t. 1, p. 417.——St. Philippe, 11, p. 117.——Ortiz.

arms, entered the town, and the magistrates surrendering, answered for the submission of the kingdom."* CHAP. XV. 1707 | 1708.

Berwick relates an anecdote relative to this incident, which, from its singularity, requires no less than his respectable testimony to render it credible. On the sudden appearance of the royal army, the count of Puebla, chief of the austrian party, persuaded the people that it was an apparition raised by magic. The priests even repaired to the ramparts, from whence the troops were descried, and performed the accustomed office of exorcism. But the following morning proved to the deluded multitude, that such spectres were not under the empire of the church; for the hussars pushing into the suburbs, charged the crowd, put some to death, and spread such a general panic, that the magistrates hurried out to surrender their keys and supplicate for pardon.†

As the conquest of Aragon had already been anticipated, a resolution was taken to change its constitution, which was naturally an object of jealousy to the crown. After long debates in the cabinet, in which the spanish ministers zealously pleaded the cause of their misguided countrymen, a royal decree was issued, abolishing the *Fueros*, or rights and privileges of Aragon and Valencia; first, in virtue of the supreme authority residing in the sovereign, and secondly, by the right of conquest derived from the recent rebellion. For these reasons, as well as from the necessity of introducing changes adapted to times and circumstances, and establishing an uniform system of government under the same head, Aragon and Valencia were in future to be ruled by the same laws and customs as Castile; and the June 29.

* Noailles, t. 2, p. 387.

† Memoires de Berwick, who says he received the account from some of the principal magistrates, t. 1, p. 138.

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natives of the three kingdoms were rendered equally eligible to all offices and employments. The *audiencias* or tribunals were also to be governed by the same forms and principles as the chanceries of Valladolid and Granada, except in ecclesiastical matters, which were still to be regulated according to the concordates with the holy see.

July 29. A second decree was afterwards promulgated, confirming the peculiar privileges and franchises of those persons and communities, who in the recent troubles had remained faithful to the crown.*

While these events were passing in Aragon, Valencia was reduced to obedience by the joint efforts of Berwick and Asfeld.

On separating from the main army, Asfeld received the submission of Alcira, threw a bridge over the Xucar, and com-

May 3. menced his operations with the siege of Xativa, which was garrisoned by 600 english, the inhabitants, and some of the peasantry, who had embraced the cause of Charles. The fate

May 26. of this petty town, furnishes a memorable instance of that desperate heroism of which the spanish people have given numerous instances.

"The inhabitants," observes Berwick, "supported by 600 english, defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. They could not be induced to surrender, and the breach being effected, and our lodgment established, it was necessary to bring cannon in order to demolish their intrenchments behind. It was even necessary to attack street by street, and house by house; for these madmen defended themselves with unexampled firmness and bravery. Finally, after a siege of fifteen days, and eight days possession of the town, it was carried sword in hand. Numbers of the inhabitants were slain, particularly the monks, and those who could escape retired behind

* Ortiz. t. 7, p. 129.——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 171.

an outwork of the castle. Asfeld brought up cannon to batter it down, on which the english commander demanded a capitulation for the inhabitants; but as no other condition was offered, except to submit themselves to the mercy of his catholic majesty, the english retired into the inner works of the castle, and the inhabitants laid down their arms.

"To impress terror, and by a severe example, to prevent similar obstinacy, I caused the town to be razed, leaving only the principal church, and sent all the inhabitants into Castile, under a prohibition never to return into their native country."*

The castle, which in the middle ages had been remarkable for its strength, did not surrender till after it had withstood a blockade of considerable length.

While Asfeld was occupied in the south of Valencia and Murcia, Berwick collected supplies for prosecuting his success. Having placed a strong garrison in the capital, he proceeded towards the north, reducing the remainder of the kingdom, drove the allies beyond the Ebro, and penetrating into the suburbs of Tortosa, forced them to destroy their bridge of communication. May 23.

After clearing the northern district of Valencia, Berwick left Asfeld with 12,000 men to maintain his conquests, directed his march up the course of the Ebro, forced the pass of Cherta, reduced the bordering places of Aragon, and crossing the Ebro at Caspe, united his troops with those of the duke of Orleans at Candasnos. May 26. June 11.

Thus, in less than a month after the victory of Almanza, the bourbon troops had recovered all Aragon, with Valencia and Murcia, except the two maritime places, Denia and Alicante. Emboldened by these rapid successes, and by the weakness of June 14.

* Berwick, t. 1, p. 401.——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 124. The place has been since rebuilt under the name of San Felipe.

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the allies, the duke of Orleans was anxious to proceed in the subjugation of Catalonia, before reinforcements could arrive to support the declining cause of Austria. With this view, he meditated the sieges of Lerida and Tortosa, which covered the province from invasion on the sides of Aragon and Valencia. The projected attack against Lerida was, however, retarded by the numerous obstacles which, in a mountanious and sterile country, frequently baffle the ablest plans and best combined operations. The Cinca and the Segra were swelled by frequent inundations, the army experienced a want of provisions, and the battering artillery, which had been promised by both courts, was not yet arrived. While the duke was struggling with difficulties which would have overwhelmed a less resolute spirit,

Aug. Berwick was summoned into Provence with 12,000 men, to contribute to the relief of Toulon, and did not return till the

Sept. advanced season, and increasing distresses of the army, seemed to preclude all further operations. Indeed, the court of Madrid, to prevent the ruin of the army by an autumnal, or rather winter siege, issued reiterated orders to desist from the enterprise, and made the warmest remonstrances at the court of Versailles. The circumspection of Berwick was averse to an undertaking which, however successful, would not fail of proving highly destructive at the close of a laborious campaign. But no remonstrances or obstacles could vanquish the resolution of the duke of Orleans. The requisites for the siege being at length provided, he traversed the Cinca and Segra, above and below Lerida and Balaguer, and established himself in the fertile plain of Urgel, in spite of the efforts of the enemy. It was now no season for hesitation.

Oct. 3. The trenches were immediately opened, and the attacks pushed with unexampled vigour; the allies attempted in vain to interrupt the siege, and this fortress, which had heretofore baffled

the arms of France, surrendered on the very day that orders arrived from Versailles to desist from the enterprise. CHAP. XV. 1707 | 1708.

The duke of Orleans was still anxious to prosecute the siege of Tortosa, that he might open the ensuing campaign with an invasion of Catalonia both on the south and west. But from the severe losses of the army in the preceding campaign and the recent siege, with the prospect of still greater difficulties from the advance of the season, the court adopted the prudent advice of Berwick; and the duke was obliged to suspend his operations, and distribute his troops in quarters calculated to cover his recent conquests in Aragon and Valencia.

On the side of Portugal, the efforts of the Spaniards were crowned by the recapture of Ciudad Rodrigo. The expedition from Roussillon, under Noailles, produced no other effect than the occupation of 4,000 of the allies in the north of Catalonia, and the reduction of some trifling forts. Oct. 4.

The successes of the year were heightened by the birth of an Infant, who received the name of Louis Ferdinand, because he was born on the festival of St: Louis, king of France. As the allies and their partisans had industriously spread reports that the pregnancy of the queen was supposititious, the principal officers of church and state, as well as the foreign ministers, were present at the delivery in the customary manner. This prince, born in the bosom of the monarchy, gave new zeal to the loyal, and removed the dissatisfaction of many who were only anxious for the independence and integrity of their monarchy. The event was celebrated by the most heartfelt rejoicings, as well as by the distribution of graces and favours. State prisoners were set at liberty, and exiles recalled, among whom were the duke of Infantado, the count of Lemos, and the count of Monterey.* Aug. 25.

After contributing so essentially to the salvation of Spain,

* St. Philippe, t. 11, p. 165.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 127.

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Berwick experienced the usual uncertainty of court favour and, either to gratify the princess, or the duke of Orleans, was recalled to display his talents in another quarter. His place was supplied by marshal Bezons.

1708. The fatal defeat of Almanza, and the series of subsequent disasters, made a deep impression on the allies; but instead of discouraging, stimulated them to prosecute the contest with renewed energy.

Hitherto the cause of Charles had been principally supported by the maritime powers, and the Portuguese, assisted by the Catalans; but the earnest instances of the english and dutch governments, induced Joseph to send into Spain a body of imperial troops, under the command of count Staremberg, the ablest of his generals, next to Eugene. Additional reinforcements were also detached from England, and a corps of Hessians in british pay, ordered from Italy to join the army in Catalonia. It was hoped also that the court of Portugal would be induced to act with greater energy, in consequence of the death of Peter, and the accession of a young sovereign John, who had recently cemented his alliance with the House of Austria, by a marriage with the sister of Charles.

The two unfortunate generals, to whose want of skill or rashness, the recent ill success had been perhaps erroneously attributed, were ordered to return to Lisbon with the portuguese troops which were recalled from Catalonia, to prevent an invasion of Portugal. Las Minas, at the age of seventy-seven, was removed, and Galway was sent to head the english forces in Estremadura, where he displayed the same intrepidity, and experienced the same reverses. The command of the english forces in Catalonia was transferred to general Stanhope, who was also charged with the title and powers of envoy to Charles as king of Spain.

Hopes were entertained that these changes and this accession

of strength, would enable Charles to repair his recent disasters. But from the inevitable inconveniencies of naval operations, and the reduced resources of the powers involved in the contest, the union of these forces, from such distant points, was slowly accomplished; and many of the troops, when arrived on the scene of action, were ill adapted to take the field. Hence, at the opening of the campaign, the reinforcements were barely sufficient to fill the vacancy occasioned by drafts and losses. After the garrisons of Tortosa, Denia, and Alicante, had been strengthened, and a corps detached to the northern frontier, the allied commanders were unable to collect more than 10,000 men, besides the Catalans, and desultory hordes of miquelets, to cope with the victorious army of Philip, whose strength was increased by his success.

The bourbon courts were not negligent in improving their superiority, and the lively genius of the duke of Orleans formed the most splendid plans for the total expulsion of the austrians from Spain. The principal army of 25,000 men, was to be assembled on the Ebro, to reduce Tortosa, the key of Catalonia on the south; the troops under Asfeld in Valencia, were to concur in the enterprise; and 7,000 in Roussillon, under Noailles, having drawn a part of the allied force to the north, were to penetrate, by a rapid march, through the Cerdagne, and join the main army in the valley of Urgel, after the capture of Tortosa. This united force was finally to be directed against Barcelona.

The execution of these splendid designs was, however, thwarted by the distresses of the state. Notwithstanding the boasted improvements of Orri, it was in vain to hope for regular contributions from a country which was the scene of war and devastation. The permanent revenue scarcely exceeded 500,000*l.* sterling, while the expences of the preceding cam-

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paign had absorbed 1,500,000*l.*; and to supply a part of this deficiency, a loan had been raised on the church to the amount of 200,000*l.* But as this expedient had excited considerable opposition on the part of the clergy, and particularly on that of the pope, it was proposed to meet the wants of the present year by a new supply under the name of a donative; the share of the clergy to be voluntary, while the laity were obliged to contribute, though the portion was left to their inclination or means.*

This plan, however modified, was considered as an infringement of the ecclesiastical privileges, and the pope, by his nuncio, prohibited the clergy from contributing without an express permission from Rome, though, at the same time, he offered to grant a tax on the church property to any amount. Philip considered this as an incroachment of the holy see, and after a warm dispute, he relinquished this resource, rather than accept the offer.

The treasury of France was equally drained by the enormous expenditure of this long protracted contest, and could but scantily supply the wants of the spanish government. In such an exigency, the only remaining hope was placed in the treasures of America, which were daily expected. But at the moment when this resource was most needed, intelligence arrived that the flota, amounting to 17 galleons, unusually rich, had been intercepted by the british squadron under sir Charles Wager, off Carthagena, three of the largest ships, laden with the precious metals, taken or destroyed, and the rest dispersed. † July.

In spite of disappointments, the duke of Orleans was not discouraged. He endeavoured to remedy all deficiencies by his own activity, and made the utmost exertions to collect the re-

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 400.

† Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 3, p. 206. Tindal.

quisites for a siege, and enable the army to take the field. "Our greatest enemies," he wrote to Chamillart, "are famine and wretchedness. You say that I perform the office of intendant to the army; but in this country, the general must do every thing. He must be superintendant of stores and artillery, and often paymaster and treasurer, none of which I understand. Nevertheless, I hope to profit by the present circumstances, which must maintain the crown on the head of the king of Spain."*

Indeed, never was a general better calculated to fill this irksome situation than the duke of Orleans, by his uncommon activity, his valour and generosity, his captivating frankness of manners, and singular perseverance in the pursuit of his designs. Having hurried from Paris to Madrid, and visited the garrisons and quarters of Aragon and Valencia, he returned to Saragossa, where the troops were assembling, and published a general amnesty for all the miquelets in Aragon, who would lay down their arms. On the 13th of April, he put his army in motion, left 3,000 men at Balaguer to maintain his communications, and traversed the Segra and the Noguera at Fraga and Lerida. After a tedious and difficult march, he descended along the course of the Ebro, and occupying the heights of Miraval, invested Tortosa on the north. At the same time, Asfeld surprised the passes between Valencia and Catalonia, and advancing to the right bank, by his well combined march, completed the investment on the south.

April 13, 1708.

Notwithstanding the delays derived from the earliness of the season, and the loss of a convoy, which was interrupted by the english squadron, joined to the slowness and difficulty of the communication with the magazines, the trenches were opened on the 22d of June. A vigorous sally of the garrison on the 27th was repulsed, and the covert way carried on the night of

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 385.

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the 10th of July by don Antonio de Villaroel, with a detachment of Spaniards. Staremberg had approached with all the force he could collect; but was too weak to afford relief; and the garrison, on the ensuing morning, capitulated with the honours of war, at the very time when the assailants were reduced to two days allowance of provisions. Of 3,000 men who evacuated Tortosa, above 1,800 entered the ranks of the besieging army.

July 11.

The capture of Tortosa was, however, the principal fruit of the campaign. The duke of Orleans, after leaving a garrison in the town, fell back towards Lerida, to effect the intended junction with Noailles. But the plan was baffled; for an invasion of Dauphiné by the duke of Savoy, diverted the force of Noailles; while Staremberg, strengthened by farther reinforcements, occupied the strong post of Cervera, and reduced the bourbon army to inaction. Having kept the field as long as the season would permit, the duke of Orleans distributed his troops into quarters, and departed for France.

After the reduction of Tortosa, Asfeld returned into Valencia to recover Denia and Alicante, which were still held by the allies. On the 17th of November, he invested Denia, effected a breach in five days, carried the town by assault, and drove the garrison of 900 men into the castle. An attempt to throw in succours by sea was repulsed, and the besieged were finally compelled to surrender prisoners of war.

The attacks of the french commander were next directed against Alicante. He carried the exterior works with the same success as at Denia, and confined the garrison in the citadel, which was constructed on a rock, and deemed impregnable. The ordinary methods of attack proving fruitless, a mine of unusual magnitude was formed under the rock. When it was ready for explosion, Asfeld invited the governor, general

Richards, to send two engineers, in order to inspect the work. Accompanying them to the spot, he offered the garrison an honourable passage to Barcelona, deprecated the sacrifice of blood which must be the consequence of a longer defence, and allowed twenty-four hours for deliberation. But the intrepid governor relying on the strength of the rock, persisted in his defence; and as a bravado, sat down to table with many of his officers over the very chamber of the mine. At the signal given, he repaired to the spot considered as most exposed; the mine was sprung; the rock was convulsed as if by an earthquake; the governor, the lieutenant-governor, colonel Syburg, with their company and several soldiers, were either buried in the cavity, or blown to atoms in the air.

This dreadful catastrophe did not, however, daunt colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command. An attempt was made by sea to save the remnant of this intrepid garrison, but frustrated by the measures of the besiegers. The troops were accordingly admitted to a capitulation, quitted the works with the honours of war, after a gallant defence of fifty-seven days, and were conveyed in triumph to Barcelona.* This capture completed the reduction of Valencia. April 7, 1709.

On the side of Portugal, the campaign was marked only by mutual cruelties and pillage.

The successes in the peninsula were counterbalanced by losses in other quarters. By the influence of the catalan nobles, an austrian party was formed in the Balearic Isles, which both by customs and inclination are connected with Catalonia. Minorca was reduced by general Stanhope, after a short siege of the citadel Port Mahon; and Majorca followed the example August, 1708.

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 248—251.——History of Europe, for 1708.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 3, p. 222.

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in submitting to the allied arms.* About the same time, Sardinia was reduced by a small body of forces under the marquis of Alconzel, better known by the title of the count of Cifuentes.

July.

During the whole of this campaign, and particularly towards its close, the army, the court, and capital, were equally agitated by contentions between the duke of Orleans and the princess Orsini.

The duke was a prince in whom unbounded libertinism did not extinguish the ardour of a great and ambitious mind. Too lively and independent to fashion himself according to the monotonous despotism of Versailles; too high spirited to crouch before madame de Maintenon, he had estranged himself from the court, and divided his life between the indulgence of licentious pleasure, and the study of the arts and sciences. He felt, however, these pursuits insufficient to satisfy his active mind; and at length his importunities, joined to a wish to remove a prince of so unaccommodating a character, from the vicinity of the court, induced Louis to send him to the nominal command of the Italian army, under the direction of Marsin. In this campaign he distinguished his personal courage, and would doubtless have shewn no less military talents, had he not been shackled by the generals with whom he was associated. After his return from the unfortunate campaign in Italy, the abilities which he had displayed, and the same wish to remove him to a distance, occasioned his appointment to the command in Spain. It was hoped, that his affable manners and frankness of character would conciliate the princess Orsini;

* A medal was struck on this occasion with the inscription SARDINIA ET BALEARIS MINOR CAPTÆ MDCCVIII.——Cunningham, v. 2, p. 205.—Rapin, v. 17.—Ortiz. lib. 22, c. 10.

while his high birth and great talents would command the respect and affection of the Spaniards.

In this expedition he was scarcely less shackled than in Italy. He was charged to live in confidence with the princess, and particularly forbidden to interfere in those affairs of state which did not regard his military command. His first address and graceful manners, indeed, won the favour of the court, and captivated the princess; but a lively and high spirited prince was not likely to become more supple than a cardinal and an abbot; and he had scarcely assumed his office, before a new struggle for power ensued. The princess required a regular communication of his plans and operations; and he disdained to submit to the controul of a woman. He peevishly attributed the distresses and deficiencies of the army, and even those delays in fowarding supplies, which perhaps were the mere effect of accident or necessity, to the machinations of the princess and Amelot; while she, as well as Philip, became jealous of his increasing influence among the soldiery, and his success in gaining over many of the disaffected. Their mutual opposition rose at last into personal animosity, and the breach was rendered irreconcilable by his public, gross, and contemptuous raillery.* She, in consequence, employed her influence with madame de Maintenon, whom he had equally outraged, and the duke was ordered to return to France.

At the close of the campaign, he hastened to Madrid, where he continued two months in forwarding the preparations for the ensuing season. On this occasion, he did not spare his invectives against the tardiness of the government in the recent campaign; and in his correspondence with Versailles, he charged both the princess and Amelot with designedly thwarting his operations, and pressed for their removal.

* See St. Simon, t. 4, p. 6.

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The disasters of the french arms in the low countries, and the representations of those among the Spaniards, who wished for a change of government, encouraged him to turn his views to the crown of Spain, should Philip, as was expected, be compelled to withdraw. On his departure for Paris, he therefore left his confidential secretary Renaut, to watch the progress of events, and maintain a correspondence with his partisans, among whom we find the respectable names of Montalto, Montellano, Mancera, Monterey, and Villaroel.*

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 208.——St. Simon, t. 4, p. 37.—Ortiz.

CHAPTER XVI.

1709.

Losses of Spain—Distressed State of France—Memorial of Amelot on the Court and Kingdom of Spain—Motives of Louis for renewing the Negotiation with the Allies—Conferences at the Hague—Mutual Offers and Demands—Effects of this Negotiation in Spain—State of the Court and Country—Pretended Separation of the Courts of Versailles and Madrid—Philip appeals to the Loyalty of his Subjects—Recal of Amelot, and Appointment of a Spanish Administration, at the instigation of the Princess Orsini—Zeal of the Castilians—Louis rejects the Preliminaries, and appeals to his Subjects—His example followed by Philip—Feuds in the Cabinet, and Inactivity of the Army—Fruitless Journey of Philip to the Camp—Neglect and Improvidence of the Spanish Administration.

NOTWITHSTANDING the success of Philip's arms in the preceding campaign, the misfortunes of the House of Bourbon fell with undiminished force on Spain, and were accompanied with every sinister omen of new revolutions. Oran, the pride of the nation, and the conquest of Charles the fifth, had been recaptured by the Moors; Sardinia and the Balearic Isles had been reduced; all the italian dominions, except Sicily, were in the possession of the allies; only four fortresses remained of the Netherlands, and the whole body of this splendid monarchy appeared crumbling into fragments. Aragon, Valencia, and Murcia, though conquered, secretly favoured the austrian prince; the whole force of Spain had been in vain employed

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to expel him from Catalonia; nor would the heroic fidelity of the Castilians have sufficed to preserve Philip on the throne, without the assistance of France.

But the strength of that mighty monarchy, which had threatened the independence of the civilized world, was almost exhausted by the length and violence of this protracted struggle. Since the disastrous campaign of 1706 had overthrown the French power in the Netherlands, Louis had maintained the contest with increasing disadvantages. In 1707, all his efforts had been merely defensive; but in the ensuing year, he had relaxed his exertions in distant quarters, to accumulate in this important theatre of action, a force of 100,000 men, which was intrusted to the duke of Burgundy, presumptive heir to the crown, and directed by the matured skill and enterprizing spirit of Vendome. Misfortune, however, still hung over his faded glories: this mighty force experienced a fatal defeat at

July 11. 1708.

Oudenard, and was only saved from total destruction by the prompt arrival of Berwick, with a new army from the Rhine.

This alarming catastrophe was followed by the reduction of Lisle, the first and fairest of his conquests in Flanders, and the key of the countries watered by the Lys and the Scheldt, which opened an irreparable breach in his frontier. He had now the regret to perceive that his future exertions in a quarter, hitherto the scene of his triumphs, must be employed to protect his own provinces from the scourge of war. For, while his veteran troops had been swept away by repeated defeats, while his fortresses had not sufficed to arrest the tide of victory, his finances were dilapidated, and his whole kingdom, under the pressure of an unfortunate conflict, was visited by pestilence and famine.

Internal distress and external misfortune would perhaps have produced little effect on the heart of a monarch, whose firmness in calamity extorts our admiration, without the impulse

of a powerful cabal in the very bosom of his court and family. The dauphin, as the father of Philip, overlooked the interests of the crown, to which he was heir, and strengthened Louis in his determination to maintain him in Spain; and the opinion of the monarch and the heir apparent did not want partisans. But the duke of Burgundy, who felt less personal interest for the aggrandisement of his brother, was more solicitous for the welfare of France, over which he was destined to reign. He found zealous supporters among the ministers and nobles most distinguished for integrity and moderation, particularly the duke of Beauvilliers, chief of the council of finance, and the chancellor Pontchartrain. Their incessant importunities, seconded by the public voice, constrained Louis at least to make overtures for the restoration of peace, before the armies again took the field.

After some indirect attempts, he employed the agency of the count of Bergueik, minister plenipotentiary from Philip in the Netherlands, and Rouillé, president of the parliament of Paris, french envoy to the elector of Bavaria, to open a clandestine negotiation with some leading men in Holland. Hints were thrown out, that the defection of the republic would be rewarded with a monopoly of the spanish commerce, and a proper barrier against France; and if Philip was permitted to retain possession of Spain and the Indies, some of the exterior provinces would be ceded to the archduke. Philip himself was admitted to a knowledge of this secret transaction; and with his own hand, signed full powers authorising his plenipotentiary to give full satisfaction to the dutch. These lures did not, however, make the expected impression; for though a strong party in the provinces were anxious for peace, the government replied that no overtures would be listened to, unless Bergueik was empowered to yield Spain and the Indies as the preliminary basis of a treaty.*

* Torci, t. 1, p. 186.

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This repulse did not discourage the french king from continuing a negotiation which at least might furnish a theme for the partisans of peace in England and Holland. He therefore consented to enter into a discussion on the basis of the proffered condition, and demanded passports for the french and spanish plenipotentiaries. Accordingly a passport was granted for Rouillé as french plenipotentiary, but refused for Bergueik; because it would have implied an acknowledgment of the right of Philip to Spain, which was the important question at issue.

To form a decisive plan of conduct, Louis was anxious to ascertain the sentiments of Philip, and the real situation of Spain. He therefore commissioned Amelot to apprise Philip, that he feared his own embarrassed situation might compel him to accept the preliminaries offered by the allies. The bare insinuation roused the spirit of the young monarch above his natural temper; and he declared his resolution rather to perish than abandon his throne.

Nov. 12, 1708.

"I was deeply affected," he wrote to his grandfather, "with the contents of your letter to Amelot, stating the chimerical and insolent demands of the english and dutch, for the preliminaries of peace. Never were similar demands before made. I cannot suppose that you will listen to them; you, who have proved yourself the most glorious king on earth. But I am indignant at the supposition, that I shall be compelled to abandon Spain, as long as a drop of blood flows in my veins; of that blood which cannot submit to dishonour. I will spare no efforts to maintain myself on the throne, on which God has placed me; and on which you, under providence, have supported me. You, I am sure, approve these sentiments, and for the sake of your own glory, as well as affection for me, will encourage them. Let me intreat you to consult your own heart, your love of glory, your affection for France; all of which call loudly in my favour. Let me intreat

you to recollect, that those who give you other advice, do not appreciate your true interests; as no greater misfortune can happen to France, than to break its union with Spain."*

Thus assured of the firmness of his grandson, the next object of the french monarch was to ascertain the truth of the reports industriously spread by the austrian partisans, that even the people of Castile and Andalusia, hitherto the principal support of Philip, were anxious for a change of government; and to discover the resources which Spain could furnish for maintaining the contest. The reply of Amelot is an interesting description of the state of Spain, and the disposition of the people.

Jan. 7. Feb. 18.

"No apprehensions need be entertained for the provinces, which are not in the possession of the enemy; nor is there the slightest reason to suspect the loyalty of the people in general. War, contributions, and famine occasion great sufferings in those districts which are poor, as well from their natural barrenness, as from the national indolence; but no bitter complaints are heard; no symptoms of disobedience perceived. And indeed what cause can there be for fear, while the king of Spain is supported by so large an army, both of his own and french troops.

"These disloyal rumours spring from the discontent of those grandees, who, because they are not admitted to a share of power, murmur heavily, and complain that no regard is paid to the grandees, the nobles and people; that their customs and laws are overturned; that the authority of their councils is annihilated; that all will be lost without a change of measures. The duke of Orleans was importuned with such discourses; he repeated them to me, and seemed to disregard them.

"Although there are many faults in the government, the complaints of those who censure it are easily refuted. The king

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 13.

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equitable even to scrupulousness, always decides against himself in doubtful cases. He relieves the people as much as circumstances will permit; he frees from taxes those places, which have suffered by the invasion of the enemy; he assists and rewards the subjects of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, who maintained their fidelity in the midst of revolt; he scatters his benefits daily; he has no favourites who enrich themselves at the expence of the state, or who usurp for themselves and their relatives the rewards earned by others.

"The queen, condescending and beneficent, has never accepted a present even from the king; she has never purchased a single jewel; and neither the king nor queen expend five hundred pistoles above what is merely necessary. The princess Orsini is so disinterested that she does not receive her appointments or pensions, because she does not demand them. She even does good to those whom she knows to be her enemies.

"If the grandees possess little authority; if the king confides almost in no one; if the councils no longer dispose of many favours of which they were formerly the dispensers; it is because Philip cannot otherwise support his throne, and such has long been the persuasion of the french court. Four years ago, he had neither troops, nor arms, nor artillery. His domestics were unpaid, his body guards, extenuated with hunger, received the alms distributed at the gates of the convents. Then the ministers of the cabinet governed; the councils ordered every thing. Who can now recommend the re-establishment of the antient councils, or submit to the discretion of people, who in time of peace did not leave sufficient to Charles the second to pay his journies to Aranjuez or the Escurial?

"Neither threats, attempts, or artifices, have been spared to intimidate your embassador, and oblige him to change his mea-

sures. But those who have only pure intentions, who have no interest nor rule except their duty, who have acquired some knowledge by long practice, who follow with implicit devotion the orders of their master, do not suffer themselves to be moved by fear, nor lured by the false hope of pleasing all: they pursue their objects with courage in spite of all obstacles. Thus, Sir, I imagine, you would be served.

"The chiefs of the cabal against the government are Montalto and Montellano, the count of Frigiliana, and the count of Monterey. They principally inveigh against the abolition of the laws and privileges of Aragon, and complain of the oppression of the people. Having expressed my surprise to Montellano, who affected to be my friend, that after being loaded with favours and honours, he could censure the government of a monarch whose minister he was, he replied, 'I am actuated by an excess of zeal. I wish my discourses to reach the ears of the king, and induce him to follow other maxims. But in future I will be silent, since it is judged necessary for the good of the service.'

"As to myself, I support the weight of all business, I am always ready to listen to remonstrances and complaints, and have never suspended the execution of my plans except to adopt better. But, can the grandees suffer a frenchman to govern, and the spaniards not to be masters? They caballed with the duke of Orleans to obtain my recal and that of the princess Orsini, with whom I perfectly agree. Such cabals indeed will continue as long as jealousy and disaffection prevail.

"I freely confess that injurious rumours have redoubled, since the unfortunate campaign in Flanders, and that melancholy prognostics have produced the most dangerous effects. But, the inferior nobles, I am persuaded, are favourably

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disposed, and there is no cause to dread an insurrection as long as the king of Spain maintains a powerful army. I am however, of opinion, *that if your majesty should withdraw your troops, the most loyal will consider the king as abandoned; and may renounce their allegiance when they see that he is incapable of supporting himself on the throne.*

" The riches of Peru and Mexico, those inexhaustible sources of wealth, are almost lost to Spain. Not only are complaints made against the french merchants for ruining the trade of Cadiz and Seville, in spite of the regulations of the french court against those who infringe the established rules, but the enormous abuses of the administration of the viceroys continue in full force. Avarice and pillage are unpunished, fortresses and garrisons are neglected; *all things seem to portend a fatal revolution.*

" Resolutions have been taken to recal the two viceroys, and to fix some precise bounds to the profits of their successors, so as to give them the means of enriching themselves without departing from their duty. I acknowledge that the expedient will not suffice to restrain cupidity; yet I do not see a better, even if the choice is directed on persons most distinguished for firmness and probity. So difficult is it to find among the grandees, a mind of sufficient strength to resist the influence of example and interest."*

These details, however cautiously written and favourably coloured, sufficiently proved the precarious state of the Bourbon power in Spain, the little reliance to be placed on the exertions of Philip, if left to himself, and the necessity either of winning over the nobles by conciliation, or subjugating them by force.

Louis therefore resolved to open the proposed negotiation with the allies, without definitively accepting or refusing their

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 28—36.

conditions, to profit by time and circumstances, to divide his enemies, to rouse the dormant loyalty of the Spaniards, and the energies of his own people; or, as a last resource, to purchase peace by the sacrifice of Philip, and prolong the contest indirectly, by encouraging the views of the duke of Orleans on the spanish throne. The whole of his plan does not seem to have been confided to any of the persons interested; but such instructions were separately imparted to Philip, the queen, the princess, and Amelot, as were necessary to guide them in the different parts which they were respectively intended to act.

After some fruitless attempts to entangle the dutch in a separate negotiation, Rouillé had no other alternative than to submit his proposals to the allies in general. Conferences were opened at the Hague, first through the medium of the dutch plenipotentiaries, Buys and Vanderdussen, two men of a character not to be deceived by diplomatic artifice, and well affected to the principles of the grand alliance, and afterwards continued jointly with the plenipotentiaries of all the allies. April and May.

The question of peace or war was reduced to one simple proposition. As Louis, in contravention of preceding treaties and renunciations, had placed his grandson on the spanish throne, and thus given cause to the war, he was required either to persuade or compel Philip to abandon Spain within a limited period, and to give security for the faithful performance of this condition.

Louis employed many expedients to evade or qualify the demand. He offered, first, in the name of Philip, to cede the Milanese, Naples, and Sicily; next, to add the Netherlands, or, at least, a barrier in the Netherlands; afterwards, to abandon Spain, and the dependent provinces, reserving only

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Naples and Sicily. The allies insisting that the whole spanish monarchy should be restored to the House of Austria, except the territories promised to the king of Portugal, and the duke of Savoy; Louis, in his own person, declared his acceptance of this condition. At the same time, he avowed his inability either to obtain or extort the acquiescence of Philip; though, as a proof of his sincerity, he offered to withdraw his troops from the peninsula, and leave him unprotected to their invasion.

As Louis had repeatedly violated the most solemn engagements, as the war was still vigorously prosecuted in Spain, and as Philip procured the acknowledgment of the infant prince
April 7. of Asturias by the cortes, at the very moment of this discussion, the allies considered the offer as a mere captious attempt to draw the war from the Netherlands, where they maintained a decisive advantage; and to engage them in a distant and expensive contest, till France had recovered from her depression. They, therefore, required that Louis should himself become responsible for the execution of his engagement, and, as a pledge, demanded the fortresses in Spain, occupied by his troops, and the temporary surrender of certain towns in the Netherlands, till Spain should be evacuated. For the purpose of fulfilling this condition, they offered a suspension of arms for two months.

"Philip," they justly observed, "will either, as we suppose, conform to the advice of his grandfather, or he will endeavour to maintain himself on the throne. In the first case, it will be no detriment to the king to yield the cautionary places, because they will be restored immediately on the fulfilment of the treaty. In the second, it ought to appear clearly to all, even to the Spaniards themselves, that the king acts with good faith, and that he will not in reality succour his grandson, directly

or indirectly; since he gives those places as a security for the performance of his promise." *

After some useless discussion, Louis rejected these conditions, with the reply, that his troops in Spain were in the field, not in garrisons; and that the demand of the cautionary towns was an insult to his honour, and implied an injurious suspicion of his good faith, at the moment when the allies required implicit confidence in their own fidelity.

This negotiation naturally alarmed Philip and his adherents, and they importuned Louis to relieve them from their apprehensions of being abandoned by France. But the answers of Louis excited additional alarm. In the midst of expressions of tenderness and affection for his grandson, he hinted that France was no longer capable of sustaining the burthens of war, with the additional evils of internal distress. The french embassador was even ordered to prepare him for the cession of Spain itself. "Peace," Louis observed, "must be obtained at any price: the longer it is deferred, the more distressed will be the condition of the king of Spain, and the greater sacrifices will be exacted from him." April 15.

"There are," he added, "situations in which courage must yield to prudence, and as the subjects of Philip, notwithstanding their present zeal and exertions, may not always be willing to give the same proofs of their attachment, it will be better to secure a part than to sacrifice the whole by an obstinate resistance. He well knows that I am ready to give him proofs of my friendship in supporting his dignity, by making considerable sacrifices, if necessary." † April 29.

These hints made a deep impression on the Spaniards. They justly considered the offers of Louis, to the allies,

* Memoires de Torci, t. 2, p. 161.

† Memoires de Noailles, t. 4, p. 115.

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as a proof that France was unable to continue the contest, and was preparing to sacrifice Spain for the sake of obtaining an advantageous peace. To prevent, therefore, the dismemberment of their monarchy, even the most loyal began to waver. Some turned their views to the House of Austria; others, with the connivance of the french monarch, formed a plan for raising the duke of Orleans to the throne, should Philip, from want of talents and spirit, or from the misfortunes of France, be compelled to abdicate.

This scheme, however, could not fail to aggravate the difficulties under which the spanish court laboured at this moment of alarm and uncertainty. The princess Orsini, whose personal jealousies sharpened her political vigilance, beheld the intrigues of the Orleans party with peculiar apprehension. She persuaded Philip that Regnault was employed by the duke, not merely to maintain a correspondence with his partisans, but that his machinations tended to nothing less than an immediate revolution in the government. Her suggestions induced

April 13. Philip to denounce the duke at Versailles, and to make the most earnest request that he might not again be exposed to the presence of so dangerous a rival.

April 29. Louis replied, "I have spoken to my nephew. He protests that, during his residence in Spain, he never interfered in the affairs of government; and he has made an appeal to my testimony, which I can readily give, that he never expressed the slightest wish for the recal of the embassador Amelot. With respect to his secretary Regnault, he says he is employed on account of his knowledge of the spanish language; but, as his conduct has displeased you, he shall instantly be recalled. I think this is what you have a right to demand on his part: for mine, I have found pretexts to avoid sending him this year into Spain; and you may be assured that, on every occasion,

you will always receive proofs of my attention to your pleasure."*

This representation induced Louis to enter into farther explanations with the duke of Orleans, who avowed his design to make an effort for the crown, should Philip be obliged to retire. Louis, knowing the weakness of his grandson, and justly dreading the result of another unfortunate campaign, was not only far from disapproving his conduct, but readily seized so favourable an opportunity of prolonging the contest indirectly, should the fate of war compel him to abandon his grandson. While therefore he persisted in refusing to permit his resumption of the command, he advised him to dispatch another agent, under the pretext of bringing back his camp equipage, to maintain and extend his connections in Spain. This agent was la Rotte, a man whose address, character and talents, were well fitted for the mission.

St. Simon, the friend and confidant of the duke of Orleans, has recorded from his own mouth the substance of these conversations with Louis, and has preserved some particulars which do not appear in the royal correspondence. In one the king inquired on what footing he stood with the princess. The duke replying that he believed himself well with her, because he had done nothing to incur her dislike; the king rejoined, "She, however, much fears your return into Spain, and desires that you may not be sent back. She complains, that after having done every thing to please you, you have joined with her enemies; that your secretary, Regnault, keeps up a secret correspondence with them, which has obliged her to demand his recal, to prevent him from injuring her in your name."

The duke afterwards adverted to her misconduct, and the discretion he had hitherto maintained on her behalf. Louis re-

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 72.

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flected a moment, and then said, "In the present state of things it is proper to avoid sending you back to Spain. In such a crisis of affairs, it is doubtful to whom the crown will belong. Should my grandson be obliged to withdraw, it is not worth while to examine the conduct of madame Orsini; if he preserves his throne, we may speak fully of your charges, and I shall be happy to have your advice."

Meanwhile the princess had not ceased to watch the conduct of the duke of Orleans, and the movements of his agents. She caused Regnault to be arrested, in such profound secrecy, that no one could conjecture the cause or time of his disappearance. She discovered, or pretended to discover, that the second agent la Rotte, who had proceeded to the army, held secret interviews at midnight with different persons, and even repaired from Lerida to the quarters of general Stanhope.* From these suspicious circumstances, she obtained likewise an order for his arrest, as he was returning to France under the protection of a French escort. In his possession were found various papers and documents in an unknown cypher, and parts of a correspondence between the duke of Orleans and general Stanhope.

She availed herself of this discovery to fabricate the project of an alarming conspiracy. She accused the duke of maintaining a secret and traitorous correspondence with the enemy, of offering to expose the army to defeat, and abandon Spain to the allies, on the condition of being permitted to retain the kingdoms of Murcia, Valencia, and Navarre, and renouncing his own pretensions in favour of the archduke. To give a stronger

* General Stanhope having been a jovial companion of the abbot Dubois, and the duke of Orleans, an interchange of letters and civilities appears to have taken place between him and the duke. St. Simon, t. 7, p. 107. See also Tindal, v. 16, p. 412.

colour to this imputation, rumours were spread that he intended to repudiate his wife, and to espouse, with the dispensation of the pope, the queen dowager of Spain, with a view to maintain his usurped power by the influence of her german connections.

These accusations, however absurd, made a deep impression on the mind of Philip. He earnestly renewed his representations to Louis, and insisted that the duke should never be permitted to resume the command in Spain, which he was persuaded would be the moment for the explosion of the conspiracy, and perhaps of his own deposition.

Louis now felt the inconvenience derived from his duplicity in conniving at the projects of the duke; and dreaded a renewal of those embarrassments which had before been occasioned by the opposition of the princess. He therefore adopted the only expedient calculated to save his honour, by mediating a reconciliation between his grandson and the duke, and promising to comply with his wishes. He communicated to Philip such parts of his conversations as were likely to further his view, and concluded with recommending him to bury the whole affair in oblivion.*

In this trying situation, Philip was buoyed up by the queen and princess, neither of whom was of a character to forego the pleasure of rule, and the splendour of a court; and he was equally encouraged by the secret assurances of his father the dauphin, that he would never be abandoned by France.

"I have taken," he wrote to Louis, "my resolution, and nothing shall compel me to change it. The crown of Spain, which God has placed on my head, I will maintain as long as

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 76.—St. Philippe, 11, p. 219—303, passim.——St. Simon, t. 5, passim; and particularly Histoire de Projets du Duc d'Orleans, sur l'Espagne, en cas d'abandon de cette Couronne de la part du Roi. Philippe, t. 5, p. 11.

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a drop of blood flows in my veins. I owe this resolution to my conscience, my honour, and the love of my subjects. They, I am convinced, will never abandon me in the most adverse circumstances; and as I am determined to expose my life at their head, so they will cheerfully shed their blood to retain me on the throne. Were I capable of meanly relinquishing my dignity, you, I am convinced, would renounce me as your grandson, and I for my part burn to prove my title to that honour, no less by my actions than by my blood. I will therefore never sign a treaty unworthy of myself; I will never quit Spain while I have a spark of life; I will rather perish, disputing every inch of ground at the head of my troops, than tarnish the glory of my house, which I hope will never be dishonoured by me. I shall feel the consolation, that while I am contending for my own interests, I am likewise contending for those of France, to which the preservation of Spain is absolutely necessary." *

As a public pledge to his subjects of a resolution never to abandon his throne, Philip convened the cortes † of Castile and Aragon, and obtained the acknowledgment of his infant son don Louis, as prince of Asturias and heir of the spanish monarchy. This act was performed in the church of St. Geronimo

April 7. del Prado, in the presence of the king and queen, and a vast concourse of people.

A letter from the queen to her sister the duchess of Burgundy, contains a minute account of the ceremony, interspersed with many amiable touches of maternal tenderness.

April 8. " My son was yesterday acknowledged presumptive heir of the spanish monarchy, by the states of the kingdom, and in this

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 45.

† We must distinguish this species of assembly from the real cortes, in which the whole body of Hidalgos assisted in person, and the convocation of which had been long disused.

quality, the clergy, all the grandees, the officers of the crown, and deputies of the towns who have a right to assist at the meeting of the states, swore fidelity to him, did homage, and kissed his hand. The patriarch, as grand almoner, confirmed him, according to usual custom. Cardinal Portocarrero was his godfather, and the duke of Medina Celi received the homage. This ceremony lasted nearly three hours. The assembly was very numerous; but every thing passed in the greatest order and with profound respect. I was no less surprised than gratified with the warm and tender expressions with which, in kissing our hands, each person testified his joy, and that of the whole kingdom.

"About twelve o'clock the king, myself, and my son, alighted at the church of St. Geronimo, which we found magnificently ornamented, and filled with all who have a right to be present in virtue of their offices, or as members of the states. The king was attended by the great officers of the crown. I was followed by fourteen ladies, all grandees, or wives of grandees, whom I chose from the first families of Spain; and my son was carried by the princess Orsini. It was her duty, as camerara-mayor, to hold my train; but as she filled the office of governess to the prince, her place was supplied by the count of Aguilar, captain of the guards, because if I had nominated a lady, this preference would have thrown all the rest into despair.

"As soon as we arrived under our canopy, the ceremony commenced with the *Veni Creator*. During the whole mass, my son behaved with a tranquillity and cheerfulness which drew general attention. He kissed the gospel and the pix, like a reasonable person; but after mass, when he was carried to the altar to be confirmed, he became fretful at quitting me; and when his brow was bound with the diadem, he was terrified,

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and cried. This did not, however, last long; for as soon as he was brought back to me his tears ceased.

"Each person, according to his rank, then took the oath, and did homage. More than two hundred kissed his hand, which he presented very graciously and with more patience than could be expected from an infant of twenty months. At last, however, they were obliged to bring his nurse, but while she suckled him, he gave his hand to kiss as before, though in a manner that seemed as if to inquire whether it would not soon finish. After the *Te Deum*, we passed to our apartment, in the same order, and with the same attendants. The people could not give more proofs of their zeal and love for us, than on this occasion. The court was splendid, and I think no festival was ever better regulated, nor more generally satisfactory." *

The conduct of the holy see, furnished Philip with another occasion to testify his resolution of maintaining his crown.

Clement the eleventh, though devoted to the House of Bourbon, had avoided compromising his authority between the contending powers, till the occupation of Naples and the Milanese by the austrians forced him to relinquish his neutrality. He refused indeed to acknowledge the archduke as king of Spain; but endeavoured at once to secure his own safety, and evade this concession, by addressing him with the equivocal title of *the catholic king*.

Though the austrians were dissatisfied with this partial acknowledgment, and though it sufficiently shewed the reluctance of the pope to declare against the House of Bourbon, Philip thought proper to consider it as an insult to his person and dignity, and submitted to his ministers, and a junta of theologians headed by the confessor Robinet, the question,

* Lamberti, t. 5, p. 320.

Whether he should dismiss the nuntio? It was decided in the affirmative; but he did not venture to carry it into execution, till he had received the sanction of his grandfather; and the french monarch gave a tacit approval, though he refused to break off his own connection with the head of the church. This apparent indecision weighed with the more timid members of the administration, who proposed to suspend or modify the decree; while Philip, more firm or better assured of the real sentiments of the french monarch, persisted in his original resolution. The nuntio was dismissed, his tribunal closed; the customary remittances to Rome forbidden; and the spanish embassador, the duke of Uzeda, recalled. The nuntio having erected his tribunal at Avignon, Philip marked his displeasure by forbidding the reception of briefs from Rome. At the same time, to preserve the appearance of respect and consideration towards the holy see, and to allay the apprehensions of the devout sons of the church, the conduct of the pope was considered as the effect of force, and public prayers offered up for his deliverance from the oppression of his enemies.*

But whatever expedients were adopted to win the confidence of the nation at large, the cabinet still continued the scene of contest and confusion. Nothing could reconcile the Spaniards to the controul of a french minister; and on the other hand, Amelot himself, impatient of their constant and frequently unreasonable opposition, relinquished that cautious and conciliating deportment which had recommended him for his mission. He became peevish and hasty, censured the refractory nobles in harsh and contumelious language, and insisted on the necessity of subduing their untractable spirit, by

* Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 282—295.——Noailles, t. 4, p. 38.——Tessé, t. 2, p. 283.——History of Europe for 1709, p. 73, 262, 312.——Ortiz. t. 7, p. 162.

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rigorous measures. He accordingly made frequent changes in the cabinet and councils, excluded Montellano, the duke of St. Juan, and others, who had been the most strenuous in opposition, and retained only such as were either devoted to France, or too deficient in character and weight to influence the conduct of the administration. These vigorous measures did not contribute to allay the feuds in the court; for the exclusion of Montellano in particular gave him new popularity, as a noble distinguished for his independent character, and as the only barrier to the overbearing influence of France.

Murmurs and indignation prevailed throughout the court and capital. The grandees most attached to the bourbon cause, unanimously inveighed against France and the french agents; and decried Amelot and the princess as the authors of national ruin. The house of Montellano, whose taste for literature had led him to imitate the literary assemblies of other countries, became the resort of all who were discontented with the government. Equally irritated by his recent disgrace, and emboldened by his popularity, he was still more vehement in his censures. He did not even respect the remonstrance of the king, and replied to Amelot, who was charged to express to him the royal displeasure: "It is a proof of zeal and affection to censure what is prejudicial to the welfare of the monarchy. We are surely intitled to speak freely; we who are embarked with the king in the same vessel, which is on the point of perishing, because those who direct the helm, labour only to sink her." * Nor was the example of Montellano lost on the other nobles. The duke of Medina Celi even proposed to join the allies against the french, who had insulted their loyalty and honour, by attempting to deprive them of a king, the object of their love and veneration, and united with

* St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 246.

them by congenial sentiments. From the court and capital these political feuds spread into the army: the spanish troops appeared more eager to contend with the french than with the enemy; and apprehensions were entertained that the french, who were resident at Madrid, would be sacrificed to the public hatred.*

It is not difficult to judge to what extremities these discontents might have led; but in the course of the negotiation, the terms on which the archduke had purchased the support of the allies transpired, and the zealous Spaniards discovered, that even by accepting an austrian king, they could not prevent the dreaded dismemberment of their monarchy. For, besides the probability that he might be induced to cede a portion of the italian territories to Philip, he had already promised part of Galicia and Estremadura to the king of Portugal, and a barrier in the Netherlands to the dutch. The publication of the projects attributed to the duke of Orleans, produced a similar effect on those who regarded him as the champion of their independence. The hopes of the nation were, therefore, directed to Philip, as their last and only resource, and the tide of popularity again turned in his favour.

The princess Orsini now came forward to act her part in this political drama.† Although she had hitherto supported all the measures of Amelot, and had recently assisted him in overcoming the reluctance of the king and queen to consent to the disgrace of Montellano, she now sacrificed him to the interests of both courts, and the wishes of the nation. She, therefore, threw on him the odium of the obnoxious measures,

* St. Philippe, t. 1, p. 245.

† It is evident from the correspondence preserved in the Memoirs of Noailles, that the Princess was the chief agent in this political revolution, and gave the impulse to Philip through the means of her royal mistress.—Noailles, t. 4, p. 50, &c.

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recommended his recal, affected indignation at the humiliating offers of Louis to the allies; and, with pretended disinterestedness, offered her own resignation. She also employed her influence over the queen to induce Philip to throw himself on the support of his subjects.

April. At her instigation, the king convened the chief ministers and grandees to demand their assistance and counsel. He dwelt on the state of alarm and inquietude into which he was thrown by the public rumours that he was to be abandoned by France; and his own uncertainty respecting the real intentions of the french cabinet. He announced his resolution rather to die than to yield his crown; appealed to the zeal and affection of his subjects, and concluded with expressing his determination to be guided by their advice.

The whole assembly were deeply moved; but the national impulse was given by Portocarrero, who, at the advanced age of seventy-four, emerged from his retreat to attend this important deliberation; and by acting the part becoming his high station, compensated for his recent apostacy. His example and exhortations called forth an unanimous burst of enthusiasm.* The assembly protested that duty and affection, no less than allegiance, bound them to maintain their sovereign on his throne. It was, they declared, a degradation of the national dignity, to suffer England and Holland to parcel out their monarchy; and if the king of France was no longer able to furnish the requisite assistance, the whole people, without distinction of rank, profession, or age, should rise in a mass, and sacrifice themselves for their king, their country, and their honour. They recommended the immediate dismission of all the french, and the establishment of a spanish administration.

* This act closed the political life of this remarkable man, who died Sept. 14, at Toledo.—St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 306.

Philip readily listened to a proposal which he was predisposed to accept, and the princess Orsini herself communicated to Amelot the unwelcome tidings of his dismission. She, however, shewed herself as the principal adviser of these popular measures, and through the interposition of the queen, obtained a special exception in her own favour from the general decree. The duke of Medina Celi was placed at the head of the administration, as minister for foreign affairs; the marquis of Bedmar was appointed to the department of war; the other members of the ministry, being Spaniards, were permitted to retain their offices; the two secretaries of the cabinet, Mejorada and Grimaldo, continued to exercise their important functions, and to possess the royal confidence. Amelot was also to be succeeded in his embassy by Blecourt, who had formerly filled the post of minister in Spain, and was to be expressly excluded from the privilege enjoyed by his predecessors, of assisting at the deliberations of the cabinet.

May 26.

To give still farther proofs of a determination not to abandon his throne, Philip appointed the duke of Alva, and the count of Bergueik, two noblemen distinguished for their opposition to the dismemberment of Spain, as his plenipotentiaries to the conferences at the Hague, where he was well aware they would not be admitted. Their instructions were given to the public, and clearly shew the purpose for which they were calculated. "The temple of peace," it was observed, "ought to be decorated with the furniture of both Spain and France; the robe of the goddess should not be cut from a single piece of brocade, because it is contrary to equity that Spain alone should be dismembered; and therefore whatever France may sacrifice, whatever it may cost her, Spain will never submit to be despoiled of her antient patrimony."

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After this whimsical exordium, it is added:

"The king is resolved never to cede any part of Spain or the Indies, or the duchy of Milan; and in conformity with this resolution, he protests against the actual dismemberment of the Milanese, by the emperor to the duke of Savoy, though he is willing to indemnify the duke with the island of Sardinia. In the last extremity, and to obtain peace, his majesty will cede to the archduke, Naples; and to the english, Jamaica, on the restoration of Majorca and Minorca. He revokes the offer of commercial advantages to the dutch; and will only open the trade of America to all nations by means of a board established at Cadiz. The plenipotentiaries are enjoined to communicate their orders to the king of France, and to adhere scrupulously to these terms. But should these offers not be deemed sufficient to obtain peace, they must endeavour to prevail on the king of France to cede some of his own conquests, to procure the re-establishment of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and leave to the elector of Bavaria the administration of the Netherlands, till they can be transferred to a spanish Prince.*"

The grandees and nation did not belie the solemn pledge which they had given to their sovereign. Levies of men, and contributions of money and plate, were poured in; the enthusiasm of the nobles was communicated to the clergy; the hierarchy not only lavished their treasures, but employed their powerful influence against a prince who was supported by rebels and heretics; while the people, animated by the exhortations of their chiefs and pastors, flocked to the royal standard. For the first time since the commencement of the contest, the supreme command was given to a Spaniard, the count of Agui-

* Lamberti, t. 5, p. 322.——Noailles, t. 4, p. 55.

lar, who was distinguished among his countrymen for military talents, and devotedly attached to Philip.

The reviving loyalty of the Spaniards, and the impossibility of persuading the allies to recede from terms which left no room for evasion or delay, induced Louis to terminate a negotiation from which he could draw no farther advantage. To give greater effect to his proposals, and to preserve the appearance of an anxiety for peace, he employed on this important mission the marquis of Torci, his confidential minister, who repaired to the scene of the conferences. The new plenipotentiary had only the same conditions to propose as his predecessor, though under a different form. After a discussion in which he exerted all his diplomatic abilities to give to the proposals of his Sovereign the colour of moderation and sincerity, he concluded with requiring from the allies a distinct and formal declaration of their demands. May 6.

Accordingly, preliminaries were drawn up as the basis of the intended peace, and sanctioned by the signature of all the plenipotentiaries, on the part of the allies. The fourth and thirty-seventh articles, which related to the spanish succession, comprised the acknowledgment of the archduke, as sovereign of the whole spanish monarchy. A suspension of arms for two months was to be granted for giving him possession of the throne; to cease at that period, if this condition was not fulfilled, by means which were left to the option of the king of France. Should Philip refuse his consent, the king of France was not only to withdraw his troops and withhold his succours, *but was to join with the allies in concerting proper measures to obtain his compliance.* Finally, the monarchy was to continue in the House of Austria, and no prince of the House of Bourbon was ever to become sovereign of any part; nor was the crown of France to acquire any portion of the spanish Indies, or its

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subjects to participate in the commerce of the new world.* Other conditions were also stipulated for the emperor and empire, as well as for England and Holland; and a power was reserved to bring forward ulterior demands for the subordinate members of the grand alliance. Torci verbally expressed his own personal acceptance of these preliminaries, but with a reference to the pleasure of his sovereign; and on his departure to Paris, the strongest hopes were entertained that the contest was brought to a termination, and that the returning courier would bring the approbation of the king. Louis, however, was not yet sufficiently humbled to accept terms which would have rendered vain all the labours of fifty years. He not only refused his acquiescence, but considering the clause in the obnoxious article, which bound him to join with the allies, as an obligation to make war against his grandson, declared, that if driven to the melancholy alternative, he would rather wage war against his enemies than against his own children. He availed himself also of the apparent cruelty of such a demand to silence the importunities of the duke of Burgundy, and rouse the spirit of his people. He published a solemn declaration of his pacific views, and, after expatiating on the barbarity and insolence of his enemies, appealed to the loyalty and honour of his subjects, to preserve him from degradation. "I pass by," he said, "the proposal they have made me to join my forces with those of the league, and expel the king, my grandson, from his throne, if he will not voluntarily consent to descend to a private station. It is contrary to humanity

* It would be foreign to the plan of this work to give more than an outline of such parts of the negotiation at the Hague, as related to Spain. As to those parts which regarded the emperor, empire, and the other powers, after the ample detail which we have given in the History of the House of Austria, we trust we may be permitted to refer to that work, vol. 1, ch. 76.

even to believe that they could entertain the hope of drawing me into such an alliance. But, although my tenderness for my people is as strong as my affection for my children; although I share with them the calamities which war draws upon faithful subjects, and have manifested to all Europe that I sincerely desire peace, I am persuaded they will themselves oppose the acceptance of peace, upon conditions equally contrary to justice and to the honour of the french nation."

The effect of this appeal was general and instantaneous. The duke of Burgundy, and his partisans, vied with their opponents in zeal for the prosecution of the war; while the nation, which had already begun to sink under the weight of calamity, was roused by the appeal of their aged monarch, and rallied round the throne to preserve it from humiliation and dishonour.

Philip imitated the example of Louis in appealing to the loyalty and honour of his people. After recapitulating the circumstances of the negotiation, he observed, "the allies, not content with their exorbitant pretensions, even proposed, as a fundamental article, that the king, my grandfather, should unite with them to expel me by force, if I did not voluntarily abandon Spain within two months. A rash and scandalous proposition! Yet, in this they shewed some knowledge and esteem of my constancy, as well as of the fidelity and valour of my courageous Spaniards; for it is a confession, that so many powers united, are not assured of success." July 4.

After expatiating on the danger which threatened the holy catholic church, from the combination of heretics, and the diffusion of heretical doctrines, he pathetically added, "If from the number and magnitude of my sins, the divine benediction be withheld from me, I will tinge the soil of my beloved Spain with my blood, in the sight of my subjects; content if the

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wrath of heaven be appeased by my chastisement, and if my children, born in the arms of my faithful people, those royal innocents with whom God has been pleased to establish and comfort my monarchy, may at last reap the fruits of peace.

"For this purpose, my subjects must support me with their united and renowned fidelity, and generous efforts. They must join in sincere christian charity and natural affection; and we must address ourselves to God, and the holy Virgin Mary, the peculiar protectress of me and my kingdoms, by fervent and constant prayer; we must root out from our minds those vices which would turn away the divine mercy. Thus united, we will fight for our honour and for our native land, under the eternal will of Providence, against the blasphemous pride of those who arrogate to themselves a power to divide and dispose of empires, and to transfer them from nation to nation."*

This spirited address made as deep an impression on the Spaniards, as that of Louis on the French. But Spain was now too much exhausted to furnish resources for the impending struggle. When, therefore, Louis announced the sad necessity of withdrawing his troops for the defence of his own kingdom, Philip, both directly and by his agents, made the most earnest applications for a continuance of that support, to which he had hitherto owed his crown. These proving fruitless, the queen pathetically appealed to his humanity and paternal feelings.

June 17.

"We have no infantry," she observed, "and unless you will spare us twenty battalions, the enemy will reach Madrid, and we are ruined. Have compassion, I intreat you, on my forlorn situation. In hourly expectation of my delivery, what will become of me and my children! The very dread of being

* Lamberti, t. 5, p. 306.——History of Europe, 1709, p. 471.

thus abandoned will cause my death. Can you be so hard-hearted as to expose me to such imminent danger, when it is in your power to relieve me? I cannot, nor will I believe, that the kindness and affection you have shewn to me, will ever suffer you to desert me on this trying occasion." * CHAP. XVI. 1709.

It seemed as if this pathetic appeal overbore the considerations of policy. Louis agreed to leave twenty-five battalions in Spain; but he restricted this concession to the period of a few weeks, till Philip should have time to collect and organise a native army, and provide for his own safety. Conscious also that the increasing exertions of the allies would occupy his whole force in the campaign which was now opened, he stimulated the resolution of Philip, and the zeal of his subjects, by renewing his hints, that unless Spain could support herself, he must ultimately renounce all hopes of maintaining his family on the throne. June 26.

Fortunately indeed for Philip, the war in Spain was suffered to languish by the allies, who concentrated their principal strength in the Netherlands. The spanish forces under the marquis of Bay, had discomfited the british and portuguese on the Caya, in the vicinity of Campo Mayor, and thereby averted the danger from the western frontier. In Catalonia, the united armies were superior to that of the allies; but this advantage was rendered unavailing by their mutual hatred, and particularly by the contentions between the two commanders, Bezons and Aguilar. As the french were enjoined to remain only on the defensive, the active Staremberg did not hesitate to cross the Segra in the presence of the bourbon army, and invest the fortress of Balaguer. The spaniards were eager to risk an engagement; but Bezons, shackled by his orders, and dreading, lest in the confusion of a battle, they should turn their arms May.

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 65.

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against his own troops instead of the enemy, retreated at the moment of action, and the army had the mortification to witness the reduction of the fortress, and the loss of three battalions, who surrendered as prisoners of war.

Irritated with the intelligence, Philip quitted Madrid, and hastened to the army with the hope of terminating the disputes of the generals, and checking the feuds of the soldiery. He announced his resolution in an indignant letter written to Bezons at Guadalaxara, during his route. "I am surprised," he said, "at your conduct in sight of the enemy, on the 27th of last month, which I consider as disgraceful to the two nations. On receiving the intelligence, I departed this morning from Madrid to head my army, without a moment's delay. I order you to have in readiness for my arrival forty battalions and sixty squadrons, which I know you can collect. It becomes necessary to support the honour of France and Spain; and be assured that I do not repair to the army without a resolution of doing something worthy of my birth. You will not, I am satisfied, lose my esteem, but will on all occasions endeavour to deserve it."*

Sept. 2.

Philip found his army not only divided by national feuds, but in the most deplorable condition for want of forage and subsistence; and the enemy in a position too strong to be forced. After waiting three weeks, only to witness the miseries of the soldiery, and the increasing divisions of the officers, he transferred the command of the spaniards to the prince of Tzerclaes, and, accompanied by Aguilar, hurried away from a scene, where he had experienced nothing but affliction.†

In the midst of this mortifying inactivity, Noailles sustained the honour of the french arms by his operations on the side of

* Lamberti, t. 5, p. 393.

† St. Philippe, 11, p. 276.

the eastern Pyrenees. He reduced Figueras, and surprising an austrian camp under the walls of Gironâ, made the general prisoner, took the artillery and baggage, and killed, dispersed, or captured the troops; but his exploits, however brilliant, produced no permanent advantage, for he again returned to winter on the frontier of Roussillon.

The promised change of measures, and the formation of a spanish ministry, had not contributed to restore tranquillity in the palace and cabinet. The people, and those at a distance from the court, were perhaps deceived by outward appearances; but it required no deep sagacity to discover, that the separation from France was merely an affected and temporary expedient to stimulate the zeal of the nation, and give colour to the asseverations of Louis, that he was unable to wrest the crown from his grandson. These suspicions were justified by the increasing interference of the french cabinet, at the very moment when it was said to cease, and by the obsequious obedience of Philip to the secret mandates of Versailles. For although he had avowed the resolution of throwing himself into the arms of his subjects, he never gave his confidence to the duke of Medina Celi, and those who were nominally entrusted with the management of affairs, but to the secretary Grimaldo, who was of too supple and conciliating a character to oppose his own national prejudices to the royal pleasure. He also detained Amelot under various pretences, until the moment of his departure to the army; admitted him into the cabinet, and paid the same attention to his advice as during the preceding part of his mission.*

In these circumstances the duke of Medina Celi considered himself as placed at the head of the government, only to facilitate his ruin. Even Ronquillo and Bedmar did not conceal

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 82.

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their aversion to a system of administration, in which they were rendered responsible without the power of acting; and remonstrated against the breach of the solemn promise which the king had pledged to the nation, to intrust the government only to spaniards.

To allay these clamours, the princess thought proper to make a new tender of her resignation, and demanded her recal, under the pretext that her presence was injurious to the crown. Her real or affected delicacy was, however, over-ruled by the instances of the queen; and the moderate opponents of french influence were satisfied with a solemn declaration, that she would not again interfere in the business of government. She also found it necessary to hasten the departure of Amelot, as well as the dismission of all her countrymen. The french minister at length quitting the capital, at the very moment when Philip repaired to the army, with difficulty escaped the effects of popular indignation.*

Philip returned to Madrid, to meet still greater difficulties than he had encountered at the army. The system of administration which had been planned by Orri, matured by Amelot, and rendered efficient by his wise and vigorous management, became null, if not injurious in the hands of indolent ministers, hostile to the system itself, and ignorant of the very elements of political œconomy. The same dilatory spirit again palsied all the departments of administration; and Spain, under the unskilful and negligent management of her own natives, was rapidly falling into her former debility and

November. distress. Philip, without the power or abilities to devise a remedy, without counsellors in whom he could confide, relapsed into his former indolence, and sought to dissipate his chagrin by devoting himself to the pleasures of the chace, and

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 280.——Noailles, t. 4, p. 68—70.

the monotonous amusements of the palace; and nothing but the secret interference of the queen and princess, through the agency of Grimaldo, could have prevented a total stagnation of business, and dissolution of the government.* CHAP. XVI. 1709.

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 102.

Besides the authorities particularly quoted in different parts of this chapter, we have consulted on the whole, the general histories of Desormeaux and Ortiz, as well as our own and the french Historians.

CHAPTER XVII.

1710.

The increasing misfortunes and distresses of France, compel Louis to renew the Negotiations—Commencement, progress and rupture of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg.

CHAP. XVII. 1710.

DURING the preceding year, the misfortunes of France had continued to accumulate. In the Netherlands, the great theatre of action, the bloody battle of Malplaquet had indeed given a new glory to the bravery and firmness of the french troops; but their courage had been exerted in vain. They had experienced a terrible defeat; Villars, the most able and successful of their generals, had been wounded and forced to quit the command; and the allies had still farther broken the iron frontier which had hitherto obstructed their progress, by the reduction of Tournay and Mons. From the gradual advance of a victorious enemy, joined to the exhausted state of the nation, the french monarch could not contemplate the fate of another campaign, and the prospect of another defeat, without alarm and anxiety. His embarrassments were aggravated by the conduct of the elector of Bavaria, who, hopeless of the cause of France, made overtures to the allies, and offered to yield Luxemburg, with the other strong places in the Nether-

lands, which he still held in the name of Philip, in return for an equivalent, or the restoration of his own dominions.*

For these reasons, the attention of Louis, during this eventful campaign, was incessantly employed to obtain a renewal of the negotiations, as soon as the returning season suspended the operations of war.

Soon after the departure of Philip from the army, expedients were adopted to continue the illusion before practised, and to strengthen the appearances of a disunion between France and Spain. Louis withdrew his troops from Pampeluna, Fuentarabia, and the other posts on the western side of the Pyrenees; and Bezons, with the whole army under his command, was ordered to take the route of Roussillon. At the same time, however, Philip again received assurances from the dauphin, his father, that the king of France would never abandon him;† the troops were suffered to desert to the spanish service in such numbers as to form a body of 5,000 men; while the walloons were sent back from the Netherlands on the plea of being spanish subjects. Thus the auxiliary forces under the banners of Philip were only ostensibly recalled, to be replaced under another name; and the remainder of the troops under Bezons joining those of Noailles, a powerful army still hovered on the frontier of Catalonia, ready to return at the first signal.

To promote his designs with the allies, and to soothe the anxiety of the elector of Bavaria, Louis required of Philip the cession of Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, and Neuport, the last remnant of the spanish Netherlands. At the moment of his departure from Spain, Amelot was directed to prepare the way for this demand, and to declare that without

* House of Austria, v. 1, p. 1022.——Torci, t. 2, p. 235.

† St. Philippe, t. 2, p 263, 307, 309.

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such a sacrifice, the king of France, though reluctant, might be compelled to yield to necessity, and join his arms to those of the allies.

This threat producing no effect, the proposal was brought forward in another shape. Louis dispatched Ibbeville, an agent of the elector of Bavaria, to make the demand in the name of his master, in virtue of the treaty* concluded in 1703; but in reality with the hope, that the offer of these important fortresses to be added to the rest of the Netherlands, would prove an irresistible temptation to the dutch, or that the cession would at least prevent the defection of the elector.

December, 1709.

Philip could not venture to accede to the proposal without the approbation of his spanish ministers. But they, considering only the interests of their own country, regarded the treaty with Bavaria as a mere pretence to purchase safety for France at the expence of Spain, and opposed it on the ground, that Philip would thus deprive himself of the means of obtaining favourable terms of peace. The duke of Medina Celi in particular, warmly remonstrated; and urged, that the only way in which France could effectually serve Spain, was not by tampering with the allies, but by a vigorous diversion on the side of Catalonia. Their decided opposition prevailed over the obedient timidity of Philip; and Ibbeville left Spain with convincing proofs at once of his inclination and inability to comply with the proposal.

Still, however, Louis persisted in his design of engaging the allies in a new negotiation. He knew from experience, that the slightest hope of peace contributes to slacken the efforts of war; and that the former conferences had not only infused new spirit into his partisans in England and Holland, but afforded him considerable advantages in collecting resources for the

* See p. 127.

last campaign. Indeed, from the very rupture of the conferences, a constant correspondence had been maintained by means of the french agents in Holland, and a species of informal negotiation carried on through the agency of Petkum, resident of the duke of Holstein, for the express purpose of devising some satisfactory expedient for modifying the fourth and thirty-seventh articles of the preliminaries, the only apparent obstacles to the conclusion of peace.

During this intercourse, Louis discovered such favourable symptoms in the pacific party, that he endeavoured to lure the dutch into a separate treaty, by offering to cede to them the whole of the spanish Netherlands, with great commercial advantages.* But these machinations were discovered by the allies, and frustrated by the conclusion of the barrier treaty between England and Holland, which assured to the republic similar advantages to those offered by France, together with the territorial security to which it was intitled by the grand alliance. October, 1709.

By this celebrated treaty, which was intended to form the bond of union between the two maritime powers against the future aggressions of France, the spanish Netherlands were placed under a provisional government, which was to act in the name of Charles, as king of Spain, though with his express exclusion till their final transfer to the House of Austria. A

* St. Philippe, whose means of information in regard to spanish affairs, cannot be reasonably doubted, asserts that Ibbeville's mission was to obtain the cession of the Netherlands, and the american commerce to the dutch. This is controverted by the editor of the Memoirs of Noailles, who, from the papers under his inspection, contends, that the mission of Ibbeville merely related to the demand made in the name of the Elector of Bavaria. We think, however, that he lays too great stress on the written and ostensible instructions of this agent, and that the conduct of Louis gives weight to the assertion of St. Philippe.——Noailles, t. 4, p. 106.——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 312.——Desormeaux, t. 5, p. 292.——Hare's Letters to a Tory member.

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barrier was to be granted to the dutch, consisting of the right of garrison in Furnes, with the fort of Knoque, Ypres, and Menin, the conquered part of the spanish Netherlands; and of Lisle, Tournay, Condé, and Valenciennes, which had been wrested from France. To these were to be added Neuport, Charleroy, and Namur, the towns still possessed by Philip, together with Maubeuge, and as many other places as should be reduced in the progress of the war. The states were likewise to fortify and possess Lierre, Halle, the citadel of Ghent and Dendermond, as necessary points of communication with their barrier, and to acquire the upper quarter of Guelderland, with right of garrison in Liege, Huy, and Bonne, to cover the frontier on the side of the Rhine and Meuse. Their limits were also to be extended to a proper distance beyond the works of their own fortresses. To prevent the people of the Netherlands from entering into a commercial competition with the United Provinces, the provisions of the treaty of Munster were revived for closing the navigation of the Scheld, and restoring the tariff of duties established in those countries. Finally, England engaged to procure for the republic the same commercial privileges in Spain, as were enjoyed by the most favoured nations.*

Meanwhile the negotiation was indirectly continued with the court of Versailles, and various proposals agitated to accommodate the points in dispute. When the allies required the cession of the spanish fortresses, Louis replied, his troops were already withdrawn, and it was impossible to engage for the surrender of places not in his possession. A subsequent demand of Bayonne and Perpignan, as a temporary deposit, which, without endangering the safety of France, would cut off the means of communication with Spain, was rejected, under the plea that he could not leave the keys of his empire in the hands of

* Defence of the Barrier Treaty.—Lamberti, t. 5, p. 464.

his enemies. Finally, the french cabinet produced a new project, which they represented as the preliminaries changed only in form, not in substance. It comprised an agreement to acknowledge Charles immediately after the signature of peace, as king of Spain, the Indies, and the whole spanish monarchy; to withhold every species of succour and support from Philip; and, as a security, to confide to the states the possession of four of the french fortresses in Flanders, till the affairs of Spain should be successfully terminated.* This proposal was however rejected by the allies, as a captious attempt to substitute a vague and eventual engagement for the clear and positive conditions laid down in the preliminaries. CHAP. XVII. 1710. June 2.

During these transactions, Louis seems to have received hints from the pacific party in Holland, that a proposal to reserve for Philip some part of the spanish monarchy might be rendered palatable. The struggle of parties in England, and the increasing unpopularity of the war, portended a change in the administration; attempts to sow jealousy between the different members of the alliance had not been unsuccessful; troubles were rising in the empire, and the war between Russia and Sweden threatened to spread into the austrian dominions. These circumstances, joined with the hope of a favourable turn of events, induced the king of France again to recur to a public negotiation.

He accordingly affected to accept the preliminaries generally, with the reserve of the thirty-seventh article, the execution of which he declared to be impracticable within the specified time, and proposed to enter into the discussion of an equivalent or expedient. These professions induced the states to grant passports for the french plenipotentiaries; and a grand Feb. 27:

* Hare's Letters to a Tory member.——Lamberti, t. 5, p. 464.——History of Europe for 1710, p. 8.

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council of state was immediately held at Versailles, to which the spanish embassador was admitted, to draw up instructions and settle the requisite arrangements.*

On the 4th of March, the two french plenipotentiaries, marshal d'Uxelles and the abbot Polignac, took their departure, to meet the deputies Vanderdussen and Buys, who were appointed to act for the dutch government in behalf of the allies. To prevent however any direct intercourse between the french ministers and the partisans of France, the remote village of Gertruydenberg was ultimately fixed as the place of the conferences.

On the 9th of March, the first meeting took place. But instead of a simple discussion of the obnoxious article, as the allies were assured when they consented to renew the negotiation, the french plenipotentiaries brought forward a new principle by reverting to a partition of the spanish monarchy. In this, and the subsequent conferences, every effort was made to introduce the condition; and to reserve to Philip, first Aragon or Navarre, and afterwards at least the two Sicilies with the fortresses on the coast of Tuscany. The allies remained firm to the general principle of their preliminary articles, and refused to admit any further modification of their demand of the whole spanish monarchy than the cession of Sardinia and Sicily.

Still, however, the execution of this or any other condition, or the security to be given for the fulfilment of the treaty, were the essential points at issue; and on these turned the question of peace or war. Yet although the french monarch promised to employ his endeavours in persuading Philip to accept the conditions concluded in his name, he invariably declined to become responsible for his consent; and as invariably

* Memoires de Polignac, t. 2, p. 40.——Larrey, t. 9, p. 324.

avowed his inability and repugnance to extort it by force. He offered to withdraw his succours; and catching at the phrase in the preliminaries which he had before so vehemently censured, declared his willingness *to enter into a concert of measures with the allies.* He proposed a monthly subsidy, first on the condition of a mutual reduction of troops; he afterwards tendered the specific sum of 1,000,000 livres without condition; and he joined with all his proposals, the temporary cession of certain places in the Netherlands, at his own choice, as a pledge for the performance.

A short discussion however proved, that any species of co-operation either by subsidies or troops was utterly impracticable. As the question in other respects still turned on the same principle as at first, the allies were convinced that they must relinquish the objects of all their exertions, or acquire them by a new appeal to the sword. They therefore refused to listen to any proposal of a subsidy or co-operation; and insisted, according to the most rigorous construction of the preliminaries, that Louis should engage either to persuade or force his grandson to abandon the whole spanish monarchy within the specified term of two months. "Money, and french troops," observed the deputies, "are not to our purpose; the essential point, and the only security we require, is the execution of the treaty, and the fulfilment of the preliminary articles."*

So precise and positive a declaration admitted neither dispute nor delay. Both parties being equally determined not to recede, the negotiation, after being drawn out to an unusual length by the mode of discussion, and the affected reluctance of the french ministers to relinquish the objects of

* Torci, t. 2, p. 393.——Desormeaux, t. 5, p. 330.

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their mission, was at last terminated by their departure on the 25th of July.

Philip, and still more his spanish ministers, watched with an anxious eye the progress of the negotiation; and a species of underplot was formed at Madrid with the evident design of obviating the alarms which the former conferences had excited in Spain, as well as of giving new colour to the appearance of a disunion from France. After an ineffectual attempt to take a share in the conferences, Philip affected violent displeasure at the offers of the french court, which he declared to be equally pusillanimous and unjust, and reprobated the impatient eagerness manifested for peace as an act of impolicy and madness. He even empowered his minister, count Bergueik, to make public overtures to the english and dutch, though well assured that he should expose himself to the mortification of a new repulse.

But all this shew of independence was mere affectation. The commencement of the negotiation was duly communicated at Versailles, as we learn from Torci himself; and in spite of his denial it would be absurd to doubt that the same confidence was maintained in its progress.*

On the rupture of the conferences, both parties again appealing to the public, mutually endeavoured to throw on each other the blame of obstructing the peace.

We cannot quit the subject of these celebrated negotiations without a few reflections on the conduct and motives of the two contending parties.

The allied powers were convinced that all the offers of Louis to abandon his grandson were illusory. They considered the apparent disunion between France and Spain as a mere collu-

* T. 2, p. 330.

sion; they could not be ignorant of the secret promises given by Louis to support his grandson; and they justly regarded the acknowledgment of the prince of Asturias, the nomination of the second son of the duke of Burgundy to the ducal title of Anjou, and the conduct of Philip in general, as decisive proofs of a resolution never to relinquish the spanish throne. On the other hand, the french king resented their suspicions of his good faith as injurious to his honour, and regarded the demand of securities, as a pretext to take advantage of his weakness and wrest from him his former conquests and usurpations. He charged them with making proposals which they knew would not be accepted; and declared that they would be satisfied with no concessions which did not lessen the present, and endanger the future, security of his monarchy. Finally, he endeavoured to throw on Eugene and Marlborough the odium of prosecuting the war for their own private advantage.

With respect to the much disputed point, the sincerity of his pacific professions, it is clear that he was as little disposed to relinquish the spanish monarchy as the allies to recede from their demands. And on this, as well as the preceding negotiations, we adopt the opinion, while we borrow the language, of the intelligent biographer of Philip.

"None of the allies wished for peace, in the hope of extending their conquests, nor had Louis the fourteenth any inclination to obtain it. He, indeed, affected such an inclination to deceive his enemies, and deliver himself from the importunities of his courtiers. He communicated the secret only to the dauphin and Philip, exhorting them never to give credit to any appearance of an approaching peace, and of a design to abandon Spain; but, on the contrary, to be assured of his resolution to continue the war."

"Philip," he observes in another place, "did not believe

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that his grandfather would ever abandon him. The dauphin also exhorted him not to credit the rumours of peace, and to be convinced that the succours of France would never fail. Louis wrote to the same effect, though less clearly. These letters relieved Philip from a part of his fears; yet the measures of those who were anxious to procure peace, could not fail to give him some disquietude."

On the second negotiation he is still more positive.

"The king of France observing his people anxious for peace, the two factions in England animated against each other, the Castilians daily becoming more attached to their king, was convinced that a league, combining such discordant interests, could not be of long duration. He, therefore, was resolved to wait for the favourable opportunities which time might present. The dauphin never ceased to confirm him in his opinion, and even the duke of Burgundy refused to approve any treaty unless the italian states were assigned to his brother.*"

It is evident also from the whole correspondence of the french court and its agents in Spain, that a single, precise, and positive command from the king of France, would at once have compelled Philip to relinquish his throne, and dissolved the party to whose zeal and exertions he owed his support. It is equally certain, that at the very moment when he was promising the allies to persuade him, he was already assured of his refusal, and therefore only held out a condition which he was fully prepared to elude.

The vague and general declamations made by his advocates on his sincerity and good faith, would be less absurd, were a single proof of his fidelity to his engagements produced, or a single instance of his political tergiversation palliated. Some, indeed, have urged that he was now sincere, because in alarm

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 263—309.

and distress. But it may be said, the sincerity which depends on fear and necessity, affords only a frail reliance, and Bolingbroke himself, the great advocate of Louis, had abundant reason, as his correspondence testifies, to complain of his equivocation, the instant the strength of the alliance was broken, and his alarms and dangers had subsided.*

Such being the disposition of all parties, the discussion relative to pledges and expedients partook of the same chicanery and suspicion. Louis refused the places on the spanish frontier, as well as Bayonne, and Perpignan, which were the only effectual expedients for facilitating the transfer of Spain. In tendering also the inadequate and imperfect security of places in the Netherlands, he contrived to render his offers nugatory by the reserves with which they were coupled; while the allies, on their part, refused to grant an armistice, except they could acquire the same advantages as by the successful prosecution of hostilities.

For the other heads of mutual accusation, after the preceding narrative, we trust we shall not be thought to pass them over too slightly in considering them as mere rhetorical ornaments to grace a manifesto.

In making these remarks, we as little mean to censure Louis the fourteenth as to justify the allies. A king of France cannot be blamed for struggling to prevent the transfer of the spanish crown to the rival House of Austria; a parent for refusing to dethrone his grandson; a sovereign for wishing

* On this head, a single passage will be sufficient. "The French press us to conclude, that they may have others at their mercy; and, at the same time, they chicane with us about the most essential article of our treaty, and endeavour to elude an agreement, made, repeated, and confirmed."—Lord Bolingbroke to Prior.

The personal enemies of Louis, as they are called, never advanced a stronger accusation.

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to terminate an unfortunate war with an advantageous peace. But by a parity of reasoning, the allies ought not to be censured for endeavouring to wrest from France her numerous usurpations, or for insisting on conditions which long and dear-bought experience had proved to be necessary for their own safety and independence. In political questions of this kind, there is no abstract standard of justice; and, therefore, a frenchman will naturally approve the conduct of Louis, as an englishman ought to approve that of his own country. It is, however, a singular fatality attending this much debated subject, that while dispassionate foreign authors, not excepting even French and Spaniards, admit that Louis never intended to abandon his grandson, and consequently was never sincere in his offers; some of our english writers, with all the evidence of facts before them, have chosen to repeat, and still repeat, the declamations with which the french court and its partisans justified their conduct at the moment, without scarcely deigning even to employ a word of palliation in favour of some of the greatest and ablest men whom England ever produced.*

It is impossible to proceed in our narrative without encountering new proofs of the insincerity of the french monarch. While, to amuse the allies, he affected to withhold his succours from Philip; while he rejected the application of Medina Celi

* Those who desire to inform themselves of the real nature of this question, which can never be too deeply studied nor lose its interest, till Great Britain shall cease to be an independent nation, may have recourse on one side to Torci's Memoirs, Swift's Conduct of the Allies, and Four Last Years of Queen Anne, the Examiners, Bolingbroke's Letters on History, and Somerville's History of Queen Anne; on the other, Hare's Letters to a Tory Member, the able Vindication of the Barrier Treaty, written by Mr. Poyntz, but attributed to Bishop Hare; Lord Walpole's Answer to Bolingbroke, and a very masterly exposition of the whole negotiation, in Tindal's Supplement to Rapin, v. 16. Also the public documents in Lamberti, &c.

for the invasion of Catalonia, and bitterly complained of the ingratitude of the Spaniards in insulting his agents, forgetting his past support, and oppressing his merchants, he secretly encouraged Philip to persevere; and held forth the prospect of succours as soon as his own more pressing dangers were past. In reply to the application made at the time of Ibbeville's mission, he observes, "While Douay is besieged, we cannot think of an attack against Girona. It surely will not contribute to the tranquillity of Spain, should France be open to the excursions of her enemies. Perhaps affairs will change before the end of the campaign; if so, I will employ what troops I can spare in the manner you desire. Profit, however, by the weakness of the archduke, and consider that your fate is in your own hands. The ensuing campaign will decide it. If glorious for you, the enemy will be less difficult with regard to peace. It is needless to inform you how necessary peace is to me, and the great peril to which I expose my kingdom, when I reject the odious propositions made me to your prejudice.

"I own to you, I had reason to think, that while risking all for you, my subjects would experience, at least in Spain, the effects of the gratitude of which you give me assurances. They are, however, exposed to treatment which I would not have suffered under your predecessor. I have ordered Blecourt to speak to you strongly on this subject. You will give me pleasure by listening to him with attention, and giving him a decisive answer. It is not enough to say that your ministers act without your orders: I have too good an opinion of you, to receive such an excuse. It would neither be honourable to you, nor conformable to the sentiments of esteem and affection, which I shall always entertain for you."*

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 111.

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The circumstances to which this letter alludes, joined to the experience of the preceding year, convinced both courts that the continuance of the spanish administration, as it was then constituted, would only tend to frustrate all their exertions. To effect a change, the court of Madrid employed a stroke of authority, which was at the same time calculated to awe the refractory spirit of the grandees. The duke of Medina Celi was suddenly arrested, committed to the castle of Segovia, and subjected to the private investigation of a special tribunal. His crimes were never made public, but great pains were taken to circulate reports that he had betrayed to the enemy the private negotiation with the dutch, and the assurances given by Louis never to desert Philip. In the course of the campaign, he was removed to Pampeluna. His death, which happened the ensuing year, covered this transaction with a mystery which has never been developed, though it can scarcely be doubted that his real offences were zeal for the independence of his country, and strenuous and unceasing opposition to the projects of France. He was succeeded in his authority by Ronquillo, who obtained this delicate post by engaging to remedy the neglect and misconduct of his predecessor, and to supply the deficiency of the treasury and the wants of the army.*

April 15.

This change having restored a temporary tranquillity in the cabinet, Philip repaired to the army, to make a decisive effort for the preservation of his crown. In his absence, the queen was again left regent, with the assistance of a council, composed of Veraguas, Bedmar, Frigiliana, and Ronquillo, who was made count of Gramedo. Her correspondence with the king of France displays her characteristic spirit, and her joy at the termination of the *pretended disunion* between the two courts.

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 330.

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"Blecourt," she wrote to Louis, "having communicated the resolution of your majesty to recal your plenipotentiaries, in consequence of the cruel conditions demanded by the allies, I hasten to express my gratitude, and to announce the sincerity with which we are inclined to assist France, to the utmost of our power, in carrying on the war, which the temerity of our enemies renders daily more just and necessary. We have long foreseen the termination of the conferences of Gertruydenberg, from a conviction that the english and dutch would never permit the king, your grandson, to reign in Spain, nor France to remain in a situation which, at some future time, might enable her to wreak her vengeance on her enemies for their tyrannical conduct. We, therefore, observed, with great dissatisfaction, your resolution to abandon us, from the hope of leading to more moderate sentiments those enemies who are blinded with success, and who acknowledge no other law but that of force, which they unfortunately have in their power. *Now, therefore, we are enabled to attribute to artifice all the insinuations made to us to pretend a disunion, which has been so injurious to us both.* Let us, I intreat you, by a contrary conduct, strive to regain what we have lost; and as we are bound by one and the same interest, let us endeavour, by measures better conducted than the past, to draw forth all the advantages which may be derived from the union between the two crowns. We shall not be a burthen to you; but, as the necessary means of persuading the Spaniards, that we will, in future, act with the same spirit, we require you would send the duke of Vendome to command our army in Catalonia. The king, who feels how much we need a general, earnestly desires it, and I may venture to assure you, that it will have the happiest effects on the hearts of our subjects, even in favour of France herself. No one can be more duly sensible of your majesty's goodness than I am,

Aug. 1.

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and I trust you will likewise be convinced of my affection for you."*

Louis, however, deeming the Spaniards not sufficiently humbled to bear the controul of a foreign general, or for some other reason, declined complying with this request, although the appointment of Vendome had been notified as early as May, by his plenipotentiaries, during the conferences of Gertruydenberg.† Philip, therefore, was obliged to accept as his directors, and seconds in command, the marquis of Villadarias and the prince of Tzerclaes, who were not possessed of talents sufficient to balance the skill of Staremberg.

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 118.——† Torci, t. 2, p. 330.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1710.

Campaign of 1710—*Defeats of the Bourbon troops at Almenara and Saragossa—Flight of Philip to Madrid—Removal of the Court and Tribunals to Valladolid—Mission of Noailles—Appointment of Vendome to the Command of the Army—Zeal and Efforts of the Castilians—March of the Archduke to Madrid—Imprudence and Disasters of the Allies—The Bourbon troops regain the ascendancy—Success of Noailles in Catalonia—Retreat of the Allies from Madrid—Return of Charles to Barcelona—Capture of the British troops under Stanhope at Brihuega—Battle of Villaviciosa—Retreat of Staremberg into Catalonia—Philip marches to Saragossa.*

THE campaign of 1710 forms the most eventful period of the whole contest in Spain. CHAP. XVIII. 1710.

Considerable reinforcements having joined the army from France, Philip assumed the command, with the hope of drawing advantage from superior numbers, and breaking into the quarters of the allies. He crossed the Segra at Lerida, with 23,000 men, and attacked Balaguer, to open the way into Catalonia. But Staremberg, too vigilant to be surprised, collected his troops, threw a reinforcement into the place, and took post at Agramonte, from whence his parties harassed the Spaniards in their communications; while the inundations of the Segra completed the distress which they suffered from hardships and famine. May 15.

CHAP. XVIII. 1710. In these circumstances, Philip postponed his attack against Balaguer, and recrossing the Segra, advanced towards the allied camp, either to engage a battle, or by straitening their supplies, to force them to withdraw from a position in which they thwarted all his operations. With this view, he detached parties to scour the country, and reduced several small places on their flanks.

In such warfare the two armies passed part of June and July. But in the middle of July, a trifling expedition which landed at Cette in the province of Languedoc, to rouse the protestants in the Cevennes, drew a considerable part of the army under Noailles from the northern frontier of Catalonia. This diversion enabled the allies to strengthen their army with 4,000 men, and additional reinforcements arriving from Italy, Charles himself repaired to the scene of action to resume
July 27. the offensive. He reached the camp at the moment when Philip was obliged by want of provisions to quit his position and fall back towards Lerida, from whence he drew his supplies. For the first time, therefore, the two rival princes were opposed to each other in the field, and though mere cyphers, and in tutelage to their respective generals, the events which followed were not unworthy the presence of contending monarchs.

The allies broke up their camp on the same day as the spaniards, followed them across the Segra, endeavoured to cut them off from Lerida, and detached a strong body of cavalry under general Stanhope, to effect a passage over the Noguera at Alferez. To obstruct this passage, Philip sent forward the whole of his cavalry, while he advanced with the infantry to support them. But they arrived late and in disorder to attack the allies, who already occupied an advantageous position on a rising ground above the little town of Almenara. They re-

ceived the fire of fourteen pieces of artillery in their advance, and before the infantry could arrive, were charged by the whole force of the enemy, who by a more rapid movement had reached the scene of action. The cavalry was instantly broken and driven back on the columns of infantry, and the army would have been totally cut to pieces, had not night favoured their retreat. Philip assisted his generals to rally the fugitives, but all efforts were vain; and he owed his escape to the bravery of a regiment of light horse who sacrificed themselves to secure his safety.* CHAP. XVIII. 1710.

This confused engagement, though attended with the loss of only 1,500 men, spread the utmost panic through the army, and led to a series of disastrous events. In the first confusion Philip escaped to Lerida, and before he could collect and encourage his scattered forces, the enemy had occupied Balbastro, Carmenia, Huesca, and the places which protected their communications with Catalonia, and were again in motion. They crossed the Cinca at Monzon; in the pass of Peñalba, defeated the spanish rear guard, though sustained by the cavalry; and pushed forward towards the Ebro, to cut off the royal forces from the capital and interior of the kingdom. Aug. 13.

Philip omitted no effort to retrieve his affairs, though at the head of troops discouraged, thinned by desertion, without confidence in their leaders, and indignantly complaining that they were made a voluntary sacrifice to afford a pretext for the abandonment of Spain. He fortunately gained the Ebro at Saragossa before the allies, and transferred the command to the marquis of Bay, who had distinguished himself on the western frontier, and was summoned with a part of his force Aug. 17.

* History of Europe, 1710, p. 545.——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 337.——Letter from general Stanhope to Mr. Walpole on the battle of Almenara, July 31, 1710. Walpole Papers.—Also in Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 636.

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at this alarming crisis to save the fortunes of his sovereign. The army encamped between the Ebro and the Gallego, and
Aug. 18. different councils were held to decide on the future operations. Some proposed to abandon Aragon, others to risk a second battle; but such was the hesitation of the monarch, and the discordance of his generals, that although they determined to fight, they made no preparation for defence, and not only suffered the allies to cross the Ebro at Pina, but even allowed
Aug. 19. them to range themselves in order of battle on the right bank unmolested.

A contest being now inevitable, the spaniards disposed their forces for battle. Their left was supported on the Ebro, their centre stretched over some broken ground, which was adapted to favour the manœuvres of infantry, their right extended to the height of Torralva, which overlooks Saragossa. But Philip had still only 19,000 men, discouraged and discontented, to oppose 30,000 flushed with recent victory.

On the ensuing morning at break of day a cannonade was opened; and Philip, after riding along the lines to encourage his troops, took post on an eminence in the midst of his camp, from whence he could survey the field. At mid-day, the engagement began. The spanish cavalry on the right vigorously charging the allies, dispersed the squadrons of Portuguese, and a party even penetrated almost to the convent of the Chartreux, where the archduke waited the result of the combat. But the imprudent ardour of the spaniards giving time to the allied generals to bring forward their reserve, the victorious troops were repulsed in their turn. The spanish left was broken in the first charge and put to flight. The allied infantry mounted the ascent on which the centre was posted, with a slow and resolute step; and, pouring in a destructive fire, disordered the lines by a rapid and impe-

tuous attack. Most of the new levies threw down their arms; but some of the veteran troops, with a small body of cavalry, made a resolute stand against the whole force of the victorious army, retired to the neighbouring height of Garba, and did not surrender till they were reduced to a fifth of their number.*

Within two hours after the commencement of the battle, the spaniards had totally abandoned the field, and the marquis of Bay, with a remnant of 8,000 men, effected his retreat towards the frontier of Soria. Philip, who had remained a spectator till the fate of the day was irrecoverably decided, quitted the field, and hastened by Agreda to Madrid, to prepare for the removal of his court.

On entering the capital, he was not received as a fugitive prince, but as a sovereign who possessed the affections of his subjects, and whose misfortunes and firmness in adversity endeared him still more to their hearts. He removed, by a royal decree, Sept. 7. the residence and tribunals to Valladolid, the antient capital of Castile, and assembling the nobles and principal persons of his court, permitted all who chose, to continue in the capital. The nobles recollected the severity used against those who had not followed the court in the retreat of 1706, and a momentary hesitation prevailed in the assembly. But the impulse was given by Montellano, Montalto, Medina Sidonia, and Frigiliana, who announced their resolution to share the distresses and fortunes of their monarch. Their loyal example was followed by persons of every rank.

After two days passed in hasty arrangements, Philip left his Sept. 9.

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 348.——History of Europe, pp. 591—597. Also a letter from general Carpenter to Mr. Walpole, in which the victories of Almenara and Saragossa are principally attributed to general Stanhope, who, he says, *hectored* the court and marshal into these actions.—Walpole Papers, and Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 638.

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capital, amidst a vast concourse of people, who expressed their loyalty by tears and prayers, and cheerfully sacrificed the remnant of their property to relieve his difficulties. His departure was the signal of a general emigration. He was accompanied by the greater part of the nobles; above thirty thousand persons covered the road to Valladolid; even ladies of the first distinction followed on foot; and scarcely any remained in the capital, except those whose age, infirmities, or poverty, did not permit them to remove.*

Meanwhile, Charles, escorted by his english and german auxiliaries, entered Saragossa in triumph, and to conciliate the Aragonese, restored their darling privileges and ancient constitution. Long and vehement debates, however, ensued among his generals relative to the plan of operations. Staremberg contended for the necessity of pursuing the ruined army, and closing the communication with France by the occupation of Navarre. But he was over-ruled by the representations of the British commander, Stanhope; and the allies directed their route to Madrid, expecting to be joined by the Portuguese, and with the hope that the possession of an open capital would ensure the submission of all Spain.

Sept. 28.

With a view either to conciliate or awe the people, Charles made his public entry into Madrid, preceded by an escort of 2,000 horse, and followed by his body guard, officers of the household, and principal adherents. To evince his zeal for the catholic faith, he visited the shrine of our Lady of Atocha, the most venerable in all Spain. But nothing could soften the antipathy of the inhabitants. Not even the pomp of the procession could attract any spectators except a few straggling children; and an ominous and mournful solitude, far more impressive than the most public opposition, reigned in the de-

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 366.——Ortiz, lib. 22, c. 12, 13, 14.

serted streets and squares. Chagrin and disappointment overwhelmed the pageant monarch: on reaching the gate of Guadalaxara, he refused to continue his mock cavalcade to the palace of the Retiro, as was the usual custom, and made a hasty retreat through the gate of Alcala, exclaiming "Madrid is a desert!" *

The expression of Mancera was the universal sentiment. When pressed with menaces to acknowledge Charles, the aged noble, with a spirit which the weight of an hundred years could not suppress, replied, "I have but one God, one faith, and one king, to whom I have sworn allegiance. I am on the brink of the grave, and will not sully my honour for the few moments I have yet to live."

Under these inauspicious circumstances, the archduke was proclaimed king in the capital. The government of the city was dissolved, and the different departments of an ephemeral administration divided among Guerrera, Palmar, Belmonte, Laguna, Uzeda, Hijar, Fernan Nuñez, Don Antonio Vilarvel, and other nobles who had either originally adopted, or now joined the party of Charles. †

It was in the midst of these disasters, if ever, that Louis the fourteenth was sincere in endeavouring to obtain from Philip the cession of his crown; from a conviction that the situation of France was become desperate, and Spain could no longer be maintained except by its own strength. But an application from the principal Castilian nobles, immediately after the defeat of Saragossa, imploring his assistance, induced him to dispatch Noailles ‡ in order to ascertain whether the resources

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 385.

† Ortiz, t. 7, p. 203.

‡ See an interesting Memoir by Torci, "Concernant la negociation du Duc de Noailles en Espagne, aprés la Bataille de Saragosse."——Noailles, t. 4, p. 352—373.

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of Spain were sufficient to support the contest, while he hoped by prosecuting the war another campaign, in Flanders and Germany, for the occurrence of some favourable opportunity to divide or weaken the allies. With a similar view he acceded to the earnest request of Philip, and sent Vendome to command the army.

The instructions which he gave to Noailles, will best exhibit his own sentiments and the state of the spanish court.

Sept. 7.

Noailles was ordered to represent, that the only condition which could be obtained from the allies was the cession of Spain; and therefore Philip must induce his loyal subjects to rally round his throne, or relinquish it, to obtain a settlement in another quarter. Sicily and Sardinia, which were alluded to, were allowed to be only a moderate compensation; but it was urged, that there was still a wide difference between the possession of those two islands with the title of king, and the private condition of a prince driven from his territories, and without the hope of re-ascending the throne.

It was added, "He who reigns over a small territory may distinguish himself by his wisdom and prudence, and in the course of a long life, may hope for favourable circumstances. But a prince reduced to a private station is soon forgotten; his virtues are buried in oblivion, he is useless to the world, a burthen to his country, and entails on his posterity only empty titles and vain pretensions. The question must therefore be reduced to this alternative; can Spain defend herself or not? If she can, let Philip, let the nation rouse all their energies, and shew that they yet possess resources! If not, he must no longer be flattered, but must relinquish a dignity which he cannot maintain, and cease to involve France in real calamities for the sake of chimerical hopes. These truths must be separately represented to the king, to the queen, and to the princess

Orsini, at the discretion of the embassador; the essential point is to dissipate their illusion."

Aware that the whole would ultimately depend on the princess, Noailles was instructed to spare neither promises or threats to extort her co-operation. "Although," it was said, "she alone is likely to be affected by the interests of the king and queen, yet she may not perhaps be insensible to her own. The king cannot precisely ascertain the recompense likely to tempt her, but empowers the embassador to make any reasonable offer. If, however, the assurances of protection, joined with great rewards, are fruitless, threats must be employed. As the last resource, she must be told, that her influence over the king is well known, and should he prove refractory, she will be considered as the cause of his ruin." *

Noailles was to impart these instructions to Vendome, who was also on his way to Spain, that both might concur in forwarding the objects of this important mission. They received these orders at Bayonne; and while Vendome was detained by a slight indisposition, Noailles proceeded to meet the king and court at Valladolid.

Philip was roused by the impending danger, and animated by the exhortations of the queen and princess. He resolved never to abandon a crown which he had so dearly purchased. On the following morning, he assembled his nobles, and ordered Noailles to submit to them the commission with which he was charged. The communication excited general alarm; but all concurred in declaring the necessity of immediate succour from France, while they announced their resolution to shed their blood, and sacrifice their property in defence of their sovereign and their country. Noailles did not flatter them with idle hopes; he stated that no foreign succour could be effectual,

* Memoires de Noailles, t. 4, p. 137.

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from the distance, and difficulty of collecting and provisioning a large force. He also adverted to the weakness of the enemy: he urged, that their own prompt and vigorous exertions would be more effectual than foreign aid; and represented that, now was the moment for verifying their professions of loyalty and attachment. He gave hopes that to favour their patriotic efforts, the king of France might probably be induced to make a diversion on the side of Roussillon.*

These exhortations and arguments were not employed in vain. The grandees held a solemn assembly to consult on the means of averting the impending danger. The duke of Medina Sidonia opened the deliberation by proposing to send an address to Louis, deprecating his resolution to abandon Spain to her fate, and calling for immediate aid. Of the whole assembly, the duke of Ossuna alone expressed the opinion, that they could maintain the contest unassisted; and expatiated on the indelible disgrace which would fall on the nation, should they apply for foreign succour, after they had been once deceived by France. But the imminent danger had vanquished all personal and national prejudice. His harangue was heard with indifference, and the proposal of Medina Sidonia unanimously adopted. The count of Frigiliana, who was considered as the readiest and most eloquent writer, drew up an address, which was immediately signed by all present.† It was dispatched to the duke of Alva, spanish embassador at Paris,

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 146.

† The biographer of Philip has recorded the names of the grandees who signed this address. The dukes of Infantado, Popoli, Atri, Medina Sidonia, Montellano, Arias, Abrantes, Baños, Veraguas, Atrisco, Soria, Jovenazzo and Bejar; the marquises of Priego, Astorga, Aytona, Bedmar, Villafranca, Montealegre, Almonacid, del Carpio, the counts of Lemos, Peñaranda, Benavente, San Estevan del Puerto, Oñate, Frigiliana, Baños, and the constable of Castile.——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 370.

with an injunction to present and inforce it in his official capacity.. CHAP. XVIII. 1710.

The castilian spirit was roused to maintain the national glory and independence. A junta of war was formed for maturing and facilitating the military arrangements, which was to continue permanent in its sittings, and its measures were directed by Noailles, who was requested to assist at the deliberations.

Having fulfilled the public part of his instructions, the next care of Noailles was to impress on the mind of Philip, the necessity of relinquishing the crown, should the enthusiasm of his subjects prove ineffectual. He in vain employed every argument which could be drawn from respect, gratitude, and affection for his grandfather; from the superiority of the enemy, and from the weakness and disorder of the spanish monarchy. Philip, animated by his queen and the princess, and roused by the trying circumstances of the moment, seemed to gather strength from his very difficulties. He controverted or silenced the arguments of the embassador, and persisted in his resolution rather to be buried under the ruins of his monarchy, than abandon a people, who had given him, and still continued to give, innumerable proofs of loyalty and affection.

Appreciating the character of his subjects, who like himself needed the stimulus of adversity to rouse their energies, he said, "My troops are indeed weak, dispersed and undisciplined, yet will soon cease to be so. If the army of Aragon has suffered, that of Estremadura is still entire and improving. I have no good general, but the duke of Vendome will soon supply that deficiency. I am glad the english have led the archduke to Madrid: in my capital, he will learn the disposition of my people; he will see that it is a firm will, and not force which retains them in their duty. The enemy have

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taken false measures; they have neglected the means of success, and we ought to profit by their errors. What permanent progress can they make without strong places, and without magazines, in the midst of a hostile people, above ninety leagues from the source of their supplies? Is it likely, that the archduke will abandon Catalonia and Aragon, to join the Portuguese? If he does, the diversion on the side of Roussillon will soon draw him back. At all events, we must endeavour to prevent their junction, avoid a decisive engagement, and prudently reserve our strength. But if forced to a battle, a defeat will be fatal to the archduke, and therefore it is better to risk this last resource than to abandon the kingdom. If we look also to our finances, our affairs are not so desperate. We have anticipated only two months of our revenue, and any deficiency will be amply supplied by the loans and free gifts of the people. In 1706, our situation was more critical; for we had then lost all Valencia, and the frontier places of Catalonia." His spirited queen joined him in these magnanimous representations; and both declared, that if driven from Spain, they would emigrate to America, and re-establish the seat of empire in Peru or Mexico.*

Philip disdainfully rejected the offer of Sicily and Sardinia, even with the addition of Naples, and treated the proposal as an insidious lure to damp his ardour, and despoil him of the last remnant of his monarchy. No representation could draw from him any promise, however conditional, to relinquish Spain and the Indies; convinced that the spirit and affection of his grandfather would not fail to approve a resolution so dignified and honourable. Noailles returned to Versailles, as the bearer of these representations, and of a letter from Philip, in which he

Sept. 25.

* Torci, t. 3, p. 2.

recapitulated, and enforced the arguments he had already employed.*

Vendome arrived at this moment to call into action the spirit of the monarch and the zeal of his subjects. On first hearing in his way, that the enemy had taken the route to Madrid, he exclaimed "If the king, his queen, and the prince of Asturias, are safe, I will answer for the rest!" He found the state of affairs far more favourable than he had expected. Of the defeated army of Aragon, 5,000 horse and 8,000 infantry, besides a part of the walloon guards, had been again recalled to their standards on the frontier of Soria; 6,000 men still remained on the side of the Douro, the same number in Andalusia; the principal army in Estremadura, mustered no less than 20,000 men. Volunteers flocked in from every district, and innumerable detachments, chiefly directed by the able partisans Don Feliciano Bracamonte, and Don Joseph Vallejo, infested every road, and carried on a desultory warfare to the very gates of Madrid.

"Posterity," says the contemporary biographer, "will never cease to admire the affection, fortitude, and fidelity, of the people of Castile. Instead of sinking under the misfortunes of their king, they were animated by his reverses: they lavished their property and lives to repair his losses, maintained troops at their own expence, and made repeated levies to support the cause of their king and country. Accumulated disasters served only to animate their zeal and loyalty, which burst forth with such boundless transports as would not be believed, if we detailed the efforts made by each district and each individual."†

Vendome was struck with a change so unexpected at the very moment of the deepest reverse, and declared that even a

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 145—158.——Torci, t. 3, p. 2.

† St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 364.

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force of 50,000 men would not enable the archduke to maintain his position at Madrid. He bestowed the warmest praise on the firmness and prudence of Philip and the spirit of his queen, which had first called forth, and still continued to excite the national enthusiasm.

As Valladolid was exposed to the incursions of the enemy, the tribunals were removed to Victoria. The queen established her residence at Corella, a small town on the frontier of Navarre, remarkable for the beauty of its situation, while Philip repaired to take the nominal command of the army.

Vendome was too prudent to risk the fate of Spain for the sake of a brilliant exploit, but employed the important time in forming and organising the troops, and collecting the means for resuming offensive operations. He wisely left the enemy to wear themselves away in excess and inactivity, and the still more destructive contests with the native peasantry and partisans. He was ably assisted in the details of the military service by the duke of Popoli, the count of Aguilar, las Torres, and Valdecañas, while the zeal and abilities of Don Baltazar Patiño, marquis of Castillar, were equally displayed in collecting supplies and procuring contributions. By their joint efforts, an army of 25,000 men was again formed, and completely appointed, in the face of a victorious enemy, and within the short period of fifty days.

All the necessary preparations being matured, Vendome did not suffer the allies to effect a junction with the Portuguese, which would probably have enabled them still to maintain themselves in Castile. When their dispositions indicated this design, he pushed forward through Salamanca and Placentia, and took post at the important passage of Almaraz, on the Tagus, where he at once prevented the junction, and was ready to unite with the army of Estremadura.

The result verified the predictions of the general. To divide the forces and attention of the allies, a powerful diversion was now made on the side of the eastern Pyrenees, where the failure of the expedition against Cette, enabled the french to resume offensive operations. After the allies had retired into quarters on that frontier, troops were collected from Dauphiné, and the eastern parts of France, and Noailles, at the head of 20,000 men, with a powerful train of artillery, advanced into Catalonia, to attack Girona, the key of the province on the north.

This expedition was a decisive blow to the hopes and designs of Charles. His troops had remained in the environs of the capital, exhausted by the heat of the climate, hourly decreasing from disease, and the effects of intemperance, or the incessant attacks of the peasantry and irregulars. The generals had employed the most pressing arguments and representations, to call the portuguese troops into activity, and induce them to advance into Spain, that their united forces might overwhelm the discomfited army of Philip, before it could regain spirit and strength. But in vain; for, after a short and fruitless incursion into Estremadura, the portuguese retired into early quarters, leaving Philip to turn his undivided efforts against his most dangerous enemies.

Surrounded with difficulties, with an enemy increasing in their front, circumscribed to the very ground where they could maintain themselves by force, hopeless of assistance or cooperation from the Portuguese, the allied generals were only anxious to extricate themselves in safety from their critical position. In the midst of their hesitation, they were alarmed by the news of the invasion of Catalonia, which was conveyed to Charles from his consort, by means of a deserter. This intelligence left no alternative. To secure the safe return of the archduke, he was escorted by no less than 2,000 horse, while, to

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cover and conceal his retreat, a royal decree was published announcing the removal of the court to Toledo, and the army took post at Ciempozuelos. Charles had scarcely quitted the vicinity of the capital, before the antipathy of the people broke forth with redoubled force, and his ears were assailed with the sound of bells and acclamations, which proclaimed the triumph of his rival.* He was accompanied by the few nobles who had figured in the short lived pageantry of his government, and who dreaded to meet the resentment of an offended sovereign. The person of the archduke being secured

Nov. 29.

from impending danger, the allies began their retreat towards Aragon, taking the route through the mountains which border the frontier of Castile.

Philip, under the skilful direction of Vendome, now displayed the superiority which he had acquired by firmness, foresight, and activity. On the first movement of the allies, his troops were in motion, and pressed vigorously on their retreat. While his army advanced after the enemy, he proceeded to the capital to receive the congratulations of his faithful people. At Talavera de la Reyna he was met by the deputies of the city, who requested him to return, and presented a contribution which had been suddenly raised, notwithstanding the exactions of the enemy.

Dec. 3.

On the third of December, Philip, accompanied by Vendome, re-entered Madrid, where the public joy was as excessive as the preceding consternation had been universal. After paying his adoration at the chapel of the Virgin, he proceeded towards the palace; but amidst the concourse of exulting crowds, who filled the avenues, and rent the air with acclamations, the royal carriage employed several hours in traversing the principal streets. The houses and fountains

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 400.

were decorated with flags and devices, an illumination took place at night, and the general joy presaged the continuance of success.* CHAP. XVIII. 1710.

However flattered by these testimonies of popular affection, Philip did not waste the precious moments in useless ceremony. He quitted the capital on the third day, to rejoin the army, which had continued to advance on the enemy, under Valdecañas, while the parties of Bracamonte and Vallejo harrassed and delayed their retreat. Dec. 6.

Assisted by the zeal, and guided by the information of the people, the spanish columns hourly gained on the allies. Directing their route by Guadalaxara, the infantry crossed the Henares over the bridge, while the cavalry, with Vendome at their head, swam the stream in the midst of an inundation.

By this rapid movement, they overtook a body of 6,000 men, under Stanhope, which formed the rear guard. On the night of the 6th, this column had taken up its cantonments in the town of Brihuega, four leagues from Guadalaxara, to cover the retreat of the baggage through the neighbouring defiles. The post was instantly invested by a strong detachment of cavalry under Valdecañas; the whole army gradually arrived; and the parties of Bracamonte and Vallejo, advancing beyond Brihuega, watched the motions of the main body under Staremberg. Dec. 7, 8.

The british general, though surprised in a post with no other defence than an antient wall, without provisions, and before he even suspected the near approach of an enemy, did not dishonour his country, nor discredit his past exploits. He barricaded the gates, formed entrenchments in the streets, and pierced the walls of the houses, to maintain his post till he could receive assistance. Nothing however could arrest the im-

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 408.

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petuosity of the Spaniards, who were animated by the presence of their beloved monarch. The field artillery being too light to effect a breach, a mine was sprung under one of the gates, and blew up a considerable fragment of the wall. The troops bursting into the town, forced their way through every obstacle, amidst a fire of musketry, which, from its continued fierceness, was compared to a conflagration. Before the close of evening, the british commander, whose force had been reduced to 4,500 men by the preceding carnage, was compelled to throw himself on the mercy of his assailants.

The prisoners were instantly marched away, and preparations made to receive the army of Staremberg, which was descried by the spanish parties advancing to the assistance of his colleague. The royal troops were hastily formed on a gentle eminence, which rises in the plain of Villaviciosa.

On the first intelligence of the attack, the austrian commander had collected his troops with all the speed that the scattered nature of their march would permit; but, from local obstacles, and the necessity of preserving his order in the presence of an active and skilful adversary, he did not arrive within six miles of Brihuega, till after the surrender of Stanhope. He made signals to announce his approach; and, though he feared, from the cessation of the firing, that the event was already decided, he continued to advance. Observing, at length, the whole spanish army drawn up to receive him, and deeming it more numerous than it really was, he occupied a position behind ravines and cottages, and opened a cannonade with the hope of amusing the enemy, till night should favour his retreat.

Vendome, anxious to crown his spendid enterprises with the total ruin of the enemy, no sooner perceived the suspension of their march, than he gave the signal for battle. Some of the

courtiers advising Philip not to expose his sacred person, Vendome, with the true spirit of a soldier, exclaimed, "With you at their head, Sire, so many brave men will be irresistible."* The advice was congenial to the character of the young monarch himself. He headed the right wing, charged the enemy, dispersed the first line of their cavalry, and forced the second to retreat; but his troops, carried away by their ardour, neglected to turn on the flank of the infantry, now left exposed. The battle, however, spread along the lines, and the allies, who had no alternative but victory or ruin, charged with such impetuosity, that the royal army seemed irrecoverably broken, and a retreat was ordered to Torrija.

In this extremity, the spanish generals and officers collected the remnants of their regiments; forming a small, but compact body, they fought like common soldiers in the ranks, and arrested the progress of the hostile attack, till Valdecañas could advance at the head of the walloons and reserve. He fell on the enemy, exhausted and disordered by their preceding efforts, and retrieved the fortune of the day. At length darkness put an end to a combat, which, if prolonged, might have terminated in favour of the allies. Staremberg, left master of the field, spiked his own artillery, and that of the spaniards, and retreated during the night. After losing 3,000 men by the attacks of the spanish partisans, he reached Barcelona with only 7,000, the discomfited remnant of that army which had given law to Spain. The bourbon troops purchased their advantage with the loss of 3,000 killed, and 1,000 wounded.

Both friends and enemies concurred in applauding the respective commanders. Vendome received the well earned title of the Restorer of the spanish monarchy; Staremberg the praises even of his antagonists for bravery, coolness, and

* Barre Histoire d'Allemagne, t. 10, p. 575.

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skill, seldom paralleled. Among the spanish officers, who distinguished themselves, we find the names of Aguilar, San Estevan de Gormaz, Moya, Bracamonte, and particularly Valdecañas; and on the other side, Vilaroel, who headed the centre and led the charge which had nearly proved fatal to the arms of his former sovereign.*

Philip sent an account of this memorable engagement, to Louis the fourteenth, which does honour to his candour and magnanimity.

"Our two lines were put in motion, and at half past three the cavalry on the right began the onset. After dispersing that of the enemy on the left, it fell on some battalions of infantry, pierced their ranks, and took possession of a battery. Our infantry immediately charged, and after reiterated attacks, gained the rear of the enemy, and joined the cavalry on the right. But the enemy's infantry fought gallantly, and slowly pushed back our troops, except the walloon guards, who cut a way through their two lines and the reserve, driving every thing before them from the field with great carnage.

"The duke of Vendome, observing that our centre gave way, and that our cavalry on the left had not dispersed their's on the right, gave orders to fall back towards Torrija; but when we were retiring with great part of the troops, we were informed that the marquis of Valdecañas and general Mahony with the reserve of fifteen squadrons, had attacked and defeated the enemy's infantry. In consequence of this joyful intelligence, we returned to the heights of Brihuega, and waited the approach of day to resume our position on the field of battle." †

* St. Philippe, 421—437.——History of Europe, for 1710.——Ortiz.

† Memoirs de Berwick, t. 2, p. 515.

Both parties, as is usual in doubtful conflicts, claimed the honours of the day. The truth, as appears from the letter of Philip, and the events of the engagement, was, that Staremberg really gained the victory; yet, as his only object was retreat, and as in the obscurity and confusion, he could not discover the situation of his antagonists, he voluntarily relinquished the field of battle, and retired under all the disadvantages of a defeat.

After the enemy had fallen back into Catalonia, Philip directed his march to Saragossa, whither the queen and court had removed. Notwithstanding the advance of the season, the military operations were actively continued by Valdecañas and Mahony. While the french reduced Girona and descended into the plain of Urgel, the spaniards gradually established themselves in the centre of Catalonia, and the captures of the smaller posts of Miravet, Calal, and Salsona, straitened the quarters of the archduke to one third of the province, and menaced the two maritime fortresses, Barcelona and Tarragona. Jan. and Feb. 1711.

A general hope prevailed that the contests of Spain were speedily drawing to a close; and Vendome, with his characteristic activity, pressed for the immediate attack of Barcelona. A variety of circumstances, however, suspended the operations; the troops were distributed into quarters; and the delay till the returning season of action enabled the archduke to recruit his strength and maintain his expiring cause.

Meanwhile the councils and offices were again removed to Madrid. Ronquillo renewed his former severity against all who even from fear had acknowledged the archduke, and banished the wives and families of those who accompanied his retreat.

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Many of the higher orders appear to have suffered for their timidity or imprudence on this occasion; but among the middling and lower classes, even his vigilance and austerity could not find a single object for punishment.*

* In addition to the authorities before cited, we consulted for the contents of this chapter in general, Ortiz, Tindal, Targe, and the other historians to whom we have already referred.

APPENDIX.

ADMINISTRATION

OF

FLORIDA BLANCA.

THIS STATEMENT or APOLOGY for his Administration, written by FLORIDA BLANCA himself, though too long to be introduced into the Memoirs, is yet too interesting to be omitted. It was intended to have been inserted at the end of the Narrative, but from the bulk of the third volume, it is transferred to this place.

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1. Termination of the disputes with Portugal, relative to the limits of the South American colonies—Advantages of the reconciliation.
2. Negotiations with the Porte, and the states of Barbary.
3. Negotiations with the princes of India.
4. Intercourse with Prussia and Russia, and formation of the armed neutrality.
5. Rupture with England.
6. Warlike operations in Europe and America.
7. Blockade of Gibraltar.
8. Capture of Minorca.
9. Siege of Gibraltar, and destruction of the floating batteries.
10. Negotiations for peace—Hopes of recovering Gibraltar disappointed.
11. Preliminaries and definitive treaty.
12. Advantages of the treaty with England.
13. Florida Blanca solicits leave to retire.
14. Bombardment of Algiers.
15. Treaties with the Mahometan states.
16. Matrimonial connection between the families of Spain and Portugal.

17. Internal regulations—Charitable and patriotic institutions—Measures for the prevention of idleness and mendicity—Institutions and improvements of individuals and corporate bodies, under the patronage of the crown.
18. Pious fund raised by a tax on the clergy.
19. Contributions and assistance derived from the church.
20. Law for reclaiming the gipsies.
21. Plans for the improvement of agriculture and traffic—Formation of canals and roads, and erection of new settlements.
22. Examples shewn by the king and the royal family.
23. Improvement of arts, sciences, and manufactures.
24. Measures for facilitating internal intercourse and communications.
25. Improvement of the capitals and towns.
26. Institution of the bank of San Carlos.
27. Free trade to the Indies.
28. Attempts to abolish oppressive taxes, and introduce a new system in the customs, for the encouragement of native fabrics.
29. Plan to commute the alcavala and milliones for a tax on income, and to relieve the poorer classes.
30. Regulation relative to ecclesiastical and civil promotions.
31. Improvements in the administration of justice.
32. Administration of the property originally belonging to the jesuits.
33. Regulations relative to interments.
34. Grant of hereditary nobility to professors of the arts and sciences.
35. Census, and Geographical Dictionary of Spain.
36. Regulation of the intercourse with the Roman see.
37. Improvements in the army and navy.
38. Formation and advantages of the junta of state.
39. Domestic concord of the royal family, and establishments for the infants.
40. Conduct of Florida Blanca during his embassy at Rome—Contributes to the election of Pius VI—Obtains various graces from the Roman see, and the abolition of the jesuits.
41. Address to Charles IV.
42. Royal decree confirming the statement.

APPENDIX.

Statement of Count FLORIDA BLANCA'S *Administration.*

(Addressed to Charles the Third.)

[Translated from the original, in the Spanish tongue.]

SIR,

"THE 19th Feb. 1777, I had the honour to lay myself at the feet of your majesty, to serve in the ministry of state, to which you condescended to raise me.

"The expedition had just sailed from Cadiz, which was destined for the Rio de la Plata, to obtain satisfaction for the insults of the Portuguese in the Rio grande de St. Pedro, and to prevent further aggressions. At the same time, negotiations were carrying on at Paris to adjust these differences, by the mediation of France and England.

"The death of the king, Don Joseph of Portugal, affording an opportunity for a pacific negotiation, the portuguese embassador, Don Ignacio de Sousa, proposed to treat with me for the accommodation of our disputes. I immediately answered that I was ready to accede, provided we might negotiate without the intervention of mediators; and received a satisfactory answer.

"My view was to exclude from the negotiation two powerful courts, France and England, which, however friendly, yet, having no jealousy of Portugal, might be inclined to promote an accommodation at the expence of Spain. It was also my object that Portugal should have cause to be grateful to your majesty, for whatever condescension she might experience; whereas, under the mediation of France and England, gratitude would be due to those powers, to whose authority would be attributed the sacrifices extorted from Spain. On these principles, which your majesty condescended to approve, the negotiation was set on foot, and the treaty of limits, which was concluded the 1st Oct. 1777, prepared the way for the union now happily subsisting between both courts, and the execution of other treaties, from which we have drawn great advantages, particularly in the last war.

" By that treaty, your majesty obtained the colony of Sacramento, and the exclusion of all nations from the Rio de la Plata. Three times had Spain destroyed and conquered that colony. Once at the end of the last century, when it was just formed; a second time in the war of the succession at the beginning of this century; and a third in the war of 1762, terminated by the unfortunate treaty of Paris. On these three occasions, France and England interfered to conclude the treaties; and in all three Spain was forced to restore the colony.

" It was reserved to your majesty to accomplish this object alone. It was one of the most fortunate incidents of my ministry, to be the instrument and witness of this acquisition; to obtain the destruction of a shelter for foreign contraband in the center of the Rio de la Plata; and to wrest from our enemies the means of disturbing the tranquillity of our provinces, by exciting insurrections, and appropriating the riches of our South America. For these reasons, the colony of Sacramento was deemed of such consequence in the preceding reign, that, to acquire it, a cession was made by the treaty of 1750 with Portugal, of the whole territory of the Ibicui, comprising more than five hundred leagues in Paraguay. This treaty your majesty was obliged to annul, from the opposition and intrigues of the jesuits, and the unwillingness of the Portuguese to yield the colony.

" By the last treaty of 1777, and the definitive treaty, which followed, your majesty succeeded in acquiring the colony, in keeping the Ibicui and the ceded places of Paraguay, in extending the limits of your dominions as far as the Lake Mairin, from the Sitio of Castillos Grandes, to which they had been reduced by the treaty of 1750, and in acquiring on the side of the Marañon and Rio Negro, all the necessary territories for securing the property of this crown.

" Those who are unaccquainted with the true interests of the monarchy, and who are only anxious for acquisitions, whether useful or injurious, censured these great and unhoped-for advantages, because we did not retain the town of Rio Grande, with its Rio, or Laguna de los Patos, and because we restored the conquered isle of St. Catherine. Such were the objections which they made to this glorious treaty, without adverting that the town of Rio Grande could not be justly retained, contrary to the restitution stipulated by the treaty of Paris; and that the general, Don Pedro Cevallos himself, who conquered it, had sufficiently proved it to be unsuitable for us. That the isle of St. Catherine, without the adjacent continent of Brazil, would be a load of expence and care, without profit, exposed to irruptions,

and liable to be lost in the first war. That the advantages of the whale fishery there carried on might be surpassed on our own coasts of Buenos Ayres, and of all the Southern Sea, to the strait of Magellanes, where there are greater conveniences of which we neglect to avail ourselves. Finally, that to extend our limits in Brazil, as some desire, according to the famous demarcation of Alexander the sixth, was an impracticable project, and contrary to subsequent agreements. And even to dissolve them, it would have been necessary to surrender to the Portuguese the Philippine isles, which they were entitled to claim by that demarcation.

"The utility of these treaties was not limited by such advantages. Your majesty obtained the cession of the isles of Annobon and Fernando Po, with the power of carrying on the commerce of negroes on the neighbouring coast of Africa. Whoever is acquainted with the necessity we are under of obtaining negroes for our vast colonies of both Americas, the immense sums we have paid on that account to the Portuguese, French, and English, and those which we now pay to the last, may judge of the advantages which may be drawn from this acquisition. The good or bad use which hitherto has been made of them, does not concern me, who have not been charged with the execution of the treaty.

"Besides what has been mentioned, we obtained from the court of Portugal the offer to guaranty and secure Peru, and other provinces of South America, not only against foreign enemies, but against internal commotions. It would seem as if we foresaw the impending war with the English, which broke out in 1779, since in that war, when the court of London desired to form an expedition against the provinces of Peru and Rio de la Plata, the portuguese ministry, unwilling to be implicated by the engagements of the guaranty, interposed their good offices, and prevented the mischief.

"If we consider the fatal effects produced by an english expedition in those provinces at the time when many of them were in insurrection, under the famous rebel Tupac Amar, and his partisans, we must allow that the hand of God, for the especial protection of your majesty and this monarchy, formed the articles of the treaty with the court of Lisbon, to preserve us from the loss of those vast dominions.

"The good correspondence and friendship established by means of the treaties with Portugal, furnished many advantages in the war with England. It was the first in which our enemies did not abuse the power of frequenting the ports and coasts of Portugal, to our detriment, and in

which we used them for many important objects. The portuguese flag, besides, served to bring us much treasure from America, without risk, particularly a sum exceeding three millions of dollars, which was left by the Buen Consejo, in the island of Fayal, and conveyed from thence by a portuguese ship of the line, sent out for the purpose, with extraordinary dexterity, to avoid the risk of privateers.

" Your majesty was desirous of granting rewards for this treaty, and condescended to offer me the grand cross of the order of Charles III. I solicited your majesty to excuse me from accepting this honour, and succeeded. After kissing your royal hand for the favour, and for admitting my excuses, you had the goodness to order me to convey to the prince this news, in consequence of your having communicated your intention to his highness. This happened in 1777, at the time that I had obtained for my colleagues various favours, namely, for the count of Ricla, that of captain general; for Don Joseph Galvez, the honours of the council of state; and for the marquis of Castejon, the grand cross. All had laboured, and all deserved and desired some gratification.

2. " The same utility which we drew from the treaties with Portugal, God was pleased to give your majesty in those with the emperor of Morocco. The siege of Melilla, and its consequences, had left without effect the treaty made by Don George Juan. As soon as I entered the ministry, I laid before your majesty the necessity of gaining the african monarch, to avoid the evils of his enmity, on the appearance of the storm which threatened Europe, from the war between the English and Americans, and to obviate the jealousies occasioned by the interference of France and other nations.

" In fact, we succeeded in inducing the emperor of Morocco to send to your majesty the embassador, Ben Ottoman, as if for satisfaction, or a public demonstration of a reconciliation. By this means, the treaty of peace with him was renewed and confirmed, and those advantages obtained, which were strikingly evident during the last war with England. The assistance afforded by the moorish prince would appear incredible, had it not been seen. He opened his ports to the ships employed in the blockade of Gibraltar, permitted them to pursue and detain those of the enemy, facilitated the transport of provisions and assistance to our camp, and, finally, deposited in our power part of his treasures, as a pledge of his sincerity. By his friendship, we were enabled to leave our african posts

with weak garrisons, to draw from Ceuta a great portion of artillery and ammunition, and to remain without disquietude during the war. Your majesty comprehends better than any one, how numerous would have been our troubles, if, from our omitting to form this connection in due time, the english had instigated the emperor to undertake the siege of Ceuta or Melilla, to disturb, by his cruizers in the straits, the measures taken for the blockade of Gibraltar, or to obstruct the passage of provisions to our camp.

3. " As the utility of our peace with the Morocco sovereign was appreciated, so it was considered equally important to secure in the East Indies, the friendship of Hyder Alli Kan, whose power and warlike principles might disturb the English, and in case of a war, divert them from their meditated design of seizing Manilla, and the best part of our Philippine isles, as they had already begun to do in the last war. I found among the papers in the office of secretary of state, the friendly negotiation proposed by the emissary, Gale Mitz, who came to Spain for this purpose. I continued it, maintaining the correspondence with the asiatic prince, to render him firm in the hopes of our gratitude, and to conciliate his friendship. In fact, his exertions were afterwards evident during the last war, against the english possessions; and he apparently prevented the invasion and loss of the Philippines.

4. " As the war which threatened us might extend itself to the continent, if England should obtain allies there, which fortunately she did not attempt, I represented to your majesty the advantages which might be derived from the friendship of the great Frederick, king of Prussia, and recommended the re-establishment of reciprocal embassies in the two courts, which, contrary to sound policy, had never yet been adopted.

" That glorious monarch acceded to this offer, in as becoming a manner as if he himself had made it. Means were also found to soothe the disquietudes which these steps gave to the court of Vienna, and your majesty acquired and preserved the friendship of the prussian monarch till his death. You maintained equal confidence with his successor, in spite of the disgust which arose from the troubles of Holland, and the great change in the system of union between the courts of Berlin and Versailles.

" To strip our enemies of every maritime ally who might incommode us in case of a rupture, by order of your majesty I cultivated a good corres-

pondence with Russia, with whom there was a coldness and want of confidence, derived from disputes relative to the imperial title, and the ceremonies and pretensions of the russian court. France entered into these designs; and we not only succeeded in separating Russia from joining England, but she even sent us expressly two frigates, charged with naval stores, at the very time when the war prevented the transport of them for the equipment of our navy.

" We succeeded also in inducing the empress to place herself at the head of almost all the neutral nations, in order to maintain the respect due to their flag, which has been called, the armed neutrality. Thus was England deprived of all the advantages which might have been drawn from any of the maritime powers, nay, even of Holland, her antient friend. Permit me, Sire, to relate here the management adopted to strike this blow, which though attributed to Russia, took its rise in the political cabinet of your majesty, and in the maxims you sagaciously followed.

" The rule acknowledged in the treaties of almost all nations, that the neutral friendly flag should secure from confiscation goods or merchandize belonging to enemies, had never been observed by the english marine, which was buoyed up by the haughty principles of its pretended sovereignty over the seas, or relied on the particular laws of its admiralty. When your majesty established and published the new ordinance of cruizing, for the last war, it was settled that ships, under a neutral flag, or of friendly powers conveying the effects of enemies, should be conducted to our ports, to execute against them and their cargoes the same law, which was executed by the English against those who conveyed effects belonging to Spaniards, or their allies. By this measure, we hoped to obtain one of two things; either to restrain the conduct of the English towards the neutral flag, or to compensate, by way of reprisal, for the loss which we incurred, by the greater loss which would ensue to the british commerce.

" From the execution of this article of the ordinance, and from the facility which the blockade of Gibraltar afforded, to detain the ships carrying english goods, of the many which pass into the Mediterranean, an universal clamour arose on the part of the neutral maritime powers. I was attacked by the ministers of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Russia, Prussia, Venice, Genoa, and others, to put a stop to the detriment which their commerce suffered, from the detention of such a number of vessels. To these clamours and representations, I constantly answered, that if the neutral maritime powers would defend their flag against the English, when

they desired to seize under it spanish effects, then we would respect the same flag, although conveying english merchandise, because a neutral state should not submit, nor would we consent, to the abuse of the british power. But when they permitted the english marine to detain and confiscate neutral effects under their neutral or friendly flag, they ought not to expect that Spain would omit to do the same.

" The matter being thus prepared to throw the odium, as was just, on the conduct of England, and to dispose the minds of the neutral powers for the defence of their flag, Russia came forward with a scheme, of which we opportunely availed ourselves. The chancellor of Russia insinuated to us how much it would conduce to the tranquillity and good correspondence of the trading powers, if a general maritime code could be formed, comprising the most important points, to avoid doubts and controversies. To induce other nations to adopt it, he stated, that the empress of Russia would employ, with much pleasure, her offices and authority.

" Perceiving instantly the desire of Russia to acquire the glory of giving maritime laws to trading Europe, I answered that the formation of such a code would meet many obstructions; but there was less difficulty in persuading the neutral maritime powers to defend their flag against the belligerents, who might wish to insult it, by establishing rules founded on treaties. To this I added, that Russia beginning to move the neutral powers, who were desirous to maintain the immunity of their flag, from which flowed the prosperity of commerce during war, a species of maritime code would insensibly be formed, and the empress, placing herself in the front of this alliance, or beginning of a neutrality, would acquire the honour of being protectress of the rights of maritime nations. The deceased king of Prussia, who desired to restrain the abuses of the english admiralty, supported this scheme; and it was consequently well received by the russian ministry. I assured them also, that Spain and France would conform to these principles, even if England should reject them. In fact, the tzarina thus began the project of an armed neutrality, which has been so celebrated, and which took its first rise, as I have already said, in the cabinet of your majesty.

5. " All these facts contribute to explain what occurred in the last war with England. The origin of this war is known to your majesty, and to all, which was the insurrection of the american colonies. England

resenting the assistance given by France to the insurgents, and, finally, aggrieved by the treaty of alliance which she concluded with them, commenced hostilities in 1778. Your majesty likewise knows all the exertions and representations which I employed by your order to prevent that rupture; and after it had happened, those which I repeated to obtain a reconciliation, and to re-establish the peace under your mediation, which was accepted by both powers. The time spent in this negotiation enabled your majesty to mature your preparations and armaments, and to operate with advantage, in case your pacific desires did not take effect, and it should be necessary, as it proved, to proceed to a declaration of war.

" France, confiding in the family compact, had urged your majesty to declare yourself, and to act as an ally from the very moment of her rupture with England. Your majesty firmly maintained, that the existing case was not comprised in the compact, and that France had departed from its spirit, in concluding the eventual alliance with the united states, without your consent. To this, was added the conduct of the french ministry, in the hasty step of notifying the treaty to England itself, without any previous communication to your majesty, and without entering into a concert for operations, which might lead us to a war. This resistance, and your firm and honourable resolution, not to acknowledge the independence of the united states, in spite of the strongest solicitations, until the mother country herself had recognised their independence, allayed, in a great measure, the jealousies of England, and her suspicions that we were in a secret understanding with France. She acccordingly yielded, or affected to yield, to the mediation of your majesty, for the purpose of adjusting the pending disputes.

" It is not now to the purpose to commemorate the plans of pacification which I formed by order of your majesty, and the final proposal which preceded the rupture. If the English had paid attention to these proposals, and to the advantages they would have procured, compared with the loss and dishonour which resulted from the peace of 1783, they would doubtless have severely blamed the ministers who contemned those plans, and added Spain to the number of their enemies. It is proper to observe, that, during more than a year, which these negotiations lasted, your majesty placed your marine, as well in Europe as in America, in a state which Spain had never before witnessed, to attack your enemies in case of a rupture.

6. " Accordingly, when it was discovered, that England not only despised the plans of pacification, proposed by your majesty, but that, during the negotiation, she had given orders, by means of the East India company, to invade the Philippine isles, and had arranged a design to penetrate, by the Rio St. Juan, to the great Lake of Nicaragua, and to ruin our establishments there, your majesty was enabled to commence hostilities with acknowledged superiority. You effected in proper time the junction of 36 sail of the line with the french squadron of 30, for an invasion of England, and you commenced the blockade of Gibraltar. Your forces also attacked Pensacola and Mobile, Fort Maleches and Baton Rouge, to re-establish the spanish dominion in Florida; and made an irruption along the whole coast of Campeachy, bay of Honduras, and the Mosquito shore, to expel the English from the extensive establishments which they had formed in that vast continent. All these enterprises I had the honour to propose to your majesty, as well as the occupation of Minorca, and almost all succeeded. And if the siege of Gibraltar, and the invasion of England were not equally fortunate, the failure arose from causes which your majesty will permit me to recall to memory, suppressing that part which can only serve to renew regrets now without remedy.

" The union of the combined spanish and french squadrons ought to have been effected in the beginning of June, and till the end of that month, the wind did not permit our squadrom to quit Cadiz. Consequently, the junction could not take place till the end of July, off Cape Finisterre, where the french ships had long waited. The operations in the english channel were necessarily not commenced till August, in consequence of which, little time was left for the purpose, by the approaching season of autumn. Our squadron could easily, indeed, have been at sea in April, and this was my opinion, because, if the rupture took place, we were in a condition to act without delay. For this, we had the just plea of protecting our trading fleet, which was expected from America. But the apprehension lest its departure should excite the suspicions of England, and hasten the war, weighed with the pious mind of your majesty, who was desirous to avoid hostilities at any price. Hence, the contrary opinion prevailed, to suspend the sailing of our fleet.

" At length, when the combined squadrons entered the channel in the beginning of August, the cabinet of France formed the resolution of attacking the english squadron, or blockading it in its ports, before they

embarked the troops for the descent, which were prepared on three different points of the coast. Your majesty endeavoured to combat this design, demonstrating, in my opinion, that every thing would fail if it was followed. The combined squadrons amounted to 75 effective ships of the line, to which the English, not exceeding 30, never did, nor ever could present itself. It was not to be believed that we could succeed in attacking the english forces in the channel, where they have so many ports and resources. As little was it possible to form a permanent blockade in those narrow seas, where the winds are continual and irresistible; and still more in the proximity of autumn. In fact, the only time the english squadron was discovered, it fled with all speed; the sole loss was the Ardent, which was taken by the celerity and enterprise of two frigates.

"Our proposal was, that the combined squadrons should take under their convoy the troops for the descent, which, in a few hours, might have penetrated into England, at the point of attack previously concerted; while the english squadron could not prevent it, or at least must have attacked the combined fleets with a great inferiority of force, which would have exposed it to a general defeat, and obliged it to abandon its own ports and coasts. It was the will of God, that this scheme should not be adopted, that the autumn should approach with its storms, that the combined squadrons should be obliged to retire to Brest, and that an epidemic distemper should break out among the crews, by the effects of which, the sick of the French amounted to above 12,000, and those of ours to 3,000. The superior cleanliness and care of the spanish ships, although greater in number than the french, confined the progress of the disorder within the limits which I have mentioned. In consequence of this calamity, it was necessary to disarm the french ships, in order to cure the crews, to purify the hulks, and arrest the disorder. Hence, we were obliged to renounce, for that winter, all projects of invading England.

7. "However, as the blockade of Gibraltar still continued, and as the sufferings of the garrison augmented daily, it was necessary to prevent the succours which England was about to send, accompanied with a force sufficient to attack the blockading squadron. For this object, your majesty settled, that there should be two stations in which the english squadron, bringing succours, should be attacked, with the view, that if it was not routed at the first, it might still be exposed to a second encounter at the other.

" The first point was Brest, whither the count d'Aranda himself went from Paris, with the intention of hastening the equipment. It was arranged, that France should have at least 20 ships, which, united with 20 Spanish, left at Brest under the command of Don Miguel Gaston, would make 40 of the line. This number exceeded, by more than a third, that which the English could dispatch with reinforcements. From Brest, as a port situated at the entrance of the channel, and so near to the coasts of England, it was easy to watch the departure of the english squadron, and anticipate it by an attack in seas so narrow, that it could not avoid a combat, or prevent the combined squadrons from intercepting the convoy. Although the result of the combat might not be more than reciprocal damage, your majesty foresaw the difficulties which the English would encounter in so long a voyage as that to Gibraltar, in the midst of winter, to convey without damage the convoy of succours, and in that state, to resist a second attack, which was prepared for it on the second station, at the entrance of the strait between Capes Spartel and Trafalgar.

" For this second point, your majesty settled, that Don Louis de Cordova should return to Cadiz with 16 ships, though in reality there were but 15, because the San Joseph was lost in quitting Brest. These 15, united with 11, employed in the blockade of Gibraltar, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, would have composed the number of 26, and by the addition of another from Ferrol, it would have been 27. These ships might have fought with advantage against the 21 or 22 forming the squadron under Rodney, and still more after a long navigation, and after a battle, as was expected, at the chops of the channel. Notwithstanding these precautions, which seemed likely to take effect, the business failed entirely, because the wisest resolutions are futile, if not scrupulously executed. This is the principal advantage which can now be drawn from the recollection of these circumstances, namely, the firm purpose of enforcing the execution of what is ordered after profound meditation. Let us proceed to examine the causes of our ill success.

" Don Louis de Cordova left in the ports of Galicia, for repair, four of his fifteen ships, which could not continue their voyage, without great inconvenience: this was well done. He proceeded with 11 ships to the bay of Cadiz; but being informed that a storm had forced Don Juan de Langara into the mediterranean, he stopped at the entrance of the strait,

to wait for him. Previous orders had been given to Cordova to enter Cadiz, to refit with promptitude, and, in the mean time, to pass over to the bay of Gibraltar, in order to regulate the operations of the blockade. He would thus have prevented the want of concert, and the prejudice which must naturally ensue. But Cordova having himself taken the resolution which I have already mentioned, to remain at the mouth of the straits, in order to supply the absence of Langara, his conduct was approved through the medium of the secretaryship of the marine, with whose determination I was unacquainted till after the courier had been dispatched to communicate it to that admiral.

" Cordova having remained at the mouth of the straits, in the months of November and December, his squadron suffered so severely from another gale, that he was in danger of being lost in the Trinidad, on the coast of Africa. His whole squadron being too shattered to continue the cruize, was obliged to enter Cadiz and refit. Meanwhile, Langara having repaired his damages at Carthagena, returned out of the mediterranean, but did not meet Cordova in the straits, nor were the ships of Cordova in a condition to put to sea to join him, in consequence of the great damage which they had recently suffered. The four ships which Cordova had left in his passage by Galicia, and others, being in a situation to put to sea, Don Ignacio Ponce was ordered to proceed with them immediately, and join those of Cordova and Langara. Ponce falling sick at this juncture, orders were given that another should assume the command. He himself, however, was anxious to fulfil these orders, as he believed that he should speedily recover his health. But, although this occasioned no longer delay than 15 days, yet when he sailed, he encountered off cape Finisterre another storm, which obliged him to take refuge with his shattered ships in the ports of Galicia.

" At the same time that we encountered these misfortunes in the spanish seas, great activity was employed at Brest, to repair and equip the 20 french ships which were to join with the 20 spanish. Such, however, was the tardiness, and so faint the hopes of the commanders to sail and attack the English, that our embassador at Paris requested permission for admiral Gaston and other officers to repair to court. Your majesty refused, and we renewed our instances for the equipment of the combined squadrons, and for their speedy preparation to be ready to meet the English when they quitted their ports. In fact, the english squadron sailed with the transports for relief, under the command of admiral Rodney, at the end of

December 1779, and the combined fleets were not in a state to put to sea till Langara was beaten and a prisoner, in January 1780.

" The spanish squadron, under the command of Gaston, arrived at Cadiz, after the defeat of Langara, with four french ships, which had refitted at Brest. But they encountered so many storms, and were in so shattered a condition, as well as the squadron of Cordova, which might have joined them, that the admirals could not venture to attack Rodney, though he still remained at Gibraltar, after he had introduced the relief, repairing his damages, and though the number of our ships exceeded by one third that of the English.

" It is not my wish to accuse any one in the relation of these facts, but to defend myself from the censures with which I was then persecuted as if I had been the author of the misfortune. I have confined myself to the recapitulation of the first and principal arrangements in which my opinion had any weight, and of what was left unaccomplished either without my intervention or by accident. For the same reason, I have omitted many circumstances, not leading to the object of this statement, which is only intended to lay in one point of view the acts of my ministerial conduct, before your majesty, who has been a witness of them, that you may qualify or correct them, and that the causes of failure or misfortune in our past enterprises, being recalled to mind, may themselves serve as a lesson for the future.

" After the defeat of Langara, we deliberated on dispatching powerful forces, both military and naval, to our islands, and particularly to the Havannah and Porto Rico, where we feared an invasion, because Rodney was to proceed to the West Indian seas. In fact, this expedition was formed under the command of the marquis del Socorro, Don Joseph Solano, with 12 ships and 12,000 men, to unite with the french forces at Martinico. This was accomplished with great sagacity; and I ought to do justice to the zeal of the count of Ricla, and the marquis of Castejon,* who, with extraordinary celerity completed this expedition, without neglecting domestic objects. Although we did not undertake the offensive operations that had been planned against the enemy's establishments, we at least succeeded in protecting and covering our own against all invasion.

" With the rest of the ships remaining at Cadiz, and the french force which continued there, and was immediately augmented, and after the

* Ministers of war and marine.

spring months had been spent in equipment, it became proper to think of some useful enterprise. The French proposed to return to Brest, to blockade the enemy in the channel, and ha rass their marine and commerce. Your majesty, however, warned by their inaction, and the misfortunes of the preceding season, was not only unwilling to consent, but gave orders to Cordova not to quit our own seas, notwithstanding any prospect of advantage, or any instances from the french commanders. In fact, the squadron departed from Cadiz, and returned in June, after a cruize of a few days. I then represented to the ministry of the marine, the ill consequences of this inaction, the discredit which it would draw on us, and the advantages which we might lose by shutting up our forces in the port of Cadiz. The squadron was therefore ordered to return, though enjoined to cruize only between the capes of St. Vincent and St. Mary. My zeal on this occasion involved me in some unpleasant circumstances, which I concealed, that your majesty might not be disgusted.

" God was pleased to favour my good wishes, for, in consequence of the illness of the minister of marine, I dispatched the urgent affairs of that department. One morning, intelligence came to me from England, that two convoys were on the point of quitting its ports; one for Jamaica, with troops, clothing and ammunition, to attempt something against our islands; and another with trading ships, richly laden for the East Indies. According to my intelligence, these convoys were to proceed together to the Azores, without any other escort than a single ship and two frigates, and in that latitude they were to divide, each taking its proper course. The English were acquainted with our determination, not to leave our own coasts, because they were apprised of every thing which was ordered and done at Cadiz. This information being received a little before mid-day, I proceeded without a moment's delay to the apartment of your majesty, and represented the blow which might be struck by our squadrons, if, instead of cruizing between the capes, they should stretch out to the Azores, and wait for the english convoys. In spite of your reluctance to permit their departure from our coast, you saw the important consequences of my proposal; you accordingly gave your orders through me to Cordova, accompanied with various precautions, to prevent the abuse of your permission.

" The same moment, two couriers were dispatched to Lisbon and Cadiz, that from both places light vessels might reach Cordova, or some of his

ships, and communicate the instructions. The bark from Cadiz, having fallen in with the fleet, Cordova passed over to the Azores, waited for, and captured the two convoys, with such good fortune, that of 55 transports, not a single one escaped; and the three vessels of war taking to flight, saved themselves only by their distance and celerity. This glorious and most fortunate exploit was considered as a species of miracle, because, although all was, and is, owing to the providence of God; yet he was pleased that these combinations should concur for the execution of his designs. Namely, that I should receive the intelligence, that I should have the diligence to profit by it, and that I should possess the means, in consequence of executing the office of the marine, *ad interim*. The least effect of this action, was the capture of so many vessels worth more than 140 millions (1,690,000*l*.). Your majesty thus became master of 3,000 men, of the clothing destined for the enemy's troops in their islands, and of the arms and ammunition which they were conveying thither, and you frustrated the plans of conquest which they meditated againt our possessions the ensuing campaign. If our naval and military forces, detained at Cape François, had been able or willing to profit by this advantage, and to execute the plans of the count of Galvez, which, to some, appeared extravagant, perhaps Jamaica at least would have fallen into our hands. Another person would have requested some reward for this service. But your majesty knows, that neither for this nor for any other have I asked any thing directly or indirectly for myself. God has been pleased to preserve me from ambition, and to this moment, very few know the share which I had in that success, one of the most important in the last war.

"I avoid entering at present into the circumstances of the second relief which the English succeeded in throwing into Gibraltar, when our naval forces at Cadiz were separated from the French. I might notice the good or ill use of the bombardments, and the preparations made to burn the english squadron in the Bay. But I repeat, it is neither my intention nor my temper to blame any, and I confine myself only to that in which I have had the most immediate concern.

"The minister of war, the count of Ricla, being dead, your majesty, when you gave me orders to charge the count of Gausa with that department, observed, that I might take a share in matters of importance. I represented the difficulty of forming a combination. But at last, with

the acquiescence of Gausa, I obeyed, and laboured to the utmost of my abilities, and with the harmony and success which I am about to describe.

8. " We deliberated on the plan for the campaign of 1780. Your majesty being resolved not to risk or waste your maritime forces on the coasts of France and England, I proposed the occupation of Minorca, whose port was a nursery for more than eighty privateers which infested the mediterranean, and the only shelter which the English possessed for their squadrons, and for supporting their power in that sea.

" Your majesty having sanctioned my proposal, I represented the necessity of secrecy, and of securing the natives before any expedition took place, that your troops might find no other enemies in landing, than the scanty garrison which occupied Fort St. Philippe, and other posts. It was difficult to keep the secret, because it was necessary to communicate with an ally, and to take a thousand unavoidable precautions; but every thing was accomplished under the pretext of blockading, or besieging Gibraltar. For this end, the preparations for the enterprise were made in Cadiz, because no one imagined that expeditions from that port could be directed against any other quarter than Gibraltar or the Indies. The distance of Minorca, the necessity of passing the straits, with the superior facilities and nearness of Carthagena, Alicante, and Barcelona, from whence it was regular to form the expedition, and the presumption that Port Mahon and its castle were impregnable; all these united to deceive our own people as well as foreigners, and fixed their attention on other objects. While these suspicions were spread abroad, I endeavoured, by order of your majesty, to secure the natives, and obtained the strongest proofs of their fidelity, attachment, and obedience. With this beginning, which was principally owing to the credit, activity, and prudence of the marquis of Sollerich, your majesty was enabled to undertake the surprise of Minorca, with 8,000 troops, which were received with extraordinary joy and favour by the people.

" If the wind, in the act of disembarkation, had permitted one of the divisions to be entire at the concerted time, according to the plan of operations arranged by the general, the duke of Crillon, we should have cut off either the whole or the principal part of the garrison, and a single day would have decided the fate of Minorca, to the glory of your majesty and your arms.

" Although France shewed some resentment for the secrecy we had observed, we succeeded in appeasing her, by reminding her that we had expressed an intention to undertake an enterprise in the mediterranean, which depended on many unforeseen accidents. In fact, your majesty knows that we did not distrust our ally, but the many hands through which the secret must pass, if we communicated it. Finally, France was not only tranquillised by my representations to her embassador, but even sent us 2,000 men to Minorca, who served at least to occupy the posts which our scanty force was unable to secure. However, notwithstanding the small number of our regular troops, we augmented the army of Minorca to 13,000 men, with which we accomplished the conquest of the Castle of St. Philip, and obtained tranquil possession of the whole island. Your majesty then saw we had means for maintaining an army at the Havannah, and at Cape François, another in Minorca, and another at Gibraltar; to arm great part of our squadrons with regiments of veteran infantry; to effect the conquest of Pensacola and Mobile, in Florida; to defend ourselves against the English, to expel them from the coast of Honduras, the lake of Nicaragua, and the Rio de St. Juan; and to attack and triumph over the rebels of Peru and the Rio de la Plata. For all this, the establishment of our army was sufficient, without levying a single fifth,* and without any other help than that of dismounting some cavalry, forming new regulations relative to the pay and service of the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs belonging to the militia, and garrisoning with them some of our ports. I think that these transactions, of which your majesty and the prince have been the first witnesses, merit some reflection.

" The conquest of Minorca being effected, your majesty had likewise the satisfaction to complete the acquisition of Western Florida, by the capture of Pensacola, which was owing to the firmness of your generals, who three times attempted this enterprise, though the winds and waves destroyed their squadrons and ruined their armaments.

9. " Nothing was wanting but the acquisition of Gibraltar. It being resolved to convert the blockade into a siege, the spanish and french troops, who had conquered Minorca, passed to the camp of St. Roque, with their general, the duke of Crillon, and were augmented with proper reinforcements. Two objects presented themselves in the siege of Gibraltar,

* A draft of one man in five, called Quinta.

one military, to reduce it if possible; the other political, to acquire it in the negotiations for peace, which were then set on foot. These negotiations, with some equivalent, would be less difficult, if the siege afforded some probability of its conquest, without the apprehension of which no british minister could combat the prejudices of his nation in favour of the onerous possession of this barren rock. The scarcity of provisions and ammunition, and the facility possessed by the combined squadrons, which had reunited at Cadiz to prevent the arrival of supplies, afforded a strong probability of the acquisition.

" To push the siege both by sea and land, we recurred to men of science and skill, and the project of the engineer, d'Arçon, was adopted, for the construction of *floating batteries*, to attack the fortress by sea. To shorten the operation, we made use of large merchant ships, which, by the help of a strong coating, might resist the fire of the enemy, and by means of an internal circulation of water, defy combustion. These vessels being prepared, doubts were entertained whether these two objects could be at once effected, and particularly whether the internal circulation would not damage the powder. The engineer, however, insisted on the necessity of this circulation, and proposed to prove their capability of resisting combustion, in a public experiment, by exposing one of them to the fire of red hot balls from our batteries, with a view to remedy defects and multiply precautions.

" The ministry of the marine department, however, ordered the attack to be made without delay, from an apprehension, as I have since heard, lest the english squadron should arrive, and lest the troops and sailors, who were to be employed on the occasion, should be discouraged, if the floating battery were set on fire, in the intended experiment. These necessary precautions not being adopted, the engineer recommended at least that each vessel should be furnished with warp anchors, and double cables, to withdraw in case of accident. The duke of Crillon supported this proposal, and suggested several hints relative to the disposition of these batteries, in consequence of the doubts which had arisen concerning the points of attack. That of the old mole, which at the first view appeared to be the weakest part of the place, and which might have been supported with a diversion by land, was found to be covered by the principal batteries, which the enemy had prepared to defend his front. That of the new mole presented other difficulties, which it is now needless to detail. Although,

from the instructions which your majesty had ordered me to communicate through the war and marine departments, general Crillon was empowered to settle the disposition of the batteries, and their command and situation by land and sea; yet, in consequence of the disputes which arose at the moment, some well intentioned persons proposed to Crillon himself to assemble a council of generals and experienced officers on the subject. The proposal was supported by the count of Artois and duke of Bourbon, who were then in the camp.

" The council being held in the end of August 1782, in the presence of the french princes, it was there proposed that Crillon should leave to the officers of the marine the command and disposition of the floating batteries, he himself remaining free from all responsibility. As he declined acceding, a report was made to the court, and it was immediately approved, through the channel by which the information was conveyed. This I knew after the departure of the courier, when I waited on your majesty relative to another object. The engineer, the general, some marine and other officers, however, repeated their instances that the floating batteries should be furnished with warp anchors, to be withdrawn in case of accident. But whether some change was necessarily made from the nature of the anchorage, or for some other just cause known only to the sea officers, this precaution was not taken. Those batteries were set on fire, and the misfortunes ensued which are notorious to all.

" In spite of this ill success, hopes yet remained of reducing the place, if it was not succoured, because, according to the intelligence of the besieged, the greater part of their ammunition was expended in the defence. To prevent the succour, it was resolved, at the instance of the marine department, that the combined squadrons at Cadiz should pass over to the bay of Gibraltar, for the purpose of attacking the english fleet when it arrived. But Providence ordered that the very night preceding the arrival of the enemy's fleet, a furious tempest should shatter ours. Yet, notwithstanding the fatal accident, neither the english squadron nor the transports were able to reach the place, or throw in succours, but passed into the mediterranean, and gave an opportunity to the combined squadrons to refit, and return for the purpose of an attack.

" Many pretended, that if our squadron, instead of following the English, had kept off the cape at the mouth of the straits, on the side of the mediterranean, our enemies could never have relieved the place, without an

engagement, which they must have lost in consequence of their inferiority. Indeed, by remaining at the mouth of the straits, it would be more difficult to enter without an action, which must have been dangerous for the enemy. But unfavourable winds, and even the general opinion, caused our navy to adopt another part, which I do not now mean either to censure or defend. It is sufficient to hint what followed. The English relieved the place and escaped, without the fault or knowledge of your ministry of the marine.

10. " Still, however, after so many adverse accidents, the hope subsisted of acquiring the place by the pending negotiation. For this end, it was proper to give a reasonable colour to the formal prosecution of the siege, and to shew that the reduction was not so difficult as was believed. The english ministry themselves were under a species of necessity, as I have already said, to give a body and similitude to these hopes, as a justification for yielding Gibraltar, without shocking the national prejudices. With this aim, by order of your majesty, I privately represented to the duke of Crillon and other generals, the importance of continuing the siege. In fact, Crillon himself, in spite of other opinions, raised a new trench in a single night, without being discovered by the enemy, approached the lake and land gate, and thus covered the batteries on that side. By this brilliant and dangerous operation, he was enabled to establish himself under the rock, to fortify himself against superior fire or sallies, and to prepare the means which might contribute to the conquest.

" I cannot avoid here noticing the little attention which was shewn to the utility of these works, formed in a single night, without being discovered by the enemy. In the first trench, more than 10,000 men were employed, and in the second, more than 7,000. What order, what concert, what activity, what silence, were necessary among such a number of troops, to execute these difficult operations in a single night, to be covered in the morning against the enemies fire, and to conceal them from the vigilance of the intelligent governor, Elliot How many lives were saved by these prompt and splendid operations Let these trenches be compared with those of the siege in 1727. Hence we must conclude, that the general officers and soldiers in these immortal actions, gave proofs seldom seen of what may be effected by subordination, zeal, valour, and good will.

" In this situation, and with the hopes which the siege still held out, the negotiations proceeded, and the preliminaries of peace were almost

concluded. Of these, one article was the cession of Gibraltar to Spain, France giving to England a compensation in the isle of Guadaloupe, and we to France an equivalent in that of St. Domingo. Such were our expectations when your majesty went to Aranjuez, in December 1782. But instead of the courier who was to bring the news of the signature, another arrived, and disappointed all our hopes. On one hand, the english ministry required new cessions, onerous to France; on the other, the french ministry were harassed with difficulties excited by those who had possessions in the french part of St. Domingo, and who opposed acquisitions which they thought prejudicial to themselves.

" In such circumstances, it was necessary to abandon all negotiation, in order to prosecute the war with renewed vigour. For this purpose, count d'Estaing came to Spain, and with him and his court we discussed a plan of combined operations. By order of your majesty, I held with the count all the necessary conferences. With his enlarged capacity and experience, he digested the plan, which had received from the penetration and knowledge of your majesty all the improvement necessary to ensure success.

" If this plan could be published, it would do immortal honour to your majesty, to the two allied courts which adopted it, and to admiral d'Estaing, by whom it was drawn up. It suffices to say, that never before had the West Indies seen 70 ships of the line in one expedition, with about 40,000 troops, and all the preparations requisite to strike the meditated blow. Such, so many, and so well combined, were the objects of this formidable enterprise, that, without a declared opposition to our designs from divine providence, our enemies could not have escaped the terrible evils which threatened them.

" When 50 ships were ready in Cadiz, which were to unite with more than 20 in the West Indies, and all the troops and preparations in order, the english ministry again proposed preliminaries of peace, in almost the same terms as before, and they were now signed. The cession of Minorca was substituted for that of Gibraltar, the acquisition of which was reserved for subsequent negotiation. The court of London freed France from the compensation which she was to give for Gibraltar, and Spain from the equivalent. Besides, England lured us with the cession of Eastern Florida, although, according to our instructions, our plenipotentiaries were to require only the retention of the part of Western Florida, which we had

conquered, on the condition that it should be extended to cape Cañaveral, beyond the Bahama channel, in order to shut up, on this side, the passage out of the gulph of Mexico, and to render us masters of its coasts.

" France pressed the speedy acceptance of these propositions, considering them as advantageous; and your majesty was not disinclined to admit them. But you saw that the negotiation would be more successful if the projected expedition, for which immense expences were already incurred, should sail from Cadiz. This was also my opinion.

" The departure of our expedition would have proved to the English, that the project was not mere threat, as they endeavoured to persuade themselves. This knowledge would have induced them to embrace with alacrity those preliminaries which they afterwards decried, forcing the ministers, lord Shelburne and lord Grantham, who had so prudently arranged the terms, to retire from office. This expedition, I repeat, at sea, and directed to the destined point, even if obliged to retrocede, would have kept the well-intentioned ministers in their places, and the peace would have been made with other advantages, without breaking off the negotiations prepared for the acquisition of Gibraltar.

11. " Such, however, was not the case; your majesty was obliged to accede to other considerations, which it is not proper to mention, and the preliminaries were signed, from which the zeal of our plenipotentiary, the count d'Aranda, drew all possible advantage. The result was what was feared. The british ministry, who had made the peace, being disgraced, Mr. Fox, who succeeded, adopted a different principle, and at the expiration of eight months, we were obliged to accept a definitive treaty, in which he contrived to sow the seeds of new discords.

" According to the preliminaries, the English were to evacuate all the clandestine establishments which they had made for a century before, on the extensive coast of Honduras and the adjacent shores. Their plenipotentiary having succeeded in inserting in the treaty the phrase 'that the spanish continent should be evacuated', he took advantage of this equivocal expression, repeated with studious affectation, to pretend that the country of the Mosquitos was not to be evacuated, because it was not a part of the spanish continent, but independent and subject to Indians, free from our domination. This was the most important article to render the treaty of advantage, namely, the reintegration of the country of the Mosquitos, as

far as cape Gracias à Dios, or even beyond. Without this acquisition, the english would have been able to increase their fertile and extensive colonies, by establishing there numerous families of loyalists, banished from the united states, by fomenting the rebellion of the Mosquito Indians, and their incursions in the spanish settlements, and by preparing great and *terrible* usurpations in our Indies, as well on the side of the river St. Juan, to the great lake of Nicaragua, and even to the southern sea, as on the side of California, in conformity with those plans which we had discovered before the war.

" To prevent these mischiefs, it was necessary to charge the marquis del Campo with a new negotiation, by means of which we succeeded in avoiding a rupture, amplifying the explanations of the definitive treaty, and securing the reintegration or acquisition of the mosquito country, and the acknowledgment of the spanish sovereignty over all that continent, and obtaining the evacuation of the english colonies.

12. " I need not enlarge on the advantages obtained by this peace and its subsequent explanations, although it was not suffered to be perfected to the degree we were authorised to expect. Every one has done justice to your majesty in confessing, that so advantageous a treaty to Spain has not been concluded for two centuries past. The reintegration of Minorca, of the two Floridas, of the extensive coast of Honduras and Campeachy, are evidently objects of the highest consequence. The mediterranean is freed from the principal shelter enjoyed by our enemies in times of war; the gulf of Mexico closed against foreign domination, which would have ruined the great kingdom of New Spain, the most useful of our Indies, and the extensive continent of our two Americas is rendered compact, and delivered from danger. From the beginning of the war, these acquisitions, and that of Gibraltar, were the objects which your majesty's comprehensive mind had principally in view. To these was added that of freeing our commerce, in our trading ports, and your royal authority in the department of finance, from the shackles imposed by England in the preceding treaties. This likewise has been accomplished by the present arrangement. To these objects were directed the secret arrangements with France, when necessity forced us into the war; and for these, the most circumstantial instructions were given to the plenipotentiaries, who concluded the treaties and subsequent conventions. Ought we not, therefore, to infer that the

good success of the treaty was not the effect of a blind chance or of foreign accidents; but of a plan well meditated, well concerted, and ably pursued by your majesty, from beginning to end?

"In this manner, we concluded a war of five years, which was maintained without suspending the payment of the forces, ministry, or royal household, without levying a forced fifth of men, and without prolonging the contributions which were required to meet the extraordinary expences. At the end of the year in which the definitive treaty was concluded, your majesty ordered the extraordinary contributions to cease, thus fulfilling your royal word, when they were imposed, that they should not continue beyond the period of hostilities. It will not be extraneous to notice, that such contributions were approved by a council, composed of all the deputies of the kingdoms, of the procurator general, and of many authorised ministers, the count of Campomanes and myself conducting the business. This important resolution was anticipated and arranged in the year 1770, in which we were suspicious of a rupture with England, in consequence of the dispute for the Malouine islands. It was also an advantage, that the said contributions were chiefly paid by taxes arising from the cultivation and inclosure of waste lands.

"I proposed to your majesty the rewards which were merited by various persons, military and political, who had laboured with zeal and advantage in the objects of the war and of the peace. Among these were my companions in the ministry, the count of Gausa, the marquis of Sonora,* and the marquis of Castejon. The first obtained that title, and the grand cross of the order of your majesty, the second the grand cross, and the third the effective place of counsellor of state.

13. "When I proposed the grant of these favours for others, I urgently solicited one for myself, in the presence of the prince. Your majesty would not deign to grant it before I had explained my demand. When I stated that this favour was the permission to retire from the ministry, it was impossible to obtain your consent, although the state of my health was deplorable, and although I had long before made similar instances, but suspended them because we were in the midst of a war. Your majesty did not permit my retreat, nor grant to my labours the only reward to which I aspired; and you had the goodness to tell me, that you would

* Don Joseph de Galvez.

reflect on the means of giving me some relief, but not by my dismission. I request your majesty to permit me to fold down this leaf, as the depositary of so sacred a promise, which you have deigned to repeat to me at other times, when I have repeated my solicitations.

" Besides the honour which your majesty conferred on me in not permitting my retreat, you did me that of offering to me, as to the other ministers, the grand cross of your order. I earnestly desired your majesty not to distinguish me with this favour, and to accept my renunciation of it, as you had done five years before, on the peace with Portugal. But your majesty did not listen to my solicitations, although repeated on various occasions. At last you had the incomparable benignity to observe, " What will be said of me, if I do not attend to thee, after such great services? Take it at least for my sake." These words, engraven on my heart, moved me to tears, and I kissed your majesty's hand. I relate these facts to manifest your majesty's magnanimity, and more than human benignity. It is just that the world and your subjects should know by this specimen of heroic virtue, something of that which is hidden by an unequalled modesty; and should judge how many lives ought to be sacrificed for a sovereign who can so nobly recompense and honour.

" I will not deny to your majesty, that the romantic idea of my renunciation was not so much the effect of virtues which I do not possess, as of my temper, constitution, and philosophy. Naturally free from all views of vanity and self-interest, accustomed by my principles, maxims, and studies, to the most delicate sentiments of glory and honour, and apprehensive of exciting envy, which I have always desired to avoid, although I have not succeeded, I have from early youth thought that my vocation was and ought to be, to labour without any other object than to serve my king and country, and to acquire the best and most universal reputation.

14. " The war with Great Britain being ended, I proposed to your majesty what was necessary for attacking and reducing to terms of peace the barbary regencies, especially that of Algiers, which caused us so much damage, by its piracies on our coasts, and by infesting the commerce and navigation of the mediterranean. This important object had already occupied the attention of your majesty before the conclusion of the war with England. The algerines had promised to enter into an accommodation with Spain, as soon as she should make peace with the Ottoman

Porte, otherwise they declined proceeding in the negotiations which I commenced by your royal order.

" In spite of difficulties apparently insuperable, and in spite of the silent and vigorous opposition which we experienced from all foreign nations at Constantinople, we succeeded in concluding our peace with the Porte. It is to be regretted, that modesty and policy do not permit me to discover all the circumstances of this long negotiation, for the instruction of some, and the shame and chastisement of others. What I ought to say as a just eulogy of your majesty is, that, notwithstanding the bad example of other nations, neither in this nor in any other negotiation which has passed through my hands, have falsehood, deception, fraud, or artifice been employed. The good example, and the lessons of truth and probity which I always received from your majesty, in regard to my office and duties, have induced me to learn and practise a policy never imitated. Let it be a trifling proof of your majesty's scruples and inimitable veracity, that you did not permit the use of the flag, and licences of neutral powers, which some spanish ships had obtained for their commerce during the war, not even to transport without danger the most necessary effects, and those most wanting for the royal navy.

" The peace with the Ottoman Porte being effected, the negotiation was renewed with the regency of Algiers. But they refused to fulfil their promise, and it was necessary to undertake the two bombardments. When the third was prepared, the regency listened to terms.

" For the bombardments, although blamed by those who murmur at every thing, there were three motives or objects. 1. To chastise the people of Algiers, and force them to demand peace of their regency, in consequence of being yearly exposed to such a detrimental visit. 2. To free ourselves from the algerine corsairs all the spring and summer, because the regency were necessitated to dismantle them, and apply their artillery and crews to the defence of the place. 3. To employ the great quantity of bombs and ammunition prepared for the last formidable expedition equipped at Cadiz, which did not take effect, in consequence of the peace with England.

15. " I will not, at present, justify or praise the manner and terms in which this treaty was concluded. It will suffice to recal to your memory the recollection of what preceded, when the point was submitted to the deliberation of the two councils of Castile and war.

"A peace was likewise obtained with the regency of Tripoli, through the zeal and diligence of the count of Cifuentes; and after various truces with the regency of Tuniz, your majesty is apprised that the latter are ready to conclude a formal treaty.

"By these means, your majesty is delivered from the enemies and pirates who issued from the extensive coasts between the atlantic ocean and the furthest dominions of the turkish emperor, at the extremity of the mediterranean. The spanish flag is frequently displayed throughout the whole Levante, where it was before unknown, and the commercial nations themselves who had *persecuted* it indirectly, now prefer it; to the augmentation of our commerce and marine, to the improvement of our sailors, and to the respect and glory of Spain and its august sovereign. Now terminated the slavery of many thousand unhappy persons, whose captivity had produced unspeakable detriment to religion and to the state. Now also ceased the continual exportation of enormous sums of money, which at once impoverished us, enriched our enemies, and facilitated their armaments to annoy us. Lastly, above three hundred leagues of country, the most fertile in the world, on the coasts of the mediterranean, which, from the dread of pirates, had been forsaken, are now peopling and cultivating with unspeakable celerity. Whole towns and villages are formed, with capacious ports, to give vent to the productions and manufactures which are cultivated under the advantages of peace, and the protection of your majesty.

16. "External peace being secured, your majesty gave it additional security, by the connections which took place between your royal family and that of Portugal. The marriages of the infanta, Donna Charlotta, grand daughter of your majesty, now princess of Brazil, with the infant, now the prince Don John; and of the infant, Don Gabriel, with the infanta of Portugal, Donna Mariana Victoria, have excited the envy of all nations, who, to our misfortune, know much better than many Spaniards, the true and solid interests of Spain and Portugal. The catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella; the emperor, Charles 5th, and his son, Philip the 2nd, comprehended how much the two crowns were interested in the intimate friendship and union of their sovereigns, and this union they cultivated with the success which is known to all. Under those princes, Spain rose to the highest rank of power and glory; and this ought to

induce superficial politicians to acknowledge the prudence of your majesty and of your government, in imitating the example given in periods the most fortunate for the nation.

" All who had a share in the execution of these matrimonial arrangements, obtained some remuneration or sign of your royal gratitude, your majesty deigning to hear, and benignly adopting my recommendations to that effect. To our embassador in Portugal, the count of Fernan Nuñez, was given a place, with a salary in the council of state. To the marquis of Lourizal, embassador from the court of Lisbon at Madrid, the golden fleece. To Don Joseph de Galvez, who read and signed the contract, the title of marquis of Sonora, free from the customary fees. To the marquis of Llano, who assisted at the exchange, an effective place in the council of state. To the duke of Almodovar, the employment of mayor domo mayor, and cavallerizo of the portuguese infanta. A commandery was offered to his brother, the patriarch, who performed the marriage ceremonies, and, finally, even the chaplains of honour for the day, as well as other individuals, obtained pensions and favours from your royal munificence.

" The marquis of Lourizal endeavoured to persuade me, that I ought to receive the golden fleece, as a favour which had been granted to several ministers of state, my predecessors, and even to the marquis of Ensenada, who was not a minister of state. He added, that he had hinted it to the prince. I repelled his officiousness, even with asperity, telling him, that my reward consisted in the satisfaction which resulted to your majesty from my services, such as they were, without intriguing for promotion. His highness knows this to be true. But what admits no doubt, is, that neither I nor my nephew, the Sumiller de Cortina, Don Antonio Joseph Salinas, who was substituted for the patriarch, in the journey for the exchange of the princesses, asked or obtained any favour directly or indirectly.

" Since the marriages and treaties with Portugal, various important affairs have occurred with foreign powers, which it would be tedious to relate, but by which your majesty has succeeded in making yourself respected and venerated, in a manner seldom experienced during the two last centuries. It is enough, at present, to record what happened in the year 1787, at the time when the disturbances of Holland and the consequent disagreements between France, England, and Prussia, threatened a general combustion in Europe. The voice of your majesty, raised with as much vigour as prudence, was heard by those and other cabinets, and

your dispositions and preparations calmed the tempest, securing peace, and even additional harmony, with Prussia and with England.

" It is now evident to your majesty, how much was done to terminate the evils of the war, which began in the Levante, and extended to the north; and you have recently witnessed the respect entertained for your crown, by the most powerful sovereigns, and the confidence which even the Turks repose in your known rectitude, impartiality, and probity.

" Oh that Heaven would favour the ardent desires of your majesty to pacify the world! Your peculiar virtues give me cause to hope for this great good from the powerful hand of God, and to them I am indebted for the strength with which I have supported all the labours that I have undergone.

17. " It is now just to say something of the internal affairs of the state, and your improvements in all the branches of government, justice, œconomy, and policy, both of the capital and kingdom. The aspect of these, inspires sanguine hopes of restoring this great monarchy, and elevating it to the same degree of power and splendour as in its most happy periods.

" Your majesty had succeeded in preserving your capital from the filth which injured and obscured it, and by expence and perseverance had converted it into the neatest and cleanliest town on earth. It was necessary to purify it morally and politically, from the idle vagabonds and voluntary mendicants, who, with their families, formed a permanent seminary of delinquents and libertines. The amelioration of the metropolis has served as an example to the other capitals and towns.

" In your parties of the chace, your majesty was followed by swarms of men, women, and children, who, abandoning their homes and work in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, and royal residences, flocked to receive the alms which were distributed by your order. The consequence was, the loss of the advantages derived from the industry of numbers, who, by passing many hours in the field, either became accustomed to leave their houses, or returned to them at night in mixed crowds of both sexes, to the depravation of their morals. I ventured to propose to your majesty, during the journey to the Escurial in 1777, that the amount of these alms should be distributed as at present among real poor and distressed of the same places, and as well there as at Madrid, that vigorous precautions should be taken

to prevent voluntary mendicity, to banish idleness, and to promote education and industry among the inferior classes. Your majesty was pleased to approve these hints. Circumstantial orders being given for their execution, through the council of Castile; a method was arranged for housing the beggars, and taking care of the poor, and children, by the committees in each of the 64 wards into which, since the government of the count d'Aranda, Madrid was divided. Eight of these compose a quarter, under its respective magistrate; and a general and superior junta of charity was formed to examine the means of sustaining this great work, to assist the committees when the alms of their respective wards and districts were not sufficient, and to change and apply to these ends such foundations and pious works as could be employed for the same effect.

"Although at first much confidence was placed on the alms to be collected by the committees, experience has proved that charity is neither so extensive or so discreet as was expected. It became necessary, therefore, to recur to impositions, by means of which your majesty has been able to give yearly to the general junta about 30,000 ducats (7,437*l.*;) to assist many of the committees with extraordinary succours; to grant to the general workhouse, in which the number of poor and beggars was augmented, about 14,000 ducats (3,470*l.*) annually; to the general hospital, as much more; to that of St. Juan de Dios about 3,000 (743*l.*); to the prisons of the capital and Galera, or place for confining prostitutes, besides other aids, 3,000 ducats and more, which have been consigned to furnish work for those unhappy creatures. This has been effected; and abandoned prostitutes have been converted into regular and industrious women. An association of ladies formed for this end, by the zeal and care of an active ecclesiastic, has been patronised by your majesty with happy success.

"Separately and independently of the general junta and committees, succour is granted to several thousands of respectable, honest, and modest persons, who are pressed by necessity, and concealed by decorum; wives and widows of officers, of ministers, and of others in employment; younger sons and orphan daughters, their children and wives; farmers, workmen, traders and artisans, receive also daily assistance from the funds of the charitable impositions which your majesty intrusted to my care.

"All the committees of wards have vied in establishing schools for poor or forsaken girls, in which, besides the christian doctrine and a good education, they are instructed in works proper for their sex, and in different

branches of industry, which are considerably increased, and prove useful. The deputations of la Trinidad and St. Isidad weave ribbands similar to those of France. In those of the Barrio de la Comadra and Mira del Rio, besides needle work, are made fine embroidery, with silk, gold, and silver, and artificial flowers. Many hundred girls are taught in these schools. Clothes have been given to the needy, rewards to those who distinguished themselves in the public examinations, and portions to those who have married. For this purpose, extraordinary sums have been granted to the committees from the same charitable fund, created by your majesty, and placed at my disposal. Poor and abandoned boys also receive a similar education, and experience similar attention in training them up to the business of which they are capable. Some thousands reap this advantage from the cares of your majesty, as appears from the relations printed and published every three months.

" The deputies assist artisans and labourers who are in want of employment, and provide for the sick poor at their own houses, instead of sending them to the hospitals, where disgust and repugnance, delays in suffering themselves to be conveyed thither, the unwholesome air occasioned by numbers, and the want of particular assistance, cause the death of many, while those who recover leave, at least during their illness, their families exposed to beggary and corruption of morals. Measures are taken to remedy these evils, by the care of the committees, of which there are already 24 in the three quarters of the palace, St. Geronimo and Affligidos, which have regulations and assignments from your majesty, for the expence of attending the poor at their own houses. Expedients are adopted for regulating the rest.

" The example of the metropolis, as well in the formation of juntas and committees of charity, as in the endowment of workhouses and penitentiaries, produces a happy effect, under the protection of your majesty, in the different capitals of the kingdoms and other places. These merit particular mention, Grenada, Barcelona, Toledo, Burgos, Gerona, Cadiz, Alicante, Valladolid, Valencia, Cuidad Real, Ecija, Salamanca, and the Canaries, for the watchfulness of those who govern them, both spiritually and temporally.

" The œconomical and patriotic societies which your majesty has established and patronised, amount already to about sixty, and the greater part of them labour in contributing to the assistance, education, and in-

dustry of the poor. They encourage principally agriculture, arts, and trades, and good order; and have instituted many schools of design, which is necessary for the improvement of the sister arts.

"The society of Madrid maintains by subscription a *monte pio* to furnish employment to poor women, and to many men, with spinning, weaving, printing, and other works of industry, and for this your majesty has given by my hands more than 25,000 pesos (4,531*l.*) I do not aspire to be thought the inventor or founder of these societies. First, the biscayan society, and since that of Madrid, with some others, gave an example for the establishment of these useful bodies, in my time. The excellent work on popular education, composed and published by the count of Campomanes, has diffused lights highly useful on these important points.* Before your majesty, I neither can nor ought to with-hold the justice due to this zealous magistrate, and to the council of Castile, for having promoted the foundation and extension of the societies which now exist.

"Moreover, your majesty has endowed by my means those which have made application, beginning with that of Madrid, to which have been consigned 80,000 reals (812*l.*) yearly, besides a sum advanced for its *monte pio.* Resources have been sought for the endowment of others; and to all your majesty has charged me to give your favour and assistance, and to promote their beneficial projects. I do not say that all the societies have been equally useful and attentive, but the greater part are so, and in general, many advantages have arisen, from uniting the principal citizens, employing worthily the time of the clergy and nobility, and exciting in every class the desire of doing good for the service of the country.

"I said before, that the charity on which we relied to meet these objects, has not been so great nor so discreet as was hoped. Permit me, Sire, to pause, and lament the error of some who prefer distributing alms with their own hands to beggars and particular individuals; and not only refuse to consign their contributions to the committees of charity, who may be called the alms-givers of the state, but condemn the plan of collecting the poor in workhouses, and employing them in a manner suitable to their age and strength, in arts and public works. This is what I call indiscreet charity, nay even prejudicial and dangerous, in regard to internal police, if done in contempt of public authority, and with a knowledge of the injury it occasions. Private alms to beggars confound the true with

* Campomanes Ensaio sobre la Educacion popular.

the false poor, give cause for the last to usurp from the first the assistance which they need, and encourage the idleness and vagrancy of those who receive alms, and the licentiousness and corruption of many.

" All are poor, it is said; and the liberty ought not to be taken from some to ask, nor from others to give. According to this rule, all the individuals of the mendicant orders, particularly that of St. Francis, (because they are poor, and are maintained by alms,) should have the liberty of going out to demand them, without assigning questors and almoners for that purpose. How great then would be the confusion and disorder of those religious bodies, should they thus neglect their useful labours, and quit their retirement, their studies, their confessionals, their pulpits, and their chairs. If the mendicant orders are obliged to nominate questors or almoners to ask alms, and keep their monks retired and well employed, why cannot and ought not civil societies and towns, and why should not the sovereign establish in the workhouses, in the juntas, and charitable committees, certain fixed almoners, who likewise may ask alms, and keep the mendicants and poor retired and employed? If the first is absolutely necessary for discipline and good order in religion, why ought not the second to produce the same effect in civil and political society?

" Sire, such great advantages result from the charity exercised by means of the workhouses and committees, that I cannot comprehend how conscientious and sensible persons can overlook them. He who gives charity through their channel, is not likely to render his liberality a mere personal and natural compassion for the individual, and for his situation. He necessarily gives it for the sake of Jesus Christ, raising this moral virtue to the class of those which are truly christian. Alms given to the workhouses and committees have three advantages; to aid the bodily necessities of the poor; to minister to their spiritual necessities, by removing them from sins and temptations, by retired life and christian education; to prepare and form another species of succour for many in works of industry.

" Nothing of this is realised in the alms given to mendicants. Excepting those which are distributed among persons well known and really necessitous, I repeat, that any other kind of promiscuous charity ought to raise scruples in those who give, with a knowledge of its inconveniencies, and a contempt of public authority. Greater scruples ought also to be entertained by spiritual and temporal superiors, who suffer the increase

of this liberty of begging, which is a harvest of vice and wickedness. On the contrary, it is their duty to prevent it, to promote and maintain good order, and to be the first in enforcing obedience to the commands of the sovereign. I am sorry, Sire, in this part to confess that there has been much neglect, coldness, and indifference, if not opposition, on the part of many superiors, and of some judges and executors of the public laws.

" However, I ought to do justice to great part of the superior clergy, and their prelates, who, with my acquiescence, have contributed to this object with a zeal and liberality worthy of greater praise. They have founded, endowed, and re-established workhouses or penitentiaries for the reception of the poor, foundling hospitals and infirmaries. They have undertaken and perfected many public works at great expence, to employ the poor, and to assist the needy in the late years of distress.

" I cannot omit to mention to your majesty, some of those prelates who have most distinguished themselves, nor ought I to pass over my obligations to them personally and officially.

" The archbishop of Toledo, Don Francisco de Lorenzana, is worthy of the primacy. He has exerted himself in giving the first and most shining example, in the erection of the two charity houses at Toledo and Ciudad Real, restoring, at a great expence, the magnificent palace or alcazar of Toledo, which was nearly ruined, and which was ceded to him by your majesty, for this end. The other public works undertaken by this worthy archbishop, are the repopulation of many places ruined and forsaken, the illustration and preservation of the holy and antient spanish fathers, by publishing fine editions of their works at his own expence, and the improvement of the capital of his diocese, with useful edifices, instructive ornaments, and statues of its most celebrated kings, which were bestowed by your majesty. He has promoted other objects for its convenience and splendour, in which I have assisted by your order."

[Count Florida Blanca proceeds to enumerate different prelates who had imitated the example of the archbishop of Toledo, in improving their sees, encouraging industry, undertaking public works, and forming literary, patriotic, and charitable institutions. It would be tedious to insert the whole article, which fills several pages, and therefore we shall only recapitulate the names as a justice due to the hierarchy of Spain.]

" Don Thomas de Lorenzana, bishop of Gerona; Don Joseph Xavier Rodriguez de Arellano, archbishop of Burgos; Don F. de Fabian y Fuero,

archbishop of Valencia; D. Nicholas de Santillan y Zapata, and D. F. Armaña, archbishops of Tarragona; D. I. Malpas y Pinto, archbishop of Santiago; D. J. Gonzalez Lazo, bishop of Placentia; D. J. Diaz de Guerra, bishop of Siguenza; D. J. F. Ximenes, bishop of Segovia; D. A. J. Galvan, archbishop of Grenada; D. Joseph de Molina, bishop of Malaga; D. R. de Celis, bishop of Carthagena; D. M. Abad y Llana, bishop of Astorga; D. C. Quadrillero, bishop of Leon; and the royal confessor, D. Joachim de Eleta, bishop of Ossuna.

" The public spirit of the secular prelates has been, in a great measure, imitated by their clergy and chapters, and by the regular clergy. The ecclesiastical bodies of various cathedrals have supported different foundling hospitals and infirmaries, and other charities for the poor. Many of their individuals, and of the parish priests, have employed themselves in promoting the objects of the patriotic societies; and various monasteries have charged themselves with feeding, educating, and clothing, a number of poor children, orphans, or foundlings. It is to be desired that all the regular clergy would follow the example given in this respect by some monastic communities, of the orders of St. Benedict, and St. Bernard, and the Carthusians, that they would avoid meanness and dissipation, and the ill use made by the mendicant monks of their daily alms, in idleness and vice.

18. " Seeing then the just and pious example given by the clergy of Spain, in employing their extensive revenues for the assistance of the poor, I cannot comprehend the reasons of those who censure the formation of the charitable fund, established by your majesty in my time, in virtue of a pontifical brief, for the erection, endowment, and augmentation of work-houses, penitentiaries, and hospitals, and for the encouragement and maintenance of the distressed, by means of the juntas and committees of charity, composed of seculars and ecclesiastics.

" The bishops and other prelates of these kingdoms submit without murmur to the deduction of the third part of their revenues, which, by immemorial privilege and custom, is destined by your majesty to provide pensions for persons dedicated to study or other objects of public utility, and this without exempting the bishops and prelates from the principal cure of souls, or the primary obligation of assisting the poor. In the formation of the pious fund, the ecclesiastical preferments, having cure,

are not charged. Besides, although your majesty may impose on them the deduction of a third for the poor, provided you do not touch on the reserved income, which amounts to 600 ducats in the residentiary benefices, and 300 in those not residentiary; yet your majesty considerably reduces this deduction in favour of those incumbents, who deserve it, from the circumstances of their poverty, the number of their relations, and the scantiness of their revenue. Hence there are benefices which are not charged with a sixth part, or even less.

" With the increase of population, agriculture, and specie, the ecclesiastical revenues have increased in such a manner, that without exaggeration, within the last half century, many have doubled their former value. If the clergy distribute their surplus among the poor, why should they be aggrieved when it is done by means of an uniform and provident collection, which combines assistance with protection, education, and moral improvement. It may be asked, if the clergy themselves make this distribution, why deprive them of the surplus of revenue which they thus employ? But who does not see the superior advantage which may result from the reunion of funds by means of the public administration? An individual relieves a few necessitous individuals, and many times without a possibility of discerning the proper object. An individual may establish a foundation, or may assist it; but he cannot succeed in accomplishing all that is necessary, the good of the state, and the improvement of morals; nor can he generally diminish want. The liberality of individuals itself usually augments the idle and beggars, of which we have melancholy proofs.

" On the contrary, the union of funds facilitates the greatest enterprises of charity and police, such as the foundation and endowment of hospitals and workhouses, educates childhood, accustoms youth to christian doctrines and to labour, and by these means, diminishes poverty. The diminution of the poor augments the produce of agriculture and industry, and consequently the tithes and revenues of the clergy. By means of the pious fund, therefore, it may be affirmed, that they cultivate their inheritance, and multiply its produce. So that the clergy will always have wherewithal to exercise their charity and liberality, as is the case with the bishops, although charged with a third part. The frugality and regularity of the spanish clergy afford great resources for the aid of their own poor, with the revenues which remain.

" The charge for the pious fund does not comprise those who were in

possession of their benefices, at the time when the papal brief was published. Although the pontifical concession was made in 1780, it was not promulgated till 1783, and your majesty had the goodness not to charge the ecclesiastical preferments filled in the interval, whereas all contributions before drawn from the clergy, although not directed for the relief of the poor, indiscriminately comprised all individuals in actual possession of benefices. What reason then have those to complain who aspire to, and accept the benefice with a knowledge of the charge imposed upon it? I repeat, Sire, I cannot comprehend what interest or just reason those can alledge, who complain of this regulation, which, in my poor opinion, is one of the most glorious and useful of your majesty's happy reign.

" I believe, Sire, that you do justice to the illustrious clergy, who differ from such as have not the necessary knowledge to decide on this matter. However, I believe further, that even the few ecclesiastical bodies, who wished to remonstrate against the establishment of the pious fund, were moved by a good intention, in consequence of a doubt which they conceived respecting its use. The silence and approbation of almost all the bishops, the love and fidelity which the clergy profess towards your majesty, and their daily experience of the advantage derived from this patrimony of the poor, will eradicate those mistaken notions, which want of consideration rather than malignity has spread against it.

19. " Since I have here touched on what ought to be hoped from the knowledge, and love, and respect of the clergy towards your majesty, I cannot pass in silence over what they performed for your service, in consequence of the expences which we incurred in the last war. By a letter which your majesty ordered me to write to the prelates and chapters, you obtained from them, by way of loan, without interest, about 30 millions of reals; deducting, as has been done, the sums advanced in the places which contributed the *subsidio* and *excusado*, after the termination of the war.

" This disposition of the superior clergy to serve your majesty without employing the forcible and disagreeable means which have been practised in other times with little advantage, proves the truth of what I have had frequently the honour of representing, namely, that the clergy of Spain are perhaps, of all those in the world, the most faithful and obedient to their king, the most regular in living, retired and prudent, and

the most useful to the country, by their zeal and œconomical resources. They ought, therefore, to be esteemed, and care taken to render them respected and obeyed, in all things compatible with the sovereign authority and public good. For the same reason, their legitimate privileges ought to be preserved, without entering into odious discussions, or the degrading regulations which have been employed in other parts.* Your majesty has heard these maxims many times in the secrecy of the cabinet, where neither adulation nor interest could guide the expressions of my tongue. Of the regular clergy, I have said as much, although I was and am still of opinion, that for their own and the general good, it is proper to watch over their discipline. The religious orders, well instructed in solid learning, well treated and well regulated, with regard to the strict execution of their institutes, conformably to the canon and civil laws, will be highly useful to religion and the state.

"The relief of the poor and forsaken, has been accompanied with other active and vigorous regulations for preventing idleness, vice, and voluntary mendicity. In imitation of the metropolis, committees have been established to punish vagabonds, idlers, and ill disposed persons, in all the different capitals, where there are audiences or chanceries; and similar precautions have been already taken in the principal and populous towns.

20. "The famous law or pragmatica by which your majesty extinguished the very name and race of those called gipsies, has had the same object of converting into useful and industrious persons so many thousands of those who were lost in licentious idleness and vice. None can fail to applaud this celebrated law, and its well defined regulations; and it is to be wished that care should be taken for its rigorous execution. In spite of some negligences, which I have endeavoured to remedy, but which require much more vigilance on the part of the magistracy, I have noticed that among the many delinquents and malefactors apprehended since the last war, few of those called gipsies have been implicated in atrocious offences. This is a proof that the law which qualified them for labour and business, and blotted out the stain of their race and name, has produced much of its effect.

"Your majesty foresaw that it was not sufficient to succour the poor

* Probably alluding to the sweeping innovations of Joseph the second, which found many approvers in Spain.

and punish the idle, without preparing occupation for those whom necessity, virtue, or the regulations of your government rendered industrious. For this purpose, your majesty has laboured in promoting agriculture, arts, internal traffic, and external commerce; while the execution of your designs has been promoted by the patriotic societies, and other numerous bodies and distinguished members of the state.

21. " For agriculture, which is the first and most certain source of human subsistence, riches, and solid prosperity, your majesty has undertaken those works of irrigation which will astonish the remotest ages. Spain, always exposed to drought, cannot become agricultural, unless irrigation be substituted to supply the water which is wanting in most of the provinces, that the farmer may obtain the fruit of his labours. The canal of Aragon, an immortal work, which was begun with more boldness than practicability, by the great Charles the fifth of Germany, and first of Spain, was reserved for another Charles, that he might overcome its difficulties, carrying it for the space of many leagues, to Saragossa, from whence it is continued towards the mediterranean. It is hoped that this incomparable project will be completed within a few years, with the resources which your majesty has intrusted to me for defraying the expence, and with the known zeal and activity employed in the promotion of the work, by its protector, Don Ramon Pignatelli, to whom I ought to do justice.

" This canal, which, at the same time, is one of navigation and irrigation, contains works so great, so bold, and so useful, that, for the honour of the nation, and of those who have directed it, and for the glory of your majesty, I ought to enter into a circumstantial relation of the said works, the lands which are already cultivated and watered; the many plantations made and making; the mills and machines constructed and constructing, for promoting every species of industry. The canal of Tauste, incorporated with that of Aragon, is another encouragement already given to agriculture, by means of its channels of irrigation.

" In the fertile territory of Lorca, in the kingdom of Murcia, your majesty has prepared for irrigation two reservoirs of water, which already contain more than 24 millions of cubic varas; although the dikes do not yet exceed half the intended height of 70 varas. The thickness of these dikes is 50 varas, or 150 feet, all fabricated and faced with hewn stone, which is strengthened with large bars of iron. The plans are

published in the circumstantial relation of these works, their excavations and aqueducts, with a description of their advantages for the national instruction and glory.

" In soils producing an hundred for one, as those of the Campo de Lorca, it is easy to examine what it gained by such irrigation. Your majesty has already executed a solid, convenient, and even magnificent road to the port of Aguilas, situated on the maritime coast of that district, and established there a farming and commercial town, for the export of its produce. You have caused to be conducted to that place abundant supplies of water, from the distance of some leagues, by an aqueduct worthy of your grandeur. Without water, of which that port is totally deprived, in a country where it seldom rains, it would have been impossible to establish dwellings; while, with this convenience, it already contains above 400 inhabitants. Your majesty has erected a church, constructed houses, and the necessary public buildings. It is surprising how rapidly this district increases in population, and how quickly the territory is cultivated, with which your majesty has endowed it. This, I repeat, is principally owing to the peace with the regency of Algiers, whose piracies kept the coasts of Spain in alarm, and consequently barren and forsaken. I ought to praise the zeal and activity of Don Antonio de Robles-vives, minister of the royal council of finance, to whose inspection these works have been confided, as well as the creation of impositions to defray the expence. In little more than three years, he has carried them to their present state of forwardness.

" The canal of Tortosa is another undertaking by which your majesty in a few years has facilitated the communication along the Ebro, from the neighbourhood of Amposta to the port of Alfaques, avoiding the circuit and dangers of entering the sea by its mouth. This canal serves both for transport, and for watering the numerous lands of that district, which before were desert, from the frequent want of rain. At that port has been formed the new town of San Carlos, and the works are still continued for its completion.

" In many other parts similar works have been promoted, for canals of irrigation, and for encouraging agriculture and traffic. The canals of Manzanares and Guadarrama are continued by means of the national bank, which has appropriated one half of the profits derived from the export of silver to this end. We are now treating for the construction of a canal in

the Campo de Urgel, of irrigation at Albalote, and those of the Campos of Bajar, in the kingdom of Grenada, to employ much water in the fertile and extensive fields of Albacete, and to drain the marshy grounds and lakes near the town of Villena, in the kingdom of Murcia, and in other provinces.

"The town of Almuradiel, formed in the middle of the *campo nuevo* of Andalusia, for the rugged pass of Despeña Perros, is another example of agriculture for the neighbouring places; since, instead of woods and frightful deserts, we have seen in a few years public buildings, houses, plantations, and cultivated lands, producing every species of grain and fruits, which border the road, and banish the danger of robbers and banditti.

"I do not here speak of the canal of Campos and Castile, because it is directed by the branch of the finances, and the expences paid by that department. The works and improvements of agriculture, canals, irrigations, roads, and public buildings, which I have detailed to your majesty in this statement, are those made by my intervention, without any expence to the public finances destined for the service of the crown. It is necessary to keep this in remembrance, and to recollect that what has been, and is executing by my means, is without any burthen to the royal treasury.

22. "The infants, Don Gabriel and Don Antonio, following the example of your majesty, have undertaken various extensive plans of irrigation, and canals of great expence; the first, in his priory of St. John; and the second, in Calanda, belonging to the commanderies they enjoy in the kingdom of Aragon. The orders of your majesty, and the approbation which you have shewn to their highnesses, have been conformable to the gratification with which you see these patriotic views in your beloved sons.

"I cannot avoid pausing a moment to relate the singular zeal of the infants, in promoting every species of agriculture, as well as of their august brother, the prince of Asturias. It is well known what waste lands have been suddenly converted by their highnesses into fruitful and abundant orchards, and delicious gardens and plantations; it is well known how much they have promoted cultivation in the royal residences, labouring with their own hands, ennobling the plough and the spade, and by their example, teaching the great, the object, the application, and the importance, of the cultivator and his labours.

" Your majesty has been the great master, who has founded a practical school of agriculture, in the lands which you have ordered me to cultivate and improve, near the royal residence of Aranjuez. Already do we observe in the neighbourhood, the effect of this school. We witness the imitation of the true method of employing each soil according to its proper and most useful productions. We see stony and sandy lands covered with many thousand olive trees; those of more substance, employed in crops of grain; and the low and most humid destined for orchards, meadows, mulberry plantations, maize, hemp, flax, and all sorts of fruits and vegetables.

" Fine silks are there gathered, and a great portion of honey and wax, which your majesty yourself desired to raise. There flocks and their wool are turned to advantage; and the acorns from the oaks, which serve as shades to the beautiful allies, are employed in breeding swine. Finally, there is no fruit which is not cultivated, and neither diligence or expence spared, in drawing every species of plants and useful seeds from the four quarters of the world.

" The great works which your majesty has ordered me to execute, to attain the highest perfection and profit, with regard to cultivation, are, and will be, a perpetual monument of your vigilance for its progress and advancement. Wine and oil are pressed in cleanly mills with the greatest nicety, and are preserved in extensive cellars and vessels, containing many thousand arrobas. All this is a model, or rather practical school of cultivation and breeding, in which your majesty, as the first, the most provident, and experienced farmer, instructs your subjects in the most useful and necessary profession of the monarchy.

" By the new general regulation, adopted with the advice of the council, for planting and inclosing lands, your majesty has procured a considerable augmentation of agriculture. If to this are added others already meditated, to extend the freedom* of cultivation or to aid the cultivator, Spain may become an inexhaustible source of productions and riches.

" Permit me here, Sire, to recall to mind the points which you have already suggested in your instruction to the council of state, and which it is necessary to determine with promptitude, and communicate to the council of Castile. 1. To declare and establish a right in every possessor of a mayorazgo,*

* Mayorazgos, or entails, are of four kinds. 1. The Agnacion rigurosa, which strictly restrains the succession to male descendents, and excludes females. 2. Agnacion artificiosa, by

or entail, to deduct the improvement made by new irrigations, plantations, and breaking up ground, according to the value and returns of the land, estimated by juridical authority, in the period anterior to such improvements. This augmentation to be the property of the occupier and his heirs, all laws to the contrary notwithstanding. In such a case, how great would be the stimulus to occupiers, to improve the extensive property subject to restitution, which they now abandon, in order not to deprive their children and heirs of what they expend in improvements!

" 2. In order to encourage the building of houses, to permit, as your majesty has just done, by the advice of a junta at Madrid, that all waste land may be sold and alienated, by legal authority, after an estimate, although it may belong to a mayorazgo, patronate, anniversary, chapelry, or any other perpetual charge; its value being deposited for the benefit of the lord of the soil, or possessor of the entail, that he may employ it in civil revenues of juros, censos, actions of the bank, &c.

" 3. To prohibit improvements of a *third* or *fifth*, or any other kind of property, from being perpetually entailed even by those who have no direct heirs, without the permission of your majesty. This point is most important, because, with the power of improvement, which is given by the law, all improve, even low persons, and with small sums, in favour of a son or grandson. They regularly entail the improvement, forming a patrimony for vanity and idleness, and locking up much property, which cannot be well cultivated in poor hands, nor sold to the rich, who might turn it to ac-

which the male heirs in the direct line first succeed, and on the failure of the direct line, the nearest in degree in the female. 3. Agnacion de masculinidad, or the restriction of the succession to males and females of the male line. 4. Agnacion regular, is the entail of the succession on both males and females, the former preceding the latter.

These mayorazgos are generally in favour of the first born; some, however, are settled on the second children; so that when a second son succeeds by the death of his elder brother, his mayorazgo descends to the third.

Numerous disadvantages attend this multiplication of entails, which are inalienable, especially where the succession descends to females. If male heirs fail for a generation, the family property passes by the females to strangers, while the collateral branches sink into indigence and obscurity. The possessors of such entails, who have no children, feel little attachment to a property in which they have only a life interest; they suffer the buildings to fall into ruin, and the land into utter neglect. The hope of such successions likewise leads to promote idleness, by removing a stimulus to activity. La Borde, v. 5, p. 105.

The privilege of entailing improvements, when amounting to the value of a third or fifth of the original property, naturally tended to increase the evils derived from this law of succession.

count. Hence results a general hindrance of agriculture and the useful arts, and an incalculable loss not only of much land, but of the increase and labour of the poor proprietors.

" The same thing happens with the other entails, or perpetual foundations; and therefore I think a prompt remedy necessary for such great evils. Let there be improvements and substitutions, according to the law, but without the power of entail, and of prohibiting the alienation of property. Let there be mayorazgos and perpetual foundations, but all subject to the royal authority. Let it be then seen if the mayorazgo, the improvement, or the foundation, is composed of property or civil rents, in the whole or part; let the quality of the founder, of the foundation, and of the rent be examined, to ascertain whether its destruction is likely to produce profit to the state, by the perpetual endowment of a family, and by increasing the number of faithful servants to the king and country.

" Mayorazgos and entails which do not produce an income of 4,000 ducats, and consist, as I have said, principally in civil profits, ought not to be allowed at the present time. I should feel strong scruples of conscience, if I had not represented this to your majesty; and as often as it is desired, I will explain and illustrate the indubitable reasons on which I found my opinion.

23. " To your cares for agriculture, your majesty has added greater for the progress of industry, the improvement of arts and trades, and the encouragement of internal and external traffic. Thousands of artists have been invited from abroad; models of machines, and other things necessary for the arts, and for attaining with œconomy that perfection which gives so many advantages to foreign fabrics, have also been imported. Numerous currieries are established in Seville; fabrics of cloths and cotton in Avila; in Madrid, and the other capitals, of buttons and cutlery, trinkets, jewellery, watches, fans, and other articles of ordinary consumption, all of which drew from us great sums of money, and left the hands of your subjects unemployed. Schools for making stockings, ribbands, fine linnens, embroidery, and for other branches of industry, are zealously promoted by order of your majesty. It is not just to conceal the extraordinary solicitude with which the minister of the finances, Don Pedro de Llerena, supports so many of these undertakings. Your majesty has already established in Madrid, in the palace belonging to prince Pio, a fabric of machines, under

the care of able mechanics and foreign professors; and in another quarter, a collection of the best models, drawn from the most industrious and enlightened countries of Europe.

" As the arts cannot be perfected without the sciences, and especially without mathematics and natural philosophy, your majesty has resolved to form an academy, which may equal or surpass the most celebrated of the kind. For this end, you have sent abroad many persons of talents and information, supported with pensions and assistance, that they may acquire all the necessary knowledge and experience; may see and observe, and bring us the best and most useful improvements from every country.

" Since your majesty commanded me to form a provisional establishment for the study of chemistry and botany, and particularly a botanical garden, which is the delight of the court, you have authorised me to construct a magnificent palace for the sciences, in which we already observe that grandeur and solidity will vie with utility and elegance. This superb edifice is more than 700 feet in length, and considerably advanced. Here is the rich cabinet of natural history that your majesty has collected; and the academy of natural sciences, will have a residence worthy the branches of knowledge most useful to mankind. All this is executed without the smallest expence to the treasury.

" I will not speak of the noble arts of architecture, painting, and engraving, which have been so much promoted by the cares of your majesty, because the establishment of those academies was anterior to my ministry. But your majesty knows the progress which they have made in my time, and how much, by your order, I have promoted them, by rewards and salaries conferred on their professors. Medicine and surgery have not been forgotten. For their improvement, we have defrayed the travelling expences of many persons of known ability into foreign countries; and equal attention has been shewn to other branches of human knowledge. Youths have been sent for the acquisition of languages to the respective courts of Europe, some even to Constantinople, Asia, and Africa; and we have invited strangers skilled in the oriental tongues, which may be equally useful to religion and the state.

" These measures, for the improvement of agriculture the sciences and arts, have been accompanied by others, to facilitate the internal traffic of your subjects, and the communication of their knowledge, productions, and industry. For all this, it was absolutely necessary to construct roads and

canals, which are the veins and arteries in the circulation of the political body. Without such a circulation, how would it be possible to renovate and strengthen this great monarchy? The mutual aids of the towns and provinces, the export of their productions and manufactures, and the course of internal commerce, would be in a great measure impeded, without the facility and convenience of roads.

24. "Thus it was; and though your majesty, from the beginning of your happy reign, directed your attention to this necessary and important object, by imposing, for this purpose, in 1760, the tax on salt; yet in nineteen years, only ten leagues were completed of the road between Aranjuez and Valencia; the same number in that of Barcelona; about three from Corunña; and less than one in the way to Andalusia. Even these scanty portions, those of the royal residences, and those of the passes of Guadarrama and Santander, constructed in the former reign, were so neglected, as to be almost impracticable. The neighbouring occupiers had taken possession of part of the ground destined for that of St. Andero; the same circumstance had happened in regard to the roads of Navarre, Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa, which those provinces had themselves undertaken.

"In the nine years in which your majesty has been pleased to commit to me the general superintendence of the roads, all those which were neglected have been repaired, with new bridges, balustrades, drains, and other requisites. Besides, your majesty has seen, by the plan which I presented a few days ago, that, without comprising some works, and a great part of what has been done this year, more than 195 leagues have been constructed and opened in my time; and more than 200 repaired in the different provinces (each league containing almost a fourth part more than the common league); 322 bridges have been erected, 46 repaired, and above 1,049 drains formed, without reckoning those repaired. Besides those specified in the plan, many others have been executed, as is cited in the notes; for example, the approaches to bridges, walls of support, causeways, arches, parapets, dikes, bridges, washing places, also plantations and nurseries of trees, and more, which it would be tedious to relate.

"At the same time, a new regulation has been issued for their preservation. Road labourers have been established on each league, with a superintendant for every eight; and houses have been built for these labourers, in

situations where the distances of the towns were too great for their convenience. Forty-nine of these houses are already erected, and serve as a shelter for travellers in case of accident. Others have been also built to receive the tolls, while the principal roads are constructing. To maintain them, the taxes now raised for their construction, may be appropriated. Inns, post houses, hermitages, large churches, and even towns, have been built in proper places, that there may be convenient habitations on all the roads.

"Among so many useful undertakings, are distinguished those of the pass of the Sierra Morena, or Puerta del Rey; that of the Puerta de Cadena, in the road to Carthagena; that of the road from Antequera to Malaga; that of Galicia from Astorga. What difficulties, what dangers, what inconveniencies, what expences, were encountered in these undertakings! There is no one who does not admire and bless your majesty, when he traverses these districts, particularly that of the Sierra Morena, which has astonished the most able and distinguished foreigners, by the art, the magnificence, the solidity, and convenience, with which such arduous and costly works are executed.

"A diligence * has been established for the distance of more than an hundred leagues between the metropolis and Cadiz, to facilitate the communication to that great emporium of commerce, to the neighbouring ports, and even to Seville, Cordova, Ecija, and other cities on the route. Another is establishing on the road to France, the post being now current from Victoria, as well as weekly diligences from Madrid to Bayonne, with convenient inns, which were wanting in the center of Castile. The expence of this great undertaking approaches, according to the plan presented, to 90 millions of reals (1,078,125*l.*); and the tax on salt not having produced more than 27 (323,437*l.*) in the nine years that it has been placed under my care, it may be seen that means have been found to collect more than 60 millions for these expences, in which are not comprised those incurred for canals of navigation and irrigation, reservoirs, ports, public buildings for the sciences and arts, for the ornament and security of several of the cities, and other works, of which this representation will treat.

* The reader perhaps may smile to observe the prime minister of Spain priding himself on the establishment of a diligence; but we request him to recollect, that within the remembrance of many still living, such a convenient mode of conveyance was rare even in England.

" It is true, I have been assisted by the towns themselves, the archbishops and bishops, whom I have named in another part, the patriotic societies, and even well intentioned individuals. I have been also aided by the surplus of the post revenue, which my predecessors arbitrarily destined to other objects; while I proposed its application to the roads, and gave up the liberty of disposing of it. With the authority of your majesty, I have equally profited by the augmentation derived from the regular and exact collection of the property belonging to unknown persons, which was lost and squandered when intrusted to the care of the ordinary magistracy. Thus have we executed, and continue so many useful and great enterprises, without drawing money from the general treasury, or from the funds intrusted to the ministry of finance.

" People have not been wanting to say that these funds ought to have been applied to the payment of the royal debts; as if your majesty could in justice and conscience give them any other destination except that for which they have been liberally offered; or to any better end than that of employing and maintaining thousands of your poor subjects, many of whom perished in the late hard winters, and in the present season still perish from want. How little do they who talk thus, understand the debts of the crown, and the mode of paying them. Would it be just to rob the people of their maintenance, their provisions, the export of their productions and industry, and of their communications, till the debts of the crown could be paid, which, with the scanty funds furnished by towns and individuals, for roads and public works, would require above 200 years? The debts of the crown contracted by your majesty are either liquidated, or the creditors are satisfied with the interest, which is punctually paid, without regard to the convenience of the treasury. For the debts of other reigns, which are large, it is necessary to seek expedients, more abundant than those of depriving the towns of their traffic and intercourse. On this point, I may venture to say, there are means of satisfying justice, and saving credit, without exhausting the treasury.

" O how can we forget the necessities and labours of the unfortunate people bemired in the antient roads, drowned in the rivers and torrents, their carriages overturned, or destroyed, with the loss of their cattle, or their lives! How, I repeat, can we forget the scarcity to which the very court and capitals were reduced; distressed in winter by the snows and rains; the passes shut up; even bread frequently wanting at Madrid and the

royal residences! The notion of such as censure these improvements is as absurd as that of suffering the army, ministry, and those employed in the service of your majesty to die of hunger, by applying their salaries to the payment of the public debts. Let us quit projects so inhuman, and be just. Let us confess, that the great work of the roads is one of the most necessary, useful, and glorious, that your majesty has performed for the benefit of your beloved people. With this your majesty assists all the provinces of this great monarchy; there being in each of the 26 intendencies, into which it is divided, two or more great public works carrying on at the same time, without comprising the Canary Islands. Thus innumerable poor are maintained, and leave, as the fruit of their labours, a perpetual monument of utility and convenience to their country.

" On the other hand, the œconomy of others is worthy of admiration. In past times, the expence of each new league of road was regulated at a million of reals, (11,978*l.*) yet that now incurred does not on an average reach the third part of that sum, as may be seen in the plan presented to your majesty. This is owing to the extraordinary activity and intelligence of zealous magistrates and their dependents, or to that of certain worthy patriots, who, without any other pay or reward than what they expect from heaven, quit their own business, the pleasures and comforts of their families, to expose themselves to fatigue and the rigours of the seasons, in order to superintend the execution of the works."

[The seven following pages being employed in an uninteresting enumeration of the different persons to whom the minister states himself indebted for their assistance, are here omitted. The principal directors of the public roads, were Don Vincent Carrasco, and Don Joachim de Urbido; the acting superintendants were Don Juan de Villanueva, and Don Manuel Serrano.]

" Besides these public works, your majesty by my means has commenced others of great necessity, use, and ornament, in many towns which wanted means to defray them. As it would be tedious to speak of all, I shall recapitulate the most distinguished.

25. " By my means, Madrid has been assisted with considerable sums to

pave and repair its streets, which from the scantiness of the funds for the public charge were dilapidated. The spacious and handsome entrances, roads and walks of the great gate of Alcala, that of the bridge of Segovia, that of Atocha towards Vallecas, the communication between these gates and that of Toledo, have been formed, to the unspeakable benefit of the capital, with the funds which your majesty has ordered me to employ for this end. The covered washing place,* which is constructing for the unfortunate women, who suffered so much from the severities of the seasons, already admits above 500. I ought not to trouble your majesty again with the magnificent establishments of the botanic garden, and palace of the sciences, which are the greatest ornaments and recreations of this metropolis.

" Toledo has received from your majesty considerable aids for the improvement of its streets, entrances, roads, and walks. The citizens have formed handsome terraces, repaired the antient walls and bridges, and erected the statues which your majesty presented to them. The same has been done in Burgos. Your majesty has presented them also with the statues of the most celebrated kings of Castile, and defrayed the expence of carriage and erection. In Saragossa, the balustrade, with its road or walk, has been constructed to preserve the city from the overflowing of its rivers.

" In Malaga, the works of the river Guadal Medina, have freed the city from inundations; the port has been cleansed, and precautions taken to preserve it; houses, walks, and ornaments, have been added; without reckoning the famous aqueduct, and the roads of Antequera and Velez, of which I have already spoken. The two brothers, the marquis of Sonora, and Don Michael de Galvez, as citizens of Malaga, have laboured with unspeakable zeal and activity to promote these undertakings, to find

* To give the English reader an idea of the advantage of this species of public building, it is necessary to observe that in most foreign countries, the women wash the linen on the banks of rivers, exposed to all the changes of the seasons. Even in the severest weather, at St. Petersburgh, I observed with much surprise, several women engaged in washing upon the Neva, or on the canals. They cut holes in the ice with a hatchet, dipped their linen into the water with bare hands, and then beat it with flat sticks. During this operation the ice continually formed again, and they were constantly employed in clearing it away. Many of them passed two hours without intermission at this work, when the thermometer was at 60 below freezing point; a circumstance which proves that the human body may be brought to endure all extremes.

means for executing them, and to encourage industry, commerce, and agriculture.

" In Barcelona have been erected, by the zeal of the count of Asalto, and with the help of your majesty, various works to ornament and widen its streets, and augment its population. The same has been done at Pampeluna, to which the patriotism of its inhabitants has much contributed, as well as in Segovia, by the zeal of the bishop and œconomical society, with considerable assistance from your majesty.

" In Murcia have been erected the expensive walls to defend the city from the inundations, to which it has been hitherto exposed. By the helps which your majesty has supplied through me, various useful and magnificent works have been erected on its river, and its streets have been paved, widened, and provided with conveniences, which were before wanted. Valladolid, Palencia, Toro, Zamora, Seville, and other cities of less consideration, have been improved; and it is now agitated to supply further assistance, for other undertakings of considerable advantage to their inhabitants, commerce, industry, and agriculture.

" Not to fatigue your majesty further on these subjects, I will now proceed to renew the memory of other great objects of general utility, which have occupied your attention in the time of my ministry, omitting many that would it require whole volumes to recapitulate with proper minuteness.

26. " The erection of a national bank is one of those immortal undertakings which, in spite of the attacks it has experienced from the emulation or interest of the secret enemies to the state, as well foreiguers as natives, will be in future ages a perpetual monument of your glory. Permit me, Sire, with your incomparable benignity, to inform you, that I am conscious how much persons ill informed, angry, or disaffected, have laboured to discredit in your mind the advantages of the bank; and how much they have assailed it with whispers and suggestions, ill digested and worse directed. I love your majesty and your service. I love my country, and deem it my duty to give way to my zeal and love, on those points, in which your majesty and the country have the principal interest. For this reason it is necessary to call to mind the real facts which occurred.

" The enormous expences with which we were threatened by the last war, obliged us to devise supplies or means to support them, because the revenues of the crown scarcely sufficed for the ordinary charges. Neces-

sity, therefore, forced us to seek for considerable sums of money, on loan, at a moderate interest; and for this purpose, the ministry of the finance thought proper to avail themselves of the body or company of the five superior gremios at Madrid. In 1779, in which year the war commenced, Don Juan Manuel de Baños, and Don Isidor de Castilla, were on the point of terminating their office as deputies of the gremios. In consequence of the confidence which the minister of finance, Don Miguel Musquiz, reposed in me, as well as in them, he desired me, by order of your majesty, to induce the gremios to prorogue the office of the said deputies, with whom a negotiation had been already commenced for a loan of sixty millions of pesos, (10,750,000*l.*) divided into six instalments of 10 millions each.

" In fact, I spoke with the six delegates of the gremios and the deputies; and all acquiescing in the prorogation, and the loan, they began to advance the instalments. But at the fourth, they perceived they could not continue this disbursement alone, without failing in the objects of their commerce, and other obligations of their community. Hence they themselves requested from me efficacious recommendations for Genoa and Holland, in order to raise the money required. Though I strongly recommended them, they had not sufficient credit among the dutch and genoese to obtain the proposed loans. Consequently, funds were wanting for continuing the extraordinary instalments of 10 millions.

" It became then necessary to resort to other means, and the most effectual which presented itself, as well as the most prompt, was to take 10 millions of pesos, which were offered by various native and foreign houses, who were to be reimbursed in notes called royal *Vales*, with interest at 4 per cent. These vales were to pass in the same manner as money, under various rules and with some exceptions. The principal were the pay, salaries, and bounty of soldiers, and sales by retail, all which were to be made in effective money. The first vales of 600 pesos (107*l.* 10*s.*) being not easily employed in small payments; and the nation not comprehending that the scarcity of money can be entirely supplied by paper, principally induced your majesty to make these exceptions.

" On this subject, there was, as well as in all the operations of an active government, that variety of opinions and censures, which are frequent on the part of the discontented, the idle, and the ill informed, concerning the necessity and designs of the monarch. However, experience caused your

majesty, and enlightened and well intentioned men, to perceive that this resource was the easiest, cheapest, and most effectual to obtain money to sustain the expences of the war, and to pay the arrears of the forces, ministry, royal household, and others in the service of the crown.

"It was afterwards brought into discussion to repeat this operation with loans, and the issue of vales at 300 pesos, (53*l.* 15*s.*) My opinion being required, I represented that the increase of this paper would lower its value, ruin our credit, and expose the nation to a shameful failure, if we did not seek means to facilitate to the holders of the paper, its reduction into money, whenever required. I urged, that the facility of this reduction would give credit to the paper, and prevent a general want of confidence and the risks of its depreciation. To this opinion, I added the project of an interim chest of discount or reduction, to which purpose we might have applied a considerable quantity of gold, which we had negotiated and drawn from Portugal.

"Convinced by these reflexions, I concurred with your minister of finance; and sketched out the minutes of the orders and decrees for this effect, as well as a regulation to prevent the holders of the vales from negotiating them at a discount, so that those who needed money might readily find it; and all might be persuaded, that paper and money were one and the same thing. When I supposed every thing to be in train, I was surprised with the news, that by the opinion of a junta held in the house of the governor of the council, in the presence of various chiefs and dependents of the finances, it was resolved to make a new issue of vales, without adopting the chest of reduction proposed by me.

"I comprehended and foretold at the moment the ill success of this resolution. I withdrew the minutes of the decrees, orders and regulations which I had drawn up, and earnestly desired, that I might not again be entangled in operations of finance, in order not to become the instrument and witness of our disgrace, nor to expose myself to your majesty and the public as their author, without deserving blame. Your majesty, and my love for your service, and the public good, have not permitted me to maintain these resolutions, though I have found by experience, that many things have been attributed to me, which I have zealously opposed. However, I have honourably held my peace in these and other points, as a good subject and minister, who ought not to discredit the operations of the

government, whatever may be his private opinion. Let us proceed to the case.

" My fatal prophecy was verified: paper augmented, and specie disappeared. By order of your majesty, we sought with great anxiety for money to pay the forces, ministry, and household. Those who had money attempted to make advantageous bargains, by exaggerating the risks of the vales, the loss of their capital and interest, in consequence of the increased debts of the crown, and the vast expences rendered necessary by the war. The holders of the vales who wanted money for their smaller payments, or who doubted their security, were equally competitors for silver and gold. No resource, chest or fixed fund, being found to convert the paper into money, a premium was offered to those who entered into this species of traffic. Hence arose the discredit of the vales, and the loss amounted to 22 and even more per cent, the premium on negotiating them in no instance sinking below 13. All was confusion and disorder, suits took place to decline receiving them in payments, in spite of the compulsory law, or to avoid the discount of the premium. The contractors and other creditors, as well as the army and navy, solicited your majesty to make a compensation for their loss.

" This was the situation of the monarchy, and these were the imminent risks of a national bankruptcy, when I resolved to propose to your majesty the foundation of a bank, which, while it obviated the total ruin of our credit, might facilitate commercial operations in general, particularly those of Spain, as is done in England, Holland, and other countries, conscious of their solid and true interests.

" The foundation of a bank took effect. Three hundred millions of reals (3,593,750*l.*) formed its fund, divided into 150,000 shares. The reduction of vales, and the discount of bills of exchange, was established; and the imagination of the holders being thus tranquillised, paper recovered its credit to such a degree, that it already bears a premium. The crown and nation were delivered from a shameful bankruptcy, and the finances found every resource in the said bank. In spite of all this, the clamours of foreigners, of the exporters of money, and of those who raised enormous interest from discounts and exchanges, have painted the bank in such black colours, that its benefits have been forgotten, as well as the straits from which it relieved us. With its ruin they endeavoured to throw us back into the perils from which we have escaped. What shall

we do with 30 millions of paper, if the proprietors become disgusted with the treatment they experience, withdraw their shares, and the bank fails? Can we shut our eyes on the precipice, over which the enemies of the bank endeavour to force us? What relation have the faults of its directors, if such really exist, to the establishment itself? Have not the sharers nominated twelve impartial persons to examine the conduct of their directors? Why do we not wait the result of their examination? Are we to ruin the people, because their superiors govern them ill? Nevertheless, let us see how this bank was founded, and whether it was possible to act with more circumspection than we did in its establishment.

" I had already conversed on these matters with Don Francisco Cabarrus, when he was referred to me by Don Michael Musquiz, at the order of your majesty, to discuss the first operation of vales. Finding in this active and able merchant all the talent, perspicuity, and eloquence, which so difficult and complicated a business as the formation of the bank required, I settled that the explanation and project should be drawn up in his name. Cabarrus has encountered a rivalry without bounds, and been exposed to the enmity of a formidable party, who still labour to ruin his projects. I do not deny that he managed the business with great advantage to himself, and that the boldness of his eloquence, and ardent imagination, have offended many. But I cannot omit to render him justice, by observing, that we are indebted to him for delivering us from many straits during the war; and for having furnished many suggestions, useful to the bank and the whole nation. Deign, Sire, to permit this digression in justice to a man, whose important services were forgotten as soon as we escaped from our necessities; and who is now examined only on the side, where he has or may have defects, as if any one was without them.

" I reported to your majesty the plan for the erection of a bank; and its examination was referred to a junta of ministers and select persons, who assembled in the house of the deceased governor of the council, Don Manuel Ventura de Figueroa. The junta approved the plan, with various explanations, modifications, and additions. Your majesty, not content with this approbation, desired to add that of another great junta, composed of all the orders of the state, individuals of the different classes of nobility, deputies of the kingdoms, ministers of all the councils, persons practised in commerce at Madrid and Cadiz, and regidors and deputies of this corporation. Finally, all who had any knowledge of the matter, or

were of public estimation, were convoked on this occasion; and all concurred with applause in the erection of a bank, and in approbation of the plan.

"Scarcely has any plan ever been examined and approved with such circumspection and solemnity. Your majesty consequently ordered the royal cedula to be expedited for its institution, in which you gave the bank rules for its government, and the grant of various favours. Many, or the greater part of these favours have not taken effect; and although the grant of the extraction of money may be considered as an equivalent, yet it will be just, not to forget this point, that this privilege may not likewise be diminished or taken away, as is intended, under different pretences.

"The extraction of money by means of the bank, reduces its exportation to a single place, and thus it is more easy to watch over that one, than over a thousand, by as many merchants and bankers, who exercised this trade. By this vigilance the government may not only more easily prevent frauds and contraband, but may inform itself with more precision of the state of exchanges, of foreign imports into the kingdom, and of the advantages drawn from us by the export of our productions and commodities. In fact, we have seen that the duty on the extraction of money, and the profits of the treasury, have doubled since the bank took charge of this branch. This and other proofs, from the statements formed in the offices of the customs, ought to silence the conjectures, reasonings, and clamours of those who wish to deprive the bank of the privilege of exportation; and this without reckoning the good use which the bank makes of half the profits, by applying them to the construction of the canal of Guadarrama.

27. "To the grand work of the bank may be added, the establishment of a free trade to the Indies, which has tripled that of our nation with those regions; and more than doubled the produce of the customs and revenues in both dominions. To these proofs ought also to yield the clamorous exaggerations of those merchants, who, accustomed to a monopoly within a single port, and to a profit of one and two hundred per cent. oppress the poor Indians with excessive prices, encourage foreign traffic and contraband, hinder the consumption and produce of european and indian commodities, from their dearness, and smother the national in-

dustry, agriculture and trade, reducing them all to the narrow passage of Cadiz, where there is no facility for the distant provinces of this great monarchy to bring into competition their commodities and productions. It has been urged, that commerce was ruined; that the Indies were filled with commodities without a sale; that the principal mercantile houses had failed. I do not deny, Sire, that many houses of credit have failed; but the same happened with the most respectable before the establishment of the free trade; and it was equally the case in England and France. The monster luxury, joined with the vices adopted by the merchants, as if they had fixed incomes like the greatest nobles, has devoured and still devours the largest profits, and nourishes itself with the most extensive capitals. Riches are acquired and augmented by œconomy, and lost by dissipation. If the most powerful kings become poor by waste and prodigality, how can it be otherwise with merchants, whose patrimony is uncertain, and exposed to dangerous accidents? The cheapness of european goods, and their abundance in the Indies will augment their consumption. Thus it generally happens, and experience will daily shew the prudence of the resolutions which your majesty has taken, and your firmness in supporting them.

"By order of your majesty, I acted in this matter with the marquis of Sonora and other ministers and experienced persons; and though I admitted many improvements and explanations, according to the lights which were derived from the observation and combination of events, it never can be denied, that the beginning of this happy revolution in the commerce of Spain and the Indies, with its favourable consequences in the augmentation of trade, of the revenues, and of the marine, are owing to the enlightened government of your majesty.

"The erection of the Philippine company, which your majesty has effected in my time, may prove another spring of riches and resources for the state. Your majesty knows the difficulties which have been overcome, and the exertions which I have been obliged to make against foreign opposition, especially against the pretensions of the states general of the United Provinces, and their company of the Indies, who desired to impede the trade and navigation directly from Spain by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies. The memorial I drew up by order of your majesty against these pretensions, was in the opinion of all courts so victorious, that some which were watching the moment to join their

their clamours to those of Holland, as they did in the reign of Philip V. have now maintained silence, and left your majesty at liberty to do what is proper. These great and general commercial establishments have given such energy to the nation, that new companies of insurance, of manufactures and other great enterprises are daily formed. From these, if protected, will result the prosperity of Spain, and the grandeur of our country and its sovereigns.

28. "For this establishment, it was necessary to prepare the way by proper regulations. The national commerce and industry were swallowed up in foreign importations. To maintain and facilitate a competition, and even a preference for native commodities and manufactures, it was necessary to regulate, on one hand, the custom houses and duties; and on the other, to prohibit the entry of such effects as we did not need, and which only served to deprive our poor of employment, and convert them into beggars. By order of your majesty, and with my intervention, was then formed the tariff of import duties on foreign goods. We rooted out the abuse of excessive and voluntary favours, conceded to certain powerful nations * by the farmers of the customs in former times; and although they desired to convert them into irrevocable titles, I defended with zeal and firmness the rights of your majesty. These favours amounted to no less than one third part of the duty, in the custom houses of Andalusia and others. The firmness of your majesty triumphed over the repeated attacks of certain courts, not accustomed to yield without gaining an advantage. Our former weakness, more than the strength of others, was the true origin of our evils.

"For the purpose of forming this tariff, and rendering it uniform in all the ports and frontiers of these kingdoms, it was necessary to equalize the duties in all the custom houses, without distinction of provinces. I had the good fortune before hand to prepare for this equalization, when I promoted the extinction of the duty of the *Bolla* and *plomos de Ramos*, in Catalonia.

"Although this was anterior to my actual ministry, permit me, Sire, to call some of them to mind, in consequence of the connection which they have with the present matters, and because they are all the works of your

* Alluding to England and Holland in particular.

own great mind, by which, in spite of obstacles apparently insuperable, your majesty has restored vigour to this debilitated monarchy.

"The *bolla* in Catalonia was a duty similar to the alcavala in Castile, although more hard and oppressive, because in the last 6, or 7 per cent were levied, and in the former, 15 were rigorously exacted. In Castile, the alcavala is frequently reduced to a composition, or is levied by a mild assessment, made by the companies of artists or manufacturers. But in Catalonia, every time a weaver, for example, began a piece of cloth or stuff, he was to give notice to the tax officer, to affix a lead stamp; and at the conclusion of the piece, he was obliged to give a second notice to affix another. This was called *plomos de Ramos.* After this, whenever the manufacturer or trader sold a part of his piece, though only a single palm, he was obliged to give notice to the Bollero, that he might come and put a seal of wax, which was called *Bolla*, and 15 per cent was levied on the sale. Failing in these formalities, the manufacturer or trader was subject to the penalties of fraud.

"Any one may figure to himself how much this cruel tribute impeded the prosperity of manufactures and commerce; and how much that person must have contributed to encourage them who, by supplying the place of these duties with an augmentation of the duties of entry in the custom houses of Catalonia, thus equalized them with those of Castile, and the other kingdoms. From this equalization, of which I drew up the report as a member of the junta, to whom the matter was submitted, great benefits were derived, because the duties on foreign imports were lower in the custom houses of Catalonia, than in Castile and Aragon. Thus a greater incentive was given for increasing the consumption of the fabrics in the principality, which were freed from the heavy duty of the *Bolla* and its formalities; while the profits of the royal treasury, by the increase and equalization of the customs, doubled the amount of the *Bolla*.

"By this equalization, as I said, we prepared for the formation of a general list of import duties, in which the imposts were lightened on all simple or primary materials, machines, and other articles, which might be useful to us, and encouraged our industry; and prudently augmented on those goods which might weaken or ruin it, or injure our agriculture and commerce.

"From this beginning, and from the free commerce of the Indies, instead of something less than 60 millions, which the customs yielded in years of

the greatest prosperity, they have now risen to 130 or more, which would appear incredible, were it not proved by the statements and documents drawn up by the ministry of finance. To all these improvements, Don Pedro de Llerena has contributed by his zeal and activity; and by the regulation of the customs at Cadiz, which this vigorous minister has promoted in concert with me, at the express order, and with the approbation, of your majesty. I call him vigorous, because, without extraordinary courage to pass over privileges and obstacles, which have daily been opposed to the reformation of the abuses and usurpations on the treasury, it would have been impossible to attain success.

" The augmentation of the customs has not been prejudiced by the legal prohibitions which have been renewed against many articles injurious to our own industry. Our antient laws forbade the introduction of every species of furniture, and manufactured articles, from abroad, which left the hands of the lower orders without employ. In spite of prohibitions, the introduction of such articles was tolerated, and the subjects of your majesty groaned in poverty. Even shirts were imported by millions, as well as the clothes of men and women, and every class of ornaments, utensils, and furniture, for the consumption, luxury, and necessities of Spain and the Indies. The threads, ribbands, and other smaller articles, which entered from abroad, were incalculable, while our miserable women wanted even the ordinary resource of spinning, to gain the price of a coarse loaf.

" The council advised the renewal of these prohibitory laws, and brought it forward before my embassy in Italy; but at my return, I found that the respect and fear which some foreign courts succeeded in inspiring, had prevented a resolution so salutary and necessary. The reports were transferred to me by order of your majesty, by the count de Gausa; and with circumspection and prudence, the prohibitions have been gradually revived, and the observation of our laws enforced with suitable explanations and extensions, according to the circumstances of the times.

" Terrible have been the attacks and reproaches which I have experienced on these points, and on that of the tariff and equalization of the customs; but the superior energy of your majesty has inspired me with similar firmness to conquer all difficulties. All that remains is from time to time to investigate, augment, and rectify, what the change of circumstances requires, as your majesty has wisely provided

in some articles of your instruction to the junta of state. It now remains to regulate the tariff of exports, which has been a long time in my hands, for examination and amendment. But the necessity of ascertaining the progress of our commerce and returns from the Indies, and that of our agriculture and manufactures, has detained me longer than I could have wished, in this matter of the highest difficulty and delicacy. Meanwhile, particular regulations are brought forward, in the most urgent cases, and measures are taken to prepare the public mind, as well as the matter itself, for an effectual and final resolution.

" In the regulation of what are called the provincial revenues, I have laboured, by order of your majesty, in the manner which has been represented to you. If every thing has not been done conformably to the diffuse representations which I have made, these have at least contributed towards easing your subjects in many points, as well as ascertaining what is proper in others for a similar alleviation, and for amending what is oppressive in the last regulations.

29. " For the present, manufacturers have been liberated from the duty of alcavalas and cientos, on every thing sold at the manufactory, and a reduction of 2 per cent has been made on what is sold in other parts. I have repeatedly proposed that the same should be done with regard to artisans, by freeing them from the corporate assessments; and your majesty has condescended to adopt my representations in regard to Madrid. I hope in God, that the enlightened and compassionate mind of your majesty will cause this just and necessary measure to be extended to all your kingdoms.

" Your majesty has diminished the said duty of alcavalas and cientos, in the places of public sale, where the poor provide themselves, from the rigorous 14 per cent, which was levied on goods subject to the contribution of milliones, to 8 per cent in the Andalusias, and 5 per cent in Castile. This alleviation is more than half the contribution; and if we can succeed in lessening the trammels and formalities of the administration, which are what most disgust the contributors, their number will increase, to the advantage of the royal treasury. The best thing would be, as I have represented to your majesty, to extinguish the alcavalas and cientos, which are enemies to circulation, commerce, and traffic, and supply them with an equivalent. But every thing cannot be done at once, although it is proper

to labour much on this point, and rectify what experience has shewn to require amendment, as your majesty has ordered in your instruction to the junta of state.

" To the poor farmers, who, for the most part, are tenants and labourers of the great, your majesty has granted some alleviation, by the regulations reducing to 2, 3, or 4 per cent, (or less than a third part), the duty of alcavalas, according to the quality of their commodities, and ordering the composition for the taxes in conformity with this rate. Besides, I proposed to your majesty not to levy on farmers the alcavala on the sale of bread corn, though authorised by the laws, and I rely on your goodness to take this resolution. In the same manner, your majesty has diminished considerably the duty of milliones, on flesh, wine, vinegar, and oil; you have even granted great indulgence with regard to oil, because it serves for the ordinary aliment of the poor, and is necessary for manufactures. Finally, other reductions have been made in various branches, which are of considerable importance; and all that is wanting, is, as I have observed, to amend what experience shall prove to be oppressive. In compensation for such reductions and alleviations, devised purposely for your poor subjects, your majesty has made no other imposition to replace the enormous losses of the treasury, than about half the alcavala, or 5 per cent on civil productions and revenues. This mild and moderate contribution, which for the most part is not levied, has excited the complaints of landholders, and of the great, who, with their unjust clamours, mislead your innocent and ill informed subjects.

" It has been said that this contribution is new, as if this alone, which is not certain, were sufficient to render it unjust, when it falls upon those who can pay it, to diminish the burthens which the poor are unable to bear. Besides, it is false, most false, that the said 5 per cent on civil incomes is a new contribution. This I think proper to explain, in this statement, that the firmness of your majesty may accomplish so useful and necessary a regulation.

" No one has said that the *unica contribucion* is new, which, by the rules of the Cadastro, has been endeavoured to be established, in the provinces of Castile, both during the reign of your majesty, and in that of your august brother, Don Ferdinand the sixth. That which has been said, is said, and will be said, is, that by the *unica contribucion* it was intended by new

rules, more just and equitable than the antient, to supersede, by means of an equivalent, the duties of milliones, alcavalas, cientos, and other provincial rents, which are now levied. The same thing was done under the crown of Aragon, by establishing the equivalent for the provincial rents; in Catalonia, by the rules of the cadastro, although the bolla, now abrogated, was suffered to exist, as well as the gate duties of Barcelona, Girona, and other cities; in Aragon and Valencia, by a species of general poll tax, although the gate duties were left in the city of Valencia, and fixed at 8 per cent.

" This same substitution, but more natural and conformable to the rules followed in the exaction of the alcavala, is what your majesty has adopted in the establishment of the 5 per cent on civil revenues. Your majesty had, and now has by the laws, the right of levying for the alcavalas and cientos 14 per cent, on every thing sold or exchanged; and this by a grant of the kingdom assembled in Cortes, in which this contribution was made perpetual. Should your majesty levy on every seller of productions, goods, or fabrics, this 14 per cent, you could not be charged with injustice, nor could it be said that you levied a new contribution. In fact, Philip V. by his cedula of Oct. 25, 1742, ordered that in all places of public sale, for the effects subject to the contribution of milliones, besides the duty of milliones, an additional 14 per cent should be levied for the alcavalas and cientos, and such has been done till the present time.

" Your majesty observed, that this heavy duty, levied in such a form, directly oppressed the consumers, among whom are comprised all the lower orders, who daily resort for necessaries to the public shops or markets. Hence, as I have said, you reduced the 14 per cent to 5, in the two Castiles, and to 8 in the Andalusias, being an alleviation of 9 per cent in one instance, and 6 in the other. So that your majesty is justified in replacing it by an equivalent more tolerable and more suited to the means of the contributors, but it cannot be called a new contribution.

" In regard to other commodities or products, not subject to the contribution of milliones, your majesty has abolished the 14 per cent on the sale of fabrics at the manufactory, and reduced it to 2 in every other case. You have also reduced it to 2, 3, or 4, per cent, on all the sales of traders, artisans, farmers, and cultivators of their own land. Productions which are sold by wholesale, are charged with 6 per cent, when vended by proprietors; and 3 when vended by tenants or farmers.

" There is no proprietor of civil revenues who does not derive them

from goods, works of industry, or impositions, which, in their origin, ought to have paid the alcavalas and cientos. There is likewise no proprietor of civil revenues, who, either directly or indirectly, ought not to contribute the said alcavalas and cientos at the moment of their consumption, when they make purchases in the public markets or shops. Now, if the said proprietors of civil revenues do not contribute in the public markets the 9 per cent, which has been taken off from commodities subject to the milliones in the Castiles, and Andalusias, are they aggrieved by being charged with an equivalent of 5 per cent on those incomes, poor contributors and consumers do not possess?

" If in other commodities and products of industry, from which arise the revenues called civil, the manufacturers, artisans, farmers, and merchants cease to contribute the whole or a greater part, in consequence of the deduction of from 12, 11, or 10 per cent, to 2, 3, or 4, to which your majesty has reduced the alcavala, is it too rigorous to exact, as an equivalent, that the proprietor should contribute 5 per cent of his revenue; since that revenue will necessarily be augmented, by the alleviation of the tenant, fabricator, artisan, or trader, and since the same proprietor will enjoy this alleviation in the purchases which he may make from them?

" Is it a new contribution, when in lieu of 14 per cent alcavala, which your majesty might require, you only levy 7, 8, 9, or 10, distributing this tax among tenants and proprietors, venders and consumers, poor and rich, in proportion to their means? Yet all the clamour amounts only to this, and to the complaint of novelty. Since the 5 per cent, added to the 2, 3, 4, 5, or even the 7, which is charged on the few sales of inheritances and pastures (yerbas), never rises to 14, which your majesty might have levied on all. For the greater part of the productions of the land and industry, this contribution on the whole, is reduced to 6, or at most 7, divided, as I have said, between proprietors, the tenants, rich and poor, though with more mildness towards the latter, as is just, because they have little property, and furnish all the labour.

" It now remains to observe, that when the proprietors reside in the places where their property is situated, this contribution is reduced by your majesty to the half, or 2½ per cent, with the politic and salutary view of tempting them to superintend their own property, inducing them to spend their income in the places where it is situated, to promote the arts,

to augment population, and to assist by their consumption in paying the taxes. Encouragement is thus given them to retire from the court and capitals, whither they are called by idleness, diversions, and luxury, and where they ruin their families and corrupt the public morals.

"I repeat, Sire, all the clamour against the contribution on civil revenues, which is called new, is because your majesty has distributed the antient contribution of alcavalas and cientos, with a considerable abatement, among all your subjects, according to their means, as was intended to be done by the *unica contribucion*, which nobody called new. In a word, the possessors of civil revenues, desire in the public markets to enjoy the abatement of 9 and 6 per cent alcavala and cientos, on commodities subject to the milliones; to avail themselves in their purchases of the reduction of the said alcavala, granted by your majesty, to manufacturers, and to various productions, such as hemp, flax, &c.; to enjoy also in their purchases and consumption the abatements of 10, 11, and 12 per cent, granted to tenants, labourers, artists, and dealers; and to obtain greater rents and incomes by these favours. Yet, after all, they would pay nothing for that easy and unlaborious civil income, which they increase and waste in idleness, abundance, and luxury.

"This is what is desired by the possessors of civil revenues, although the crown might be injured by the deductions, which it is proper to make in favour of poor and industrious subjects; or else they desire that the poor should be oppressed with the enormous weight of taxes, if the greater part be laid upon them, as has been hitherto the case. Thus population, cultivation, and industry will decrease, and in time, proprietors themselves will suffer, because their rents will diminish or cease. If this be neither just nor proper, it is equally unjust and improper to relinquish the measures adopted in compliance with inconsiderate clamours.

"I might inform your majesty of many other things which have been done, or are preparing in matters of finance and the Indies, both useful to the crown and favourable to the subject. But this statement is already too long, and it is not right to abuse your royal patience. It is sufficient merely to call to mind the exact accounts of imports and exports, both national and foreign, from the custom houses, which your majesty has caused to be formed during the present ministry, in order to have a complete knowledge of our loss or gain in each branch, and in the balance of commerce. The accounts of the state of the provinces, and their natural

productions and works of industry, which are now required from the different Intendants, are also useful regulations. These investigations, so necessary for the government of your revenue, and even of the whole monarchy, had been neglected; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that your minister of finances succeeded in bringing them to the requisite correctness.

" It is likewise proper to mention the endeavours made to draw advantage from the revenues of Madrid, without oppressing the inhabitants. I will not complain, because my labours and advice to promote this matter have been referred to the most rigorous examination of a junta, which one, more proud than myself, might think contrary to the respect due to his person and employments, and to the disinterestedness and purity of his intentions.

" In affairs of grace and justice, and in the government in general, your majesty has done so many great things during the time I have had the honour to serve you, that they have excited my continual admiration, seeing the magnanimity, promptitude, zeal and firmness, with which you undertake and maintain, whatever designs may be useful to your faithful and beloved people.

30. " The established method of filling bishoprics, prebends, and other ecclesiastical benefices, is an immortal work of the highest utility, both spiritual and temporal, to these kingdoms, if, as there ought to be, great care is taken in its observance. In such extensive dominions, and with a clergy who possess so much influence and power, it is easy to calculate what advantages may be derived from ecclesiastics the most virtuous and learned; from parish priests the most accustomed to labour in their functions, beloved by their flocks, and most zealous for the public good; with a change and alternation in their offices, which will prevent and destroy parties and factions. To this, the regulation for ecclesiastical nominations essentially contributes.

" The civil regulation for the appointment of corregidors and other magistrates, will be another perpetual monument of glory for your majesty, and of your love for justice and the good of your people. On the conduct and integrity of these judges depends, in a great measure, the felicity of your poor subjects, who, not having in general the means of calling for the decisions of the primary tribunals, may be the victims of cupidity,

vengeance, or caprice, if the subordinate magistrates are not as just and upright as your majesty desires. On the other hand, these being the agents of general and particular measures for the public good, and the prime movers of those which it is necessary to solicit or dispatch, it is easy to see how much may be lost, if they are not duly zealous and active. That there may be less risk in these promotions, it has been resolved to take three secret informations, from the persons most distinguished in the province, where the corregidor or alcalde mayor has served. Of these informations a secret book is kept, in which, by alphabetical order, are arranged and compared the notices which have been obtained of the conduct of each magistrate, to advance or throw him back in his career, and to render his promotion proportionate to his merits.

" To the regulation of the corregidorship and civil justice, your majesty has added another for ecclesiastical judges, which will prove no less advantageous, if it is as rigorously observed as hitherto. Notwithstanding your majesty, as patron of the spanish churches, nominated or presented all the bishops, these delegated a part of their authority to their provisors or vicars general, whom they chose without your approbation. Hence, many either had no knowledge or practice in the exercise of justice, conformable to the laws of these kingdoms, or were imbued with maxims contrary to the royal privileges and national customs. From such dangerous sources proceeded fatal consequences, which rendered it often necessary to employ strong measures against such provisors and ecclesiastical judges, to the diminution of the respect due to their office.

" In kingdoms like those of your majesty, in which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is permitted and even authorised, in processes of great interest to the subject, it would be extraordinary that the sovereign should be ignorant of the qualities and appointment of those who are to exercise such a jurisdiction. Still more when your majesty is the patron of the churches, and nominates the bishops who designate these judges. The example given by the head of the church ought to serve as a rule to your prelates. The pope proposes to your majesty the persons whom he destines for the nuntiature, that you may approve or exclude such as you think proper; for no other reason, but because they are to exercise an external jurisdiction in the dominions, and over the subjects of your majesty. Why then should less attention be shewn towards the monarch on

the part of the bishops whom he has nominated, in imparting to him their promotions and waiting his approbation? In fact, your majesty ordered that such nominations should be made of persons who possessed the qualities required by the laws for the judicature; and that notice should be given for your approbation by means of the chamber of Castile. The event has proved the prudence of this precaution, in the obedience and love of justice manifested by the spanish prelates.

31. "To secure the prompt administration of justice, especially in criminal causes, the tribunals of Madrid were ordered to deliver monthly reports of such processes and their state. This precaution being insufficient to remedy the evil in general, your majesty not only resolved that such reports should be made from all the audiences and chanceries; but ordered formularies and rules to be communicated, by means of which, it may be readily known, what is the state of each suit, its commencement and progress, its delays and their cause, with a distinction of those which are begun or existing, in the ordinary tribunals, and those referred to the superior tribunals for consideration or appeal. With these notices, prompt regulations can be made in each cause, and the tribunals and judges are attentive, to avoid complaints.

"In other matters, your majesty has adopted new precautions to promote the general good. Rules have been given to prevent abuses, and the malice of the parties, in judgments of detention; to cut off appeals; and to point out the causes of revision in the affairs of Madrid and its province; to facilitate to artisans and journeymen the scanty payment of their labours, in spite of the privileges and interest of the powerful. You have taken measures that the tribunals may be respected in these and other cases, and that exemptions may not prevent the chastisement of disrespect towards them. That the scholars of colleges and seminaries, and the students of the higher universities, may not be obliged to contract improper or involuntary marriages, the previous licence of the legitimate superiors is rendered necessary, to avoid the expences and trouble of matrimonial suits, and proper precautions taken to ascertain the assent or dissent of the parents, and whether the parties are in sound mind. Finally, your majesty has made provision for so many and such useful things, that it would be endless to recapitulate them.

32. " The regulation of the temporalities belonging to the jesuits of Spain and the Indies, the new method for their administration, and the decision of the causes regarding them, has been another object of your majesty; and it is of superior interest to many of the most important establishments. Before your last resolutions, funds were wanting; the property was lost or deteriorated, obligations and charges were ill fulfilled; processes were endless, and the application of houses and colleges was no longer carried into effect, in consequence of the appeals, malice, or negligence, of those who were interested. Now funds abound, and this important affair is on the point of being concluded, so as to produce the greatest advantage to your subjects, and your own glory, as soon as the annuities payable to the banished jesuits shall expire.

33. " Your majesty has had sufficient firmness to order the construction of general cemeteries in contradiction to vulgar prejudices, and thus to remove from the sacred temples, the abomination of interments, so contrary to the decorum of holy places, and so detrimental to the health of your beloved subjects. Almost all the bishops, academies, corporate bodies, and persons in authority are stimulated by this resolution; and nothing is now wanting, but vigilance, zeal, and exactness in the execution, on the part of the magistrates, and the ministers who have to watch over their conduct.

34. " Your majesty has given such privileges to the arts, that those who exercise them may enjoy hereditary nobility, thus taking away a pretext for idleness and vice, from those who with the title of nobles, notwithstanding their poverty, refuse to apply themselves to active employment.

35. " Your majesty has caused the census or enumeration of your subjects to be taken, with a regularity and exactness never before practised. In consequence of this operation, you have had the satisfaction to witness an increase of above a million and a half in the number of your European subjects. To this increase, and to the knowledge of many hundreds of places and parishes, which has been thus acquired, has been added, that of many thousand contributors, by the diminution of exemptions among all ranks, offices, and professions. Your majesty by the wise regu-

lation, has augmented the number of useful subjects, who assist in the service and defence of the state, without prejudice to the real interests of religion.

"To know the number and quality of the places of this great monarchy, with which, to our shame, we have hitherto been imperfectly acquainted, your majesty has ordered the formation of a geographical Dictionary, which is now printing, and in which, by alphabetical order, are punctually ascertained the quality and situation of each place, even of the meanest hamlet, the district and province in which it is comprised, whether it be royal, seignorial, belonging to an abbey or to an order, and all that is necessary to enable your government to extend its care to the poorest and most remote subject, in the same manner as to the inhabitants of the metropolis, and those nearest your royal person.*

36. "The regulation of remittances to Rome is another point, in which your majesty conferred much good on your subjects, and promoted the establishment of a better discipline in ecclesiastical affairs. The arrangements which your majesty has now ordered for your dominions in Europe, had already been carried into execution in your american territories. This is, that all remittances to the Roman court should pass through the channel of your own embassadors, ministers, or agents. Thus we are enabled to watch over the execution of our laws, and the preservation of the royal prerogatives; over the abuse of favours and dispensations, which interested licentious or ambitious subjects, have too often obtained by false and importunate applications; and over the preservation and improvement of regular and secular discipline. These, Sire, are the true objects of this excellent regulation; and the true means to attain the intended effect. Pecuniary interests are comparatively of less importance than is usually imagined, since the remittances of Spain to Rome are not equal in value, to those of any other catholic power, of similar rank, such as France, Germany, Poland, and others.

* Of this Dictionary, only the two first volumes have been published, comprising Navarre, Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa. It is to be regretted, that circumstances should have prevented the completion of so elaborate and correct a work.

37. " I might here recapitulate other important regulations, in the departments of war, marine, and the Indies, in which you have condescended to employ or consult me. But some have been pointed out in the Instruction of state approved by your majesty; and the relation of others belongs more properly to the zealous ministers of those departments, who have executed your orders.

" I will not, however, omit to observe, that the augmentation of the pay of marine officers, and the establishment of the necessary regulations for arming the third part of the fleet, which has been considerably augmented in your reign, was a project, which although originally suggested by the zeal of Don Antonio Valdes, yet could not take effect till it was discussed and approved in the council of state. You referred to me on the subject, and acceded to the advice of the council, on the necessity of paying due attention to the marine department. The same thing happened, with regard to the charge for the clothing of the army. On this subject, I may aver, as your majesty knows, that there is scarcely a general of any merit, or even an officer of inferior rank, of whom I have not been the voluntary agent with your majesty, for your favours and rewards; because I deemed it expedient for your service and the good of the country. Possibly this truth may not be believed or acknowledged by some of those who have profited by my good offices; but it is known to your majesty, and this is sufficient for me. I have, in this instance, overcome the temptation of forming a list of these officers, beginning with the captains general of the army, to whom you condescended to testify the truth of my assertions with your royal declaration. I have confined myself to these general remarks, not to excite the shame of some who would be mortified, were it said, that they are indebted to a man whom, without cause, they have endeavoured to discredit and persecute.

38. " Lastly, I will not omit to mention here, what you were pleased to direct, in regard to the formal establishment of the supreme junta of state, and the necessity of carrying into effect all the points of its Instruction, if we desire that this great monarchy should increase in power, lustre, and felicity. I consider this happy establishment as the greatest, most necessary, and most useful of all those which your majesty has formed. For the same reason it is, and will be most attacked by

domestic and foreign enemies; and hence it is necessary to be vigilant in resisting their insidious attempts.

" The junta of state was accustomed to assemble long before my entrance into the ministry; and on this footing it continued till the close of the last war with Great Britain. Then the meetings began to be less frequent and assiduous, because affairs became less urgent. Don Antonio Valdes, who succeeded in the ministry of the marine, on the death of the marquis of Castejon, encountered various obstructions in the execution of many matters, and especially of those relating to the Indies, in consequence of some disagreements between the secretaryships of the Indies and marine, and their respective chiefs. Other difficulties were not wanting, though of less moment, in the other secretaryships. With this motive, Valdes frequently represented to me the necessity of our assembling, to clear up and settle the points of difference, and to avoid those heats and dissensions which are usually derived from correspondence and memorials, to the detriment of your majesty's service and the public good.

" I appreciated the propriety of this advice. I pressed my other colleagues to assemble more frequently; and represented to your majesty the necessity of giving a formal and permanent existence to the junta of state, with the requisite solemnity, and with a minute Instruction for each of the different departments of state, grace, and justice, war, the Indies, marine, and finance. Your majesty acceded to the proposal; and I drew up the Instruction, amounting to 443 articles. You had the patience to hear it read; and to employ the space of almost three months, after the ordinary business of the despachos was concluded, in making additions and amendments. This preceded the regular formation of the junta. It now remains to examine its objects, and the malignant aspersions to which it has been exposed.

" The principal objects of the junta of state, according to the royal decree of its foundation, July 8, 1787, are twofold, namely, to treat of affairs, from which general rules may be drawn, and to examine the disputes between the secretaryships of the despacho, and the superior tribunals, if these should not have been decided in proper meetings, or if from their importance or other motives, it should be proper to quicken the decision. To these two objects alone, the provisions of the decree refer, in which are specified the subjects to be submitted to the junta, as well in matters of state and foreign affairs, as in those of grace and justice, war, marine, the Indies, finance and commerce.

" In addition to these two principal objects, your majesty ordered, that the proposition for the nomination of officers to situations belonging to distinct departments, such as the political and military, or political and financial, should be brought forward in the junta. By the same decree, the proposition was to be made by the secretary to whose department it belonged. He was to propose such deserving persons as he thought proper, in order, that after taking the opinion of the junta, he might render an account to your majesty of such a nomination or resolution as had been recommended. Your majesty ordered in general, that the opinions of the junta should be presented by the secretary to whose department the affair in agitation belonged, except when for dispatch, or other reasons, your majesty or the junta should charge another secretary with the communication.

" The advantages of these regulations are so visible, that I ought to save your majesty the trouble of hearing them again, having already represented them before the publication of the decree. But if by chance this statement should fall into other hands, as it naturally may, and should conduce, at a future period, to call to memory the valid reasons which induced your majesty to form this important regulation, I intreat you to permit me to specify some of its consequences.

" The first is the examination and combination of the different interests and relations of the different branches of administration; each secretary and minister of the junta concurring with the knowledge and experience acquired in his department, in the settlement of all general regulations. Any one may comprehend the use, or rather the necessity, of this combination; but I will give an example from the resolutions of your majesty, in times long before the commencement of my ministry.

" In 1770, when we were threatened with a war with Great Britain, it was necessary to examine the state of our army, and to complete the great deficiency of the troops. Your majesty gave orders for the formation of a junta in the war department, which was filled by Don Juan Gregorio Muniain, and you desired that, besides the ministers, it should be composed of the count d'Aranda, who was president of the council, and the two fiscals, the count of Campomanes and myself. In that junta, although employed in military regulations, both your majesty and the persons who composed it, were convinced that it was necessary to have the assistance and advice of those who were intrusted with the political affairs of the monarchy.

" The deficiency of the army, according to its ordinary constitution, was found to exceed 18,000 men, and it was evidently necessary to devise means for filling this deficiency, both then and in future, that we might not find ourselves a second time exposed to similar difficulties, if war should actually take place. In fact, the deficiency could only be supplied by other subjects, who were not soldiers; and for that end, it was necessary to know the strength of the towns; the number of persons capable of service; the means of drawing them forth without oppression; the funds for the expence, and other minutiæ, of which those alone who were charged with the government of the towns, could have an intimate and practical knowledge. We escaped from our momentary straits, by availing ourselves of the provincial militia to complete the veteran regiments, and granted a reduction of the term of service, and various favours to those who were to be drawn from the provincial bodies. For the future, it was resolved to form an ordinance for recruiting the army. Of this, I sketched the outline, and it was afterwards drawn up in form, by the count of Campomanes and myself, both of us giving proper explanations to the council of war, in the difficulties which successively occurred. For recruiting the militia, it was also evidently necessary to rectify its ordinance; and the business was equally confided to us, the two fiscals, jointly with the inspectors of infantry and militia. We commenced our meetings; but I left the business, in consequence of my ministry at Rome.

" I do not now pretend that what was settled at that time, was really the best, although I told your majesty with proper frankness and truth, that, with a few additions and amendments, with more facilities to the towns to furnish their contingents, and with other aids and expedients, which I have meditated, the completion, and even the augmentation of the army would be regular and invariable, without giving any cause of complaint. I will, however, abstain from entering into a matter which [redacted] confided to me. I will [redacted] only repeat, that this example proves is no longer [redacted] the necessity of uniting the knowledge of different departments, in the establishment or reform of general rules, for any department in particular.

" The new ordinance relating to forests, which your majesty proposed to form, with relation to those belonging to the jurisdiction of the marine, has been confided to me, and it will be proper to examine it in a junta of state, and even in other meetings, composed of skilful and experienced persons. Although timber belongs to the marine, yet it must be raised in

the lands, and within the boundaries of the towns and villages, and must be planted and preserved by your subjects, with proper funds and resources, and under due restrictions. All this knowledge is peculiar to the department of state, united with that of the marine. I say as much of the innumerable objects embraced by the departments of war and marine, and those of state, grace, and justice, finance and the Indies. How can a treaty be properly concluded, or vigorously maintained, if we do not unite for this purpose a knowledge of our strength by sea and land, and the interest of the monarchy in its acquisitions or cessions? And in business of finance and commerce, how can we act with prudence without a practical knowledge of our necessities and obligations, particularly in the branches of war and marine, and the abilities and situation of those who are to contribute? Or how can we combine the interests and felicity of the subjects in the Indies with those of the metropolis, if the ministers of both departments do not concur with their experience and knowledge?

"In this first advantage, is comprised the second, which consists in preventing by mutual agreement, and the decision of disputes, the contradictory regulations which might otherwise emanate from different departments. How injurious would this contrariety of resolutions be to the royal authority, and the reputation of the sovereign! How detrimental would their execution be to the subject! Have we not had melancholy experience of these truths in past times?

"The third advantage is, that in the juntas, all the ministers take a share in the decision of important affairs, even though not belonging to their respective departments. Hence, all feel a species of personal interest in their execution. Even should the minister who suggested the plan be removed, the rest remain to continue and support it, with his successor, because they know the motives for its adoption. Thus the junta becomes an useful depository of general regulations, and will attend to their execution, and prevent the facility of changing them under a new government, from whence so many evils have resulted to the monarchy.

"Another and fourth advantage is the more accurate investigation, which the ministers themselves will employ in the affairs to be laid before the junta, and the greater care of their officers in drawing up extracts, when they know that three or four colleagues of the chief are to examine the matter, and the possibility of their discovering omissions or errors of importance. All men resemble each other. However diligent and active,

we cannot avoid confiding in others, more particularly when we consider the number and weight of the affairs which overwhelm us. Our confidence is diminished when we perceive that we may mistake, and that it is easy to discover our errors, and render us responsible. Then we redouble our attention, and thus contribute much to enable your majesty to form your resolutions with greater certainty and effect. You cannot yourself inspect all, or even the greater part, of the matters carried into execution. Hence, the more closely they are previously investigated in a junta of ministers, the more assured your majesty will be of the facts on which your regulations are established.

" I finish with the fifth advantage, the greater facility of attaining the end designed, by the advice and opinions of many, rather than by those of one alone, especially in grave and important matters. The conduct of all the cabinets of Europe, who unite the different ministers in a council, and even the former conduct of Spain, proves this advantage. Moreover it should be noticed, that when the councils and juntas are held only in private houses, and for weighty matters, which occur at the instant, they awaken the attention of the idle, or those who are interested to discover the secrets of state. Whereas if the meetings are usual, the greatest and most private matters may be investigated without affording a motive to watch them, or exciting suspicion and curiosity.

" From the decision of disputes in urgent matters of small import, which are transferred from the superior tribunals to the junta, results the sixth advantage, namely, of facilitating the dispatch of many affairs, which from the contentions or etiquette of the tribunals, or the blameable management of those who are interested, remain long in suspence. The occurrence of these delays is too notorious and too frequent to need any waste of time in defending this truth.

[redacted]ly, by seeing in the junta the propo[redacted]ve to employments [redacted]nches or depa[redacted]positions relati[redacted]dvantage, that " Finan[redacted] belonging to two bra[redacted]rtments, there is this adva[redacted]tes pro- your majesty becomes acq[redacted]inted with the qualities of the candidat[redacted] posed, and from the informa[redacted]tion of those relating to each branch, you chuse the fittest. One whom we [redacted]night wish to make intendant of the army, may be very intelligent and expe[redacted]rienced in affairs of finance, and very ignorant in those of war. Another w[redacted]hom we wish to nominate intendant and corregidor, may have a knowle[redacted]dge of policy and government, and want that of finance and taxation. A[redacted] military governor may be a great soldier and

soldier and bad politician, from the want of knowledge, prudence, or experience.

" It was repeatedly determined in former times, that propositions relating to two branches of state, should be arranged by the ministers of both. This is now superseded by the maxim, that this decision shall be made in the junta of state, where all the ministers assemble. What will a minister who conveys the proposition to your majesty, risk in hearing the opinion of his colleagues, especially of him who is charged with the other department, to which the affair belongs? Once more, provided that such a minister is not deprived of the right to propose, by the decision of the junta, nor your majesty of the liberty to choose whom you please, what harm can ensue, if the said minister should be assured of the fidelity, qualities, and fitness of those he may recommend? Such being the case, the attacks of malignity have been directed against truths so evident and invariable. According to malicious censors, the junta is nothing but an invention to controul the free choice of the sovereign, and a contrivance by which the minister of state may appropriate the authority of every department, and dictate to his colleagues.

" Will not your majesty have more persons of merit, from whom to make your choice, should some candidates be recommended by the junta, who did not occur to the secretary? Will not your majesty acquire more certain information, by hearing the opinion of different ministers, whether against some of the candidates there be any objection, or whether there may be more aptitude and ability in some than in others? Sire, let us undeceive ourselves. Those who diminish their authority by this investigation, are we, the ministers and our dependents; and in proportion as ours is lowered, that of your majesty rises. This is the truth, and the rest is a mere pretence of the ambitious, to facilitate their own views, by communicating with a single person, or with a subaltern, whom they may deceive or gain. The minister of state remains under controul, as well as the affairs which are pointed out by the royal decree; and thus, far from augmenting his authority, as is pretended by unjust censurers, he diminishes it.

" All the malice of these enemies to the public good, arises from their having pretended, with a view to render the junta of state odious, that it was formed to interfere in every thing; whereas it is only to treat of general arrangements, or of those which form general rules, to decide disputes,

in urgent matters of small import, and to hear propositions relative to employments, which belong to two departments, that it may be enabled to make proper representations, by means of the very ministry to which the proposition belongs. If your majesty refers other particulars to the junta, it is because it is your pleasure, and not according to its constitution.

"I have deemed it right to make this digression, because the formal institution of the junta of state being one of the greatest and even the most useful regulation of your glorious reign, it is just that it should be seen in its true point of view, and that it should be firmly supported against those who are hostile to the happiness of the monarchy, and the glory of the crown.

39. "I will not now enlarge on other things which have been accomplished in the last twelve years, to the great comfort of your majesty. The domestic peace of your family, the exemplary subordination of the successor to the crown, and of his brothers, to their august father, and the harmony of all, have been envied and admired by the courts of Europe. Your majesty knows, and the prince of Asturias likewise, whether I have not laboured efficaciously to promote this great operation of your policy and love, towards your most worthy son and faithful subjects. Indeed I have employed continual diligence and zeal, in counteracting the whispers and falsehoods formerly employed, to indispose the minds of a loving father and his obedient sons.

"The formation of a fund drawn from certain commanderies to provide for the second and third sons of the king, by pontifical authority, without burthen to the crown; and the secularisation of the priory of St. John, with its perpetuity in the august family of your majesty, are works of your great foresight, and fatherly cares for your beloved issue. Finally, there is scarcely an object of importance which has not occupied your royal attention during your happy reign. I have confined myself, however, to your principal acts and regulations during my ministry; but I may call to mind others anterior, in which you condescended to give me a share, and which by subsequent improvement have since produced many advantages.

"The *indulgence*, which extended to the kingdom of Aragon the same privilege as Castile, by permitting the use of flesh on Saturdays, extinguished at once fifty-two lent days, of which foreign nations profited to

draw from us large sums of money by the sale of their dry and salt fish. Similar was the indulgence of lent for all the kingdoms of this crown, by which the fast days were diminished one half, and the alms derived from this abolition, were applied to the succour of the poor, of workhouses and hospitals. The *indulgence* for reducing the asylums to a single church in each town, and to two at most in the capitals, had been solicited by king Philip the fifth, in the pontificate of Clement the 13th. King Ferdinand seeing the difficulties which the court of Rome opposed to this solicitation, ordered it to be confined to the cities of Madrid and Barcelona, but with no better success. Your majesty charged me with this matter, and the indulgence was obtained for all your dominions, as it subsists at present.

40. " Your majesty knows what I did by your order, to adjust the differences of the court of Rome, with those of Spain, France, Naples, and Parma, difficulties which all believed insuperable; and to obtain the brief for the extinction of the formidable body of jesuits, which was effected with the consent of the principal catholic powers. These and other delicate and important matters, which you deigned to commit to me, as well in your own affairs, as in those of other courts, could only be facilitated by means of the confidence which your majesty condescended to repose in me; and the goodness with which I was favoured by pope Clement the 14th, and by Pius the 6th, actually reigning. The regulations relative to those who were implicated in the insurrection of Malta; the termination of the discords at Venice relative to the Patriarchate; the secularisation of the revenues of the archbishopric of Monreal in Sicily, were among other negotiations of the most difficult kind, with which your majesty charged me, and which were successfully terminated.

" Most of our success in our solicitations at the court of Rome, has been owing to the influence which your majesty obtained in the conclave for the election of the present pontiff, and the credit which you have acquired in the papal court. To conclude this statement, your majesty will please to permit me to sum up the principal occurrences of that conclave, of which you desired to be minutely informed, as well as of my conduct towards the cardinals of the crowns and others.

" The death of Clement the 14th left the sacred college divided into great and violent parties. The most powerful was that called the Celantes, or adverse to the crowns, which being inflamed by the ex-jesuits and their

numerous protectors, pretended that the chair of St. Peter required a firm and vigorous pontiff, to re-establish the rights of the holy see, which they supposed lost or infringed; and to repair the injuries which they imputed to his predecessor. By these insinuations, the party of the Celantes shewed that if they could procure the election of such a pope as they desired, he would labour to reverse the acts of Clement the 14th; and for that purpose would disturb the peace of the church, and of the catholic powers. The renovation of the Bull *in Cená Domini* alone, of which the publication had been suspended by order of Pope Clement, was capable of producing the most fatal consequences. If to this was added the restoration of the jesuits, and the renewal of the troubles occasioned by Pope Rezzonico, in Parma, Spain, France, Naples, and Portugal, terrible disturbances would have ensued.

"These circumstances rendered it necessary to form a party in the sacred college, which might amount to a few votes more than the third part of the cardinals. Your majesty knows that the election of the pope cannot be verified, unless the suffrages of two thirds of the electors assembled in the conclave, concur. With one third part and the addition of one or two votes more, which we the ministers of France and Spain succeeded in uniting in favour of the crowns, we had a permanent exclusion, for preventing the choice of a pope who was not acceptable to us. The great difficulty was to preserve the union of the 16 or 17 votes which formed this third part, and to promote their augmentation; a thing which was full of difficulties, considering the temper, age, interests, and connections of each. I assure your majesty, that on this point I employed continual vigilance; and that it is not possible to exaggerate my pains and difficulties. The cardinals Bernis and Luines, especially the first, who was charged with the vote of France; Conti, who was charged with that of Portugal; and Orsini with that of Naples, assisted to the utmost of their power. But shut up in the conclave, and subjected to its formalities, they could not manage the external arrangements, which in that court have the greatest influence. Cardinal de Solis arrived late in the conclave, and although he strenuously exerted himself, yet the want of local knowledge, and of an acquaintance with the characters of persons and the language, exposed him to insuperable difficulties.

"I reflected that if we lost this power of exclusion, that which is called the vote of the crowns, would little avail us, being by custom con-

fined to only one of the candidates, and this before the election is verified. We were consequently exposed to this alternative; either to find a pope chosen before we knew it, as happened to cardinal Portocarrero and D. Alonso Clement, in the election of Clement the thirteenth; or after having given the exclusion to one, two, or three, to see the Celantes elect a violent member of their own party. These and other inconveniencies induced me to recur to another expedient, as solidly founded as it was bold, according to the ideas of the time. I found in the antient canons, and in the primitive bulls, which treat of the election of prelates, and especially of popes, that although the choice belongs to the clergy, yet the consent of the people ought to concur. I then firmly declared, that the sovereigns being the heads and representatives of the Christian people, their consent ought to accompany or precede the election of a pope; and that without such an acquiescence, the election would be null, the church exposed to a schism, and Rome to a thousand disasters, amidst the agitations of party.

"The strength of my arguments, supported by the well affected cardinals, especially by cardinal Bernis, who desired the peace of the church and the tranquil conclusion of the conclave, produced the desired effect, and induced the whole sacred college to agree in the principle of concerting the election with the two crowns. However, after a conclave of about three months, it yet remained to find a person who might be agreeable to all. The Celantes had declared for the two brothers, the cardinals Colonna, prelates of rank and credit from their birth and manners; but the very austerity of their morals and their known principles in regard to the Roman immunities and pre-eminence, rendered them improper for the system of tranquillity and harmony which was now adopted by the courts and the sacred college.

"I was conscious that with a third of the votes maintained with the utmost difficulty, it was impossible to select a pope from among our own friends. I therefore proposed to your majesty to direct our views to one of the contrary party, who, by his knowledge, temper, principles, and the consciousness of owing his election to Spain, might be disposed to favour us in all things consistent with justice. I had already had an official and confidential intercourse with cardinal Braschi, while treasurer of the holy see; and had observed in him a frank, although hasty temper, uncommon knowledge, a generous character, strict fidelity to his word, and a love of

glory.* This cardinal had begun his career under Benedict the 14th, and although attached to the Celantes from gratitude to the Rezzonicos, it was evident that his erudition and principles were far different from those of ordinary * * * *

"I was assisted in these observations by another cardinal, since dead, who was devoted to the crowns; and after having sounded by his means the true principles of his friend, Cardinal Braschi, I represented to your majesty that this was the only expedient, to close with honour and advantage so long and so contested a conclave. The hint was approved; I had the good fortune to obtain the assent of all the embassadors and ministers of the crowns, including some who were moved with personal enmity against Braschi; and they placed the commission in my hands. The sacred college readily followed their example. Accordingly on the morning of the 14th of February 1775, I wrote billets to cardinals de Solis, Bernis, Orsini, Conti, and Migazzi, who had the votes of Spain, France, Naples, Portugal, and Vienna, notifying that it was settled to proceed to the unanimous election of him who has been since called Pius 6th.

"A particular circumstance occurred in the scrutiny of the morning, which shews the influence of the king of Spain in the conclave. Almost all the cardinals being assembled in the Sixtine chapel for the election; and informed, by my billets, of the disposition of the crowns towards Braschi, they began to deposit their votes *open* in the chest. When they had thus declared themselves, cardinal de Solis, who had been retarded by accident, entered; and not having received my billet, he refused to give his consent in the name of your majesty to the continuance of the election. Although the other cardinals of the crowns shewed him my billets, they could not convince him; he even protested against their choice. This protest astounded and embarrassed the whole sacred college: without further dispute, the cardinals withdrew their votes from the chest, and made another scrutiny. At the conclusion of the act, however, as they went out of the chapel, my billet reached Solis. Without a moment's delay, all the cardinals unanimously concurred in acknowledging and

* These few expressions present a faithful portrait of Pius the sixth, who certainly performed many great and useful works during his pontificate; but whose principal defect was an inordinate love of glory. On this defect, a pasquinade was published at Rome alluding to his arms, of which the supporters were eagles, and the bearings stars, fleurs de lis, and a puff of wind,

"Redde aquilam imperio, gallorum lilia regi,
"Stellas redde Polo, cetera Brasche, tibi."

adoring Braschi that very evening, as the successor of St. Peter, and proclaimed the election on the following day.

" It would be idle to describe the glory and happy consequences of this event; unexampled for Spain, and even for all catholic nations, since it is acknowledged by your majesty and all enlightened men. The new pope has not deceived our hopes, since he has not only favoured the just desires of your majesty, for the amelioration of the spanish church and the happiness of all your subjects; but has given proofs of priestly mildness, unknown to past ages, in matters the most delicate and perilous, relating to the ecclesiastical government, which have afflicted and still afflict great part of Europe.

" It is now just that I leave your majesty in repose, and finish this diffuse statement. I only request your majesty to turn back the leaf which doubles on the other side, where I mentioned your goodness in condescending to offer me some repose. If I have laboured, it is not unknown to your majesty; and if my health suffers you are apprised of it. Deign then, Sire, to attend to my supplications; and permit me to return to an honourable retreat. If your majesty wishes to employ me in any occupation suited to my profession and experience, I may there execute it with more tranquillity and leisure, and less risk of error. At least, Sire, free me from the continual disquietude of business; from the care of examining the merits of persons for employments, dignities, favours, and honours; from the frequent hazards of mistaking in this and other matters; from the peril of ruining my health, and endangering my life, in the confusion and embarrassment which surround me. Do it, I adjure your majesty, as a king, by the services I have rendered, by the love I bear, and shall always bear to the last moment of my existence to your royal person, and above all, for the love of God our Lord, who, I sincerely pray may preserve your precious life for many and happy years.

Sir,

EL CONDE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

St. Lorenzo, Oct. 1788.

41. *Statement addressed to King Charles IV.*

SIRE,

"The glorious father of your majesty had the goodness to hear great part of the adjoined statement, in your presence. That just, equitable, and adorable sovereign deigned to authenticate the facts which were read to him, with the strong and energetic expression, that what it contained was as true as the gospel. Your majesty yourself heard this approbation of those facts, which were nothing but the most important measures political, military, and civil, of your august father, in the twelve years that I had the honour to serve at his royal feet.

"Your majesty has desired that I would again read to you the whole statement. Without doubt, with the design and firm purpose which you have manifested, to follow the example of so great a monarch in the art of reigning. The beginnings of your government give us reason to hope that Spain and its inhabitants will hereafter reap from these resolutions abundant fruits of happiness and plenty. From the very day in which we had the grief of losing our beloved and deceased king, your majesty expressed to me your ardent desires to comfort and relieve your subjects by all possible means, and that the city of Madrid should be the first to experience some proof of your love and munificence.

"In compliance with these desires, which were supported by the tender insinuations of the queen, your most worthy consort, I proposed the exposition, which I drew up in writing, relative to the remission of the taxes in arrear; the payment of the debts left by your august father; the declaration that it was the duty of the crown to satisfy the others, incurred by your predecessors, by such œconomy as was compatible with the charges of the state; the suspension of the alcavala on wheat; and the reduction, although small, of the price of bread in Madrid, as far as was possible from the scantiness of the harvest, for four years, the general dearness, inundations and misfortunes, and the epidemical disorders that have afflicted most of the provinces, and raised the value of every thing.

"Your majesty, with unspeakable pleasure, adopted these suggestions, and gave them all the perfection which they needed, by the opinion of the junta of state, whose members concurred with their information and expe-

rience. Royal decrees were in consequence expedited, and the applause and gratitude of your good and faithful subjects were equal to the high expectations which they formed from such happy beginnings. To these arrangements were added others, very important for Spain and the Indies. With the celebration of the cortes, and the measures adopted by their concurrence, your majesty has shewn the intimate union which subsists in the body of this monarchy between the head and the members; the subordination, love, and fidelity of these, and the zeal of all for the general good. With regard to foreign affairs, from the first days of your exaltation to the throne, your majesty communicated to the greater sovereigns of the earth, the means of accomplishing a general pacification, with regard to which they had consulted the deceased king. The empire of Germany, that of Russia, England, Sweden, Denmark, and even the Ottoman Porte, had deposited their confidence in the late spanish monarch, in the melancholy moment when he was at the point of death, or had just closed his life.

" Your majesty, following the oracle and precepts which you had heard from the mouth of your beloved father, has facilitated the communications which were desired by the monarchs of such great and powerful nations. May the Omnipotent bless these works, and the purity and rectitude of your intentions, for the immortal glory of your person and reign, and of Spain itself!

" Now, Sire, since the august father of your majesty began, by attesting the truth of the facts contained in my Exposition, condescend to complete the work, and tell the world whether they are or are not true, in all which your majesty has witnessed or known. This is the only reward to which I aspire for my services, to preserve my reputation and that of my family from the gross and cruel calumnies with which, as your majesty knows, my enemies persecute me. It appears to me right that your majesty, as the first judge and protector, should protect and render justice towards a minister who has the honour to serve you. If I obtain this decree from your majesty, I desire and ask nothing more than that you would condescend to listen to the prayers with which I conclude the adjoined representation, addressed to your august father. This is what is hoped from the royal clemency of your majesty, by

EL CONDE DE

St. Lorenzo, Nov. 6, 1789.

FLORIDA BLANCA.

42. ROYAL DECREE.

"Seeing that the facts are true which are related to the king my royal father, and to me, in this Statement, and others which accompany it, as well as in a paper of Observations, joined to the process formed against Don Vincente Salucci, the marquis of Manca, and others, of which the superintendent of police will give a relation himself to the council, in full assembly; the said council will examine and call the whole to mind, and give me its opinion, as well on the chastisement which may be merited by those who shall be proved delinquents, as on the satisfaction which is owing to those who may be calumniated; and the precautions which are proper to prevent their defamation. This is to be executed with great secrecy, and with closed doors, and the papers to be returned to me, although an authenticated copy may remain where it ought.

"To the count of Campomanes."

ALTHOUGH favoured by the confidence of the sovereign, Florida Blanca was opposed by a strong party, secretly instigated by the queen. Two of this party, the banker, Salucci, an Italian, and the marquis of Manca, a spaniard, who had been employed in several diplomatic missions, wrote two bitter satires against his administration, one under the title of "Conversacion que tuvieron los Condes de Florida Blanca y de Campomanes, en Julio de 1788," (a Conversation between Florida Blanca and Campomanes, &c.;) and secondly, "Confesion del Señor Conde de Florida Blanca, papel que se cayò de la manga al padre comisario general de S. Francisco, 1789," (Confession of Count Florida Blanca, a paper which fell from the sleeve of the father commissary general of St. Francisco.) These papers appear to have given rise to the preceding Statement; and afterwards to an answer to the second satire, under the title of "Observations on the paper intitled Confession, &c." by Florida Blanca himself. To these a reply was made, under the title of "Notes on the Statement." Meanwhile, under the reign of Charles the IVth, a process was com-

menced in the council of Castile, against the authors of the satire; and these compositions were submitted to the council, as will appear by the decree just cited. The two satirists were arrested, but Salucci escaped to his native country, and Manca was imprisoned.

However, the opposition of Florida Blanca to the rise of the new favourite, Godoy, afterwards Prince of Peace, excited the resentment of the queen; and advantage was taken of the circumstances of this process, to discredit him with the king. To obtain the disgrace of Florida Blanca, d'Aranda was recalled, in Feb. 1792, and placed at the head of administration. But when the promotion of Godoy was secured, the subordinate agents of this political farce were dismissed from the scene. After a short confinement, Florida Blanca was permitted to retire, d'Aranda was sacrificed, and died in 1802, and Manca was either banished, or prudently withdrew to his native country, Burgos.

In 1808, soon after the commencement of the late revolution, Florida Blanca was again called into public life, and appointed one of the Central Junta. But unfortunately, either from his advanced age, or the difficulties of his situation, he gave no proofs of his characteristic energy and activity. He died in the following year.

APPENDIX, No. II.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SPAIN.

Geography—Population—Government—Revenue—Army—Navy.

THE ordinary division of Spain into kingdoms and provinces, as given in maps and geographical treatises, was not employed by the government, which knew but one general division, *viz.*

I. The kingdom of CASTILE.
II. The kingdom of ARAGON.
III. The lordship of BISCAY.

I.—THE KINGDOM OF CASTILE.

Provinces.	*Divisions.*
1. New Castile	Guadalaxara.
	Madrid.
	Toledo.
	Cuenca.
	La Mancha.
2. Estremadura.	
3. Murcia.	
4. Grenada, called also Upper Andalusia.	
5. Andalusia	Jaen.
	Cordova.
	Seville.
6. Old Castile	Burgos.
	Soria.
	Segovia.
	Avila.

Provinces.	*Divisions.*
7. Leon	Leon.
	Palencia.
	Toro.
	Valladolid.
	Zamora.
	Salamanca.
8. Asturias.	
9. Galicia.	
10. Navarre.	

II.—The Kingdom of ARAGON.

1. Aragon.	
2. Catalonia.	
3. Valencia.	
4. Balearic Isles	Majorca.
	Minorca.
	Iviza and Fromentera.

III.—The Lordship of BISCAY.

1. Guipuscoa.
2. Alava.
3. Biscay proper.

The town of Antequera, on the borders of Seville and Grenada, is not included in any of the Spanish provinces.

COLONIES AND SETTLEMENTS.

In AFRICA.

Ceuta.
Oran.*
Melilla.
Masalquivir.*

* Oran and Mazalquivir were abandoned in 1792.

Canary Islands ..... Ferro.
Tenerif.

IN ASIA.

Phillippine Islands .... Mindanao.
Lusson or Manilla.
Leyta.
Ibabao, &c.
Ladrone or the Marianne Isles.
Caroline, including the Palaos or new Phillippine Islands.

WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

1. Cuba.
2. St. Domingo, or Hispaniola.
   The largest, or western part, belongs to the Spaniards;* the remainder to the French.
3. Puerto Rico.
4. Trinidad.†
5. Margareta.
6. Tortuga.

NORTH AMERICA.

Florida, East and West.
Louisiana.
New Mexico ..... New Mexico.
New Navarre.
California.
Old Mexico, or New Spain .... New Biscay.
Culiacan.
Guadalaxara.
Panuco.
Mechoacan.
Mexico.
Tlascala.
Guaraca.
Chiapa.

* The Spanish part of St. Domingo was ceded to the French in one of the late compulsory treaties.
† Since ceded to England.

(Old Mexico, or New Spain, continued.)	Tabasco.
	Yucatan.
	Guatimala.
	Honduras.
	Nicaragua.
	Costa Rica.
	Veragua.

SOUTH AMERICA.

New Grenada, or Terra Firma ...	Land of Darien, or Panama.
	Coro.
	Carthagena.
	Santa Martha.
	Rio de la Hacha.
	Popuyan.
	Venezuela.
	New Andalusia.
	New Grenada.
Part of Guiana.	
Quito.	
Peru	Lima.
	Chili.
Rio de la Plata	South Peru.
	Tucuman.
	East Chili.
	Spanish Paraguay.
	Paraguay.
	Rio de la Plata.
	Buenos Ayres.

SINCE the war of the succession the Population of Spain has been gradually increasing. In 1727, it was estimated by Uztariz at 7,500,000, though evidently under the real amount. In the reign of Charles the third the first census was taken, under the administration of d'Aranda, in 1768; according to which, the amount was 9,307,804. During the ministry of Florida Blanca, in 1787, a second census was taken, of which we present the result, and by which it appears that the increase in nine years was 960,346.

RETURN OF THE POPULATION OF SPAIN IN 1787.

PROVINCES.	PLACES.								NUMBER OF SOULS.						
									Unmarried.		Married.		Widowed.		Total Number of Souls.
*These are detached farms, with cottages for labourers.	Cities.	Towns.	Villages.	Hamlets.	Farms.*	Parks.	Wastes.	Parishes.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	
Andalusia	15	163	24	65	15	11	6	303	219,770	191,141	132,589	131,445	20,666	42,542	738,153
Aragon	12	239	999	89	6	120	149	1,396	178,762	151,009	121,711	121,095	15,264	26,229	614,070
Avila	1	82	202	-	-	-	-	74	299	33,017	29,728	21,907	21,752	2,769	4,589	113,762
Burgos	7	715	1,118	38	59	14	43	1,947	125,850	126,703	89,094	89,686	9,410	19,652	460,395
Old Castile	1	54	148	52	-	-	81	34	276	20,628	19,424	14,806	14,816	1,442	2,764	73,890
Catalonia	14	283	1,683	103	21	47	304	1,682	222,369	225,392	146,630	151,195	18,671	37,345	801,602
Cuidad Real, or La Mancha	2	94	1	45	414	14	11	111	58,808	51,331	40,322	39,162	4,878	9,935	204,436
Cordova	4	54	5	34	1	2	28	75	65,205	65,230	40,492	40,611	6,121	13,480	231,139
Cuenca	2	240	37	152	-	-	-	46	458	72,373	67,150	53,619	53,665	6,835	10,285	263,927
Estremadura	7	228	-	-	130	-	-	-	-	415	118,018	102,202	81,361	80,803	11,014	18,643	412,041
Gallicia	7	77	3,425	-	-	-	147	-	-	3,683	364,313	394,633	243,568	243,568	33,321	60,789	1,340,192
Grenada	15	180	155	12	-	-	25	2	490	187,305	176,907	120,484	121,389	14,243	32,662	652,990
Guadalaxara	2	180	119	-	-	1	-	-	22	251	32,327	28,385	22,418	22,266	2,960	4,394	112,750
Jaen	5	57	13	-	-	-	-	15	12	118	58,895	47,396	31,777	29,082	2,114	4,211	173,475
Leon	2	197	1,140	-	-	-	-	-	6	1,373	70,514	68,832	46,869	46,869	5,813	9,271	248,168
Madrid	-	-	68	8	-	-	-	2	40	91	16,498	13,619	11,963	11,983	1,611	2,599	58,273
Town of Madrid	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	42,057	33,275	30,215	28,313	3,505	10,178	147,543
Murcia	6	64	38	104	-	-	-	-	-	101	97,415	82,811	66,254	65,264	6,227	14,503	332,474
Palencia	1	130	175	-	-	11	1	-	-	315	30,207	29,501	22,607	22,309	2,265	4,254	111,143
Salamanca	2	131	451	-	-	182	-	-	28	381	61,637	54,795	38,407	39,128	4,588	7,552	206,107

Segovia	1	110	288	-	-	13	9	74	314	48,060	42,140	32,952	32,830	3,696	6,077	165,805
Soria	4	135	497	-	-	25	-	75	664	45,937	43,899	35,234	34,999	3,416	5,918	169,413
Toledo	2	224	94		5	17	17	127	375	93,481	81,068	64,664	64,274	8,385	15,711	327,583
Toro	1	82	239	-	-	4	10	70	39	25,570	24,340	18,080	17,947	1,994	3,601	91,532
Valencia	9	161	378		10	-	-	-	-	562	219,670	194,521	156,268	156,200	15,175	30,047	771,881
Valladolid	2	174	228		38	17	11	87	555	54,769	54,444	37,177	37,030	4,207	8,034	192,661
Majorca	2	33	26		19	-	-	4	1	39	40,662	34,736	24,184	24,189	2,882	8,134	134,787
Minorca	-	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	7,763	7,213	5,441	5,441	384	1,486	27,728
Iviza and Fromentera	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	,6	21	4,264	3,725	2,357	2,290	269	722	13,637
Canaries	3	6	151		1	-	-	-	-	74	49,739	54,376	25,673	27,588	2,168	7,699	167,243
Navarre	9	154	638	-	-	29	-	-	8	753	66,147	60,143	41,653	41,444	5,388	9,774	224,549
Asturias	1	69	6	-	-	-	-	81	-	-	688	94,503	101,799	63,886	64,166	7,410	14,069	345,833
Alava	1	91	340	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	435	20,668	19,617	13,416	13,438	1,588	2,583	70,710
Guipuzcoa	2	72	17		27	-	-	-	-	-	120	34,202	36,355	20,139	20,474	2,131	5,827	119,128
Biscay	1	20	-	-	102	-	-	-	-	-	165	30,510	33,058	21,727	21,988	2,013	5,567	114,863
New Colonies	-	-	-	-	14		32	-	-	-	-	15	2,388	1,724	1,620	1,609	209	318	7,868
Aranjuez	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	764	517	577	552	54	129	2,593
Pardo	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	269	103	86	76	16	18	568
San Ildefonso	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1,246	1,011	856	846	79	249	4,287
San Lorenzo, or the Escurial	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	513	445	589	311	77	63	1,998
Oran	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4,987	581	1,407	495	176	147	7,793
Ceuta	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	3,773	795	1,423	686	218	181	1,076
Smaller Garrisons (Presidios)	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	966	140	663	172	126	27	2,094
Total	145	4,572	12,732	1,058	815	611	1,511	18,972	2,926,229	2,753,224	1,947,165	1,943,496	235,778	462,258	10,268,150	

The principal classes are thus computed :

Ecclesiastics.		*Laity.*	
Beneficiaries	23,692	Gentlemen (Hidalgos) . .	480,589
Parochial clergy	16,689	Advocates and Notaries . .	15,528
Curates (Tenientes de Curas)	5,771	Students	50,994
Sextons	10,873	Peasants, or farmers (labradores)	917,197
Persons in orders de patrimonio, having a patrimony of 3 reals a day . .	13,244	Day labourers (jornaleros) .	964,571
Persons in the minor orders	10,774	Traders	34,339
Syndics, or collectors for the mendicant orders . .	4,127	Manufacturers	39,750
Demandantes, probably employed in a similar office.	7,030	Artisans	270,989
Dependents on the Inquisition	2,705	In the royal service	36,465
Dependents on the Cruzada	1,844	Exempted from military service	77,884
Monks, including novices, servants, &c.	61,617		2,888,306
Nuns, *ibid.*	32,500		
Beatas, an order similar to the Beguines	1,130		
	191,996		

According to the general computation, the american population, including the islands, at the latter end of the reign of Charles the third, amounted to 10,000,000 : that of the Philippines and other eastern islands, was estimated at 1,000,000.*

The spanish dominions were also formed into twelve military divisions, exclusive of the places on the african coast, the chiefs of which were distinguished with the title of captains general, except Navarre, of which the governor was styled viceroy. These were Old Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Murcia, Majorca, Navarre, Guipuscoa, Andalusia, coast of Grenada, Galicia, Estremadura, Madrid, and its district.

The civil divisions for the administration of justice were the chanceries of Grenada and Valladolid, the audiences of Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia,

* By the late estimation of Humboldt, the total amount of the american population was 13,500,000; and of the Philippines 1,500,000.

Majorca, Seville, Corunna, Oviedo, the Canaries, and the royal council of Navarre. The heads of the chanceries were styled presidents; those of the audiences, regents. The subordinate magistrates in the different places, were the corregidors, the alcaldes mayores, who were nominated by the king, and the ordinary alcaldes, who were chosen by the corporations.

IN the early periods of spanish history, we find the constitutions of the different states built on the same rude model as those in the neighbouring countries, where the feudal system was established. The whole power of the state was vested in the king, conjointly with an assembly called the cortes, which was formed of the two principal orders of nobles and clergy, and a certain number of deputies, representing the towns most distinguished for wealth and population.

Although this system, with various modifications, prevailed throughout the different kingdoms and provinces; yet when united under one head, the legislative assemblies were not blended into a single body, but each part retained its peculiar constitution and cortes.

In Castile the executive part of government resided in the king; the legislative authority, with the right of imposing taxes, in the cortes, composed of the nobles, dignified ecclesiastics, and deputies of the towns.* They deliberated together, and decided all questions by the majority of voices. The royal assent was necessary to give validity to all acts, but that assent was generally extorted by the refusal of subsidies. In cases of grievance, however, the subject appears to have had no other remedy than by petition to the sovereign.

In Aragon and its dependencies, Valencia and Catalonia, the royal authority was more limited. The cortes of Aragon was composed of four orders, or as they were called, *arms*, because they were considered as *embracing* the whole commonwealth. 1. The ecclesiastical. 2. The titulados,† and nobles. 3. The gentry, or cavalleros and hidalgos.

* In 1390, according to an account given by Clarke, p. 28, the number of deputies summoned was 125, of whom Salamanca and Burgos sent 8 each; other places 4; and some only 1. The number of towns and places to be represented was 48. In the cortes of 1391, there were present 124 depties, from 46 cities and towns.

† The titulados were the eight privileged families of Ribagorza, Sastago, Morata, Ricla, Aranda, Belchite, Fuentes, and Castro. These were the remaining descendents of the twelve nobles, called *ricos hombres*, who assisted in the conquest of Aragon from the Moors. Blancas, p. 15.

4. Deputies of towns.* This assembly, in conjunction with the king, was empowered to remedy abuses, to enact laws, and impose taxes; and till the close of the sixteenth century no act could pass, if negatived by a single member. The cortes, at first annual, were afterwards regularly convened every two years. To this assembly any individual or body might transmit complaints of grievances, or plans of improvement, and such complaints were to be first examined and redressed before supplies were granted, or public business transacted. The points arranged were finally passed into laws, in a general union of the different orders, at which the king presided; and a solemn oath was taken by the monarch, as well as by the orders, to carry them into execution.†

The royal power was still further limited by the privileges of the justiza or supreme judge, who was appointed for life, and whose office was to examine and decide, with the advice of the king and cortes, those complaints in which he was not himself personally interested. He was thus empowered to inspect the conduct of the king; he reviewed the royal decrees; obtained the dismission of ministers, or arraigned them for mal-administration. His tribunal also received appeals from those of the king and barons; and he enjoyed the power of interposing in criminal causes, and removing the accused to the prison of the state, to which he alone had access. He was amenable only to the cortes.

Catalonia and Valencia had each its cortes, composed of three branches, the ecclesiastical, the military, or nobles and gentry, and deputies of towns. These were either held separately, or conjointly with the cortes of Aragon. Navarre likewise possessed its cortes, and Biscay its peculiar states.‡

The constitution of Castile was first changed by Charles the fifth. In 1538, he ceased to summon the prelates and nobles, under the plea that they did not contribute to the public burthens; and thus the cortes, though still preserving the name, from that period consisted only of the deputies of towns. The constitution of Aragon was afterwards invaded by Philip the second, and the office of justiza abolished. The cortes indeed still

* According to Blancas the number of towns which sent deputies to cortes, in general, was 31; but on another occasion, he conjectures that those of only 13 were present. Modo de proceder en Cortes de Aragon, p. 16.

† Blancas modo de proceder en Cortes de Aragon.——Martel forma de celebrar Cortes en Aragon, 4to. Saragossa, 1641.

‡ Diccionario Geografico de España. Art. Navarre.

existed, but were seldom summoned, except on extraordinary occasions, to swear allegiance to the sovereign on his accession, or to acknowledge the heir to the crown. Soon after the accession of Philip the fifth, the cortes of Aragon and Catalonia were assembled for the last time;* in 1713 the constitution was finally abolished, and the government of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, assimilated to that of Castile.

From the account of St. Philip, it appears, however, that in 1713, a species of general cortes was convened, consisting of the three orders of deputies, nobles, and prelates, for the particular purpose of receiving the renunciation of the french crown, made by Philip the fifth, and sanctioning his new law of succession.†

The decline of the cortes naturally gave additional consideration to another body, consisting of a species of permanent committee, called deputies of the kingdoms, who were elected by the three orders, from their own body, and whose office was instituted for the purpose of superintending the administration of the tax called milliones, and watching over the welfare of the monarchy, during the intervals between the sessions of the cortes. These deputies were constituted members of the royal council of finance, through which the monarch communicated to the nation the necessity and imposition of new taxes; and the approbation which they were thus supposed to give, and which they could not with-hold, was considered as equivalent to the formal assent of the cortes. The number of these, after the change in the government of Aragon and its dependencies, was six for Castile, one for Majorca and Catalonia, and one for Valencia and Aragon.‡ Their office was held for six years.

FROM these facts, it appears that the spanish sovereigns gradually threw off all legislative controul, and exercised absolute authority in every part of the monarchy, with the exception of Biscay,§ and perhaps of Navarre.

* Vol. 1, p. 77.

† San Felipe Commentarios de la Guerra de España, t. 2, p. 88.——Vol. 2 of these Memoirs, p. 45.

‡ Under the original constitution, the number for Aragon amounted to eight.

§ From a MS. account of Spain in the British Museum, (Sloane MSS. No. 908) written in the reign of Philip the second, it appears that Biscay was accustomed to render an annual homage to the king, by presenting a purse, at the end of a long lance, containing a single maravedi, the lowest species of coin, in value not quite half a farthing.—In consequence of

The organs of the royal will were the different councils or boards, charged with the various branches of government. These were: the councils of state; of Castile and Aragon; Italy, Flanders, and the Indies; and those of war, marine, finance, and of grace and justice. The councils of Italy and Flanders were abolished on the loss of their territories, and that of Aragon superseded by the change in the constitution.

During the austrian, and at the commencement of the bourbon dynasty, the council of state was the highest deliberative body of the realm, and appears to have occasionally exercised some of the functions originally belonging to the cortes. It was consulted on occasions of the highest importance, deliberated on the general concerns of the monarchy, and recommended the appointment of viceroys, governors, and embassadors. Its authority was first reduced by Alberoni; and it fell into such disuse, that towards the close of Philip's reign, only one member remained. After that period, new members were again appointed; but the places in general were merely titular, and chiefly valued for the pension and honours attached to them.

The council of Castile, called by way of pre-eminence *the council*, though equally filled by the nomination of the king, possessed an extensive influence in the operations of internal government. Its functions were judicial as well as administrative; and it was divided into chambers or boards, according to the different departments of which it took cognizance. The chief was a grandee of the highest rank, with the title of president. He enjoyed the privilege of a weekly audience of the king in private, and when a member of the despacho, he took the lead in the transaction of business. In consequence of the power which he possessed by this union of personal consideration with ministerial influence, the office was mostly suspended during the latter part of the bourbon period, and its functions exercised by a person of inferior rank, with the title of governor.*

The *chamber* of Castile was an emanation from this council, consisting of a species of committee, not exceeding six members, with the president or governor. Their office was to convey to the king the resolutions and

the superior privileges enjoyed by the people of Biscay, and their exemption from onerous burthens, this lordship was more populous, better cultivated, more industrious, carried on a more extensive trade, and was better provided with inns and roads, than any other part of Spain.

* In the early part of this work, I have erroneously called those Presidents, who were only Governors of the council, such as Ronquillo and Montellano.

deliberations of the council, and their name was derived from their co-operation with the ministers of state, in expediting affairs in the *chamber* of the king. In former periods, the chamber of Castile always attended the court; proposed the appointments to offices of state and justice; and became the organ of the monarch in communicating his laws and decrees to the nation at large. It was even addressed in its collective capacity by the same title as the sovereign.

The other councils were equally charged with the administrative and judicial functions in their respective departments.

The body which gave motion to the different parts of this complicated machinery was the universal despacho, consisting of the secretaries or chiefs of the different departments, of which the secretary for foreign affairs or state, was generally considered the chief. These secretaries formed a species of cabinet council, sometimes alone, sometimes in conjunction with other members of administration; and in the period immediately after the accession of Philip, even the french embassador was permitted to take a part in their deliberations. The number of these secretaries was, however, seldom uniform; for in some instances, the same person filled two or more departments, as the Indies and marine; and in others, as in the case of Ripperda, these different offices were united under one head. During the administration of Florida Blanca, a regular cabinet was established, under the title of Junta of State, and rules drawn up for the order of its proceedings, as well as the objects of its deliberation.

From these remarks, it will appear that there was no regular and uniform system of administration; but that the situation and choice of the person who filled the office of prime minister, depended on the will of the sovereign. It will appear likewise that, though the kings of Spain were absolute in the general sense of the term, because all the members of the councils and secretaries were appointed or removed at pleasure; yet they were indirectly controuled, by the power which the councils and boards obtained from extensive patronage, local influence, and the formalities of office.*

IT has been the just and general remark of all who have written on

* This account of the governments has been drawn from a great variety of writers, among whom we may particularly mention Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Ortiz, Desormeaux, Vayrac État de l'Espagne; Blancas and Martel on the Cortes of Aragon; St. Real Science du Gouvernment; the travellers, Clarke, Swinburne, Townshend, Burgoing, Laborde; and Meusel, with other german statistical writers.

Spain and its revenues, that perhaps human invention never formed a system more grievous in itself, more detrimental to public welfare, and more vexatious in its operation, than the public imposts of Spain. This will readily appear from a brief review of the [redacted] branches which formed the great mass of receipts.

The revenues of Spain were generally divided into three classes :

General rents, comprising the customs, indultos, or tax on the traffic with America, posts, and the produce of the royal monopolies of hair powder, sealing wax, quicksilver, sulphur, tobacco, salt, lead, cards, and the duty on stamps.

The provincial rents, comprising the alcavala and cientos, milliones, and the ordinary and extraordinary service.

The territorial revenues, comprising the produce of mines, rights of the chancery, or fines and taxes on titles, offices, and professions; and imposts on the clergy, with some other branches, merely local, or of inferior importance.

The alcavala was one of the most ancient branches of the royal patrimony. It was first partially introduced in 1341 ; and in 1349, finally established throughout the dominions of Castile. It was an impost of ten per cent on every sale or exchange of moveables, immoveables, and productions of every kind, which was paid by the seller, or original proprietor. In recent periods, the amount of this duty was not rigidly exacted. It was either placed under administration, or each town was permitted to commute that part of the tax which was levied on raw materials, manufactures, cattle, and the productions of the soil, for a certain sum according to the extent of its traffic. Ecclesiastics were exempted from the direct operation of this tax, on commodities of their own growth or patrimony.

To the alcavala was afterwards added a similar imposition called cientos or hundredths, of four parts in the hundred, established at four different periods between 1639 and 1644. The alcavala and cientos were consolidated into one imposition, making in the whole a nominal 14 per cent.

The milliones derived their name from a contribution of twenty four millions of dollars, granted in 1601. This tax was a species of excise on certain articles of household consumption, such as wine, flesh, oil, and vinegar, tallow and soap ; and afterwards extended to sugar, salt fish, paper, and other commodities. It might likewise be commuted at the option of particular places or communities, according to the amount of their consumption. It was levied on ecclesiastics, in virtue of a papal bull.

The alcavala and other provincial revenues having been partially anticipated, were charged with a species of perpetual annuities, under the name of pensions.*

The provincial taxes, in their original form, existed only in Castile and its dependencies. In Catalonia they were replaced by the *cadastro*, a tax of ten per cent on all incomes, from whatever source derived, including a proportionate contribution from journeymen and day labourers, and a certain sum for every head of cattle, whether for burthen or provision. In Aragon, and Majorca, by the *equivalent*, a tax on each family in proportion to its number and means; and in Valencia by an *extraordinary imposition*, levied on the same principle, and differing only in amount.

The next branch of revenue in point of importance was the customs, to which may be added the indultos, or duties levied on the trade with the american colonies.

The tax called lanzas was levied on titled persons, in lieu of a certain number of soldiers which they were formerly obliged to furnish in time of war. That of media annata was the amount of half a year's income, levied on all offices, dignities, and employments in the gift of the crown, when conferred, and on physicians and lawyers, on their admission to the exercise of their professions. These, with the taxes on letters of naturalization, dispensations, patents, fines, &c. were called rights of the chancery.

The servicio was an annual subsidy of 441,176 crowns on the personal estates of the pecheros, or commonalty, as distinguished from the hijosdalgo or gentry.

The cruzada† was the produce of the bulls of indulgence for those who

* The reader may judge of the operation of these vexatious taxes by the account of an intelligent and recent traveller, in his description of Seville.

"Every person entering the city with any thing for sale, is required to make an entry and pay his duty, every purchaser in the city to take out a clearance from the proper office. Even a person bringing onions or garlic must wait for the despacho (permit); and after purchasing necessaries for his consumption at home, must again apply for a clearance before he can return. Thus the whole day is lost. The officers of government are multiplied without a correspondent advantage to the expence.

"An ox brought into the city must be first drove to the public slaughter house, where it is killed by an authorised *matador*, who retains as his fee the hide, horns, and hoofs. The duties of alcavala and milliones must be paid, and then a permit issued, allowing the meat to be sold within the walls. These duties amount to as much as the original price; and hence, though oxen are cheap, meat is as dear at Seville as in London." Jacob's Travels in Spain, p. 169.

† Townshend has enumerated the indulgencies granted by this cruzada.

1. To eat flesh on fast days.

contribute to a war against the infidels, which were still annually sold after the motive had ceased. It was vested in the crown by the concordate of 1752.

The clergy, besides the media annata, paid t[illegible]esada, or month's income of certain benefices in the gift of the king[illegible] tercios reales, or royal thirds, a certain portion of the tythes granted for a war against the infidels in 1219, and rendered perpetual in 1487. It was united with the alcavala. Also the subsidio, the escusado, or tythe of the parishes in Castile and Aragon, and the benevolencia.

In addition to these, sinecure benefices of a certain value were charged with an imposition under the name of pensions, amounting in some instances to a third part, and appropriated for the support of charities and other public works. Other supplies derived from church property were the revenues of vacant benefices, and the temporalities of the jesuits and suppressed orders.

Other sources of revenue were the duties on wool, on the passage of the flocks to pastures, on the export of silver, compensation for the lodgment of troops, mines, stamped paper used in legal processes, posts, excises of Madrid, the produce of the royal monopolies, and other local taxes which it would be tedious or needless to particularise.

Biscay contributed only a donative; and Navarre and the Asturias were exempted from the provincial rents.

The revenues of the spanish crown are extremely variable in themselves, and have been still more variously given by different writers, according to their respective systems, or means of information. In 1789, the first official statement published, was given by the marquis of Lerena, minister of

2. For every voluntary fast to be excused from fifteen years, and fifteen times forty hours of penance imposed or due; also to partake of all the prayers, alms, pilgrimages, even to Jerusalem, which may be performed by the church militant.

3. For visiting five altars, or five visits to one altar, plenary indulgence to themselves or any departed friend.

4. Once in life, and once at the time of death, to obtain from the confessor remission even of sins reserved for the pope, and of other sins as often as they confess.

5. Dying suddenly and without confession, to obtain the same plenary indulgence as if dying under contrition.

6. Visiting five altars as above, on the eleven days specified in the Calendar, to deliver a soul from purgatory each day by prayer.

7. Paying for two copies of the bull to obtain double the indulgencies and benefits before enumerated. Townshend's Travels, v. 2, p. 171.

the finances, who thus estimated the produce of the different branches, during the last years of the reign of Charles the third:

Provincial Revenues - - - - -	122,867,678
General Revenues - - - - - -	159,108,172
Tobacco - - - - - - - - -	129,007,414
Salt - - - - - - - - - - -	55,408,934
Wool - - - - - - - - - - -	27,449,246
Powder, &c. - - - - - - - -	8,468,124
Brimstone - - - - - - - - -	369,417
Quicksilver, &c. - - - - - - -	436,844
Cards - - - - - - - - - - -	1,072,649
21 other articles - - - - - -	105,435,720
	609,624,198*

But as the obvious intention of the minister was to shew the merit of his own administration in raising the produce of the revenue, and in covering a deficit of 40 millions, which he acknowledges to have existed at the period of his entrance into office, we may justly suspect, that he rather exaggerated than diminished the amount of the receipts. As a

* Burgoing, from whom this statement is taken, makes the total 616,295,657 reals. Probably there is some omission or error of the press, either in the original or translation.

The real vellon, which is used in accounts, is equal to $2\frac{7}{8}d.$ english money. The reader will therefore obtain a ready and sufficient approximation of the value of the following totals in pounds sterling, by dividing by 100, or cutting two figures at the end.

Townshend has given a comparative table of the revenue from Uztariz in 1722, and ending with an official document communicated by Mr. Liston, on an average of ten years. The following is the result:

Uztariz	232,946,744
Official in 1768, exclusive of the Indian Revenue	292,192,587
Count de Grepy in 1774	749,103,873
Zienowieff the Russian embassador in 1778	707,873,152
Carmichael, average of 5 years	360,375,082
Mr. Liston, average of 10 years	417,264,835
To this we may add the estimate given by Clarke in 1761, of £.5,431,889 sterling, or	450,000,000
Also an estimate of the lowest annual amount in 1788	416,959,844

Of these, Mr. Liston's may be considered as the most accurate statement.

counterpart to his statement, we therefore present to the reader another formed at the same period by the british embassador at Madrid.

General Revenues	151,000,000
Provincial Revenues	91,000,000
Tobacco	95,000,000
Salt	20,000,000
Wool	22,000,000
Brandy	2,500,000
Propios and Arbitrios	6,000,000
Posts and Couriers	14,000,000
Cards	2,500,000
Stamped Paper	4,500,000
Arrendamiento of Madrid, and Customs	8,000,000
Royal Fabric of Crystal Fabric of San Fernando	2,500,000
Effects of Castile	1,000,000
Royal Lottery	6,000,000
Cruzada	14,000,000
Lanzas and Medias Annatas	3,000,000
Masterships of the Military Orders	2,000,000
Medias Annatas of Ecclesiastics	3,000,000
Escusado and Subsidio	12,000,000
Rights of Lodgment	800,000
Pasture of the Serena	140,000
	460,940,000

Townshend gives an official account of the expenditure in 1778.

Royal Household	108,000,000
Military	204,202,194
Naval	100,000,000
Indies	8,000,000
Finance and other Departments	28,775,931
Royal Manufactories, &c.	9,878,288
Interest of Debts and Annual Liquidation	30,000,000
	488,851,413

Travels in Spain, v. 2, p. 182.

It is still more difficult to calculate the general expences than the receipts, particularly during the latter part of the reign of Charles, which was a period of actual war, or warlike preparation. Lerena stated the expence in 1784, at 685,068,068 ; the british embassador calculated the disbursements of 1787, at about [illegible]00,000. In either case there was a considerable deficit.

This deficit was covered by the american revenue, which, though nominally amounting, according to some writers, to near 500,000,000, and to others to 350,000,000; was yet so far reduced by the expences of the colonial establishment, as to give a clear return of about 3,000,000 even in favourable times. In war, however, this branch of the supply was subject to defalcation and loss, and in the recent troubles had been almost wholly absorbed by the additional charges, required for the maintenance of tranquillity.

In estimating the debts of the crown, we cannot suspect the minister of exaggeration, and therefore we adopt without hesitation his statement of 1,543,906,944 reals. Part of this being raised on the church and other property, on the condition of restitution, bore no interest; the remainder consisting principally of the royal vales, or notes issued by the bank of San Carlos, appears to have borne an annual interest of 25,000,000. Of this debt 100,000,000, or about 10,000,000 sterling, may be attributed to the american war.*

Nothing, however, can shew in a stronger light the defective system of the spanish finances, than the circumstance that a debt, so small in comparison with those of other countries, and bearing an annual interest of not more than 300,000*l.* should have proved a source of serious embarrassment to the government.

AT the close of the austrian dynasty, the Army did not consist of 20,000 men, and as we learn from St. Philip, it was in the highest degree inefficient, undisciplined, and ill provided. The war of the succession, and the example of the french, with whom they were united in arms, contributed

* In page 482, line 3 from the bottom, 20,000,000*l.* sterling has been erroneously printed for 10,000,000*l.*

This account of the spanish revenue and system of taxation, is drawn from Uztariz, Ulloa, also Clarke, Townshend, Burgoing, La Borde; and finally from official and other documents collected in Spain; and communications from the spanish ministers, resident in foreign courts, which I obtained while abroad.

to form the troops; and a considerable augmentation took place between 1703 and 1713. In the two most trying periods of that contest, Philip owed the preservation of his throne to the enthusiasm of his spanish subjects, who flocked in crowds to his standard, and proved the energy and resources of the nation when roused into action.

In the subsequent wars of Philip, the spanish troops maintained their character, particularly in Italy; and during the interval between the peace of Utrecht and his death, the military establishment was considerably increased.

In the pacific reign of Ferdinand the army again fell into neglect, from the policy of Ensenada, who directed his principal attention to the navy. Hence, in the succeeding war its inefficiency was deeply felt; and it was fortunate for Spain that her military exertions were principally confined to America, and to the desultory and unsuccessful invasion of Portugal.

At the eve of the rupture with England, relative to Falkland's Islands, its deficiency did not amount to less than 18,000 men. Accordingly, a new system of recruiting, by drafts from the militia, was adopted, and under the vigorous administration of d'Aranda, its organisation, equipment, and discipline, were advanced to the same state of improvement, as had taken place among the military nations of Europe. We learn from Florida Blanca that this new system was continued during his administration; and at no period under the Bourbon dynasty, did Spain possess so efficient a military force, as in the american war.

The convulsed state of Europe, and the maxim which the spanish court adopted after the peace, to preserve such an attitude as was calculated to maintain the public tranquillity, and secure their own independence, did not permit any considerable reduction of the army after the cessation of hostilities. Towards the close of the reign of Charles, the military establishment consisted of

Infantry.

12 battalions of spanish and wallon guards, 700 each	8,400
44 regiments of 2 battalions, 700 each	61,600
	70,000

Cavalry.

Guards and carabineers	regiments, 600 men each - -	1,200
14 regiments, 600	- - - - - - - - - - - -	8,400

Dragoons.

5 regiments	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	4,800
		14,400

Artillery.

1 regiment of 4 battalions, also a company of 127 cadets.

To this department belonged the royal mathematical academy at Segovia, for the instruction of officers and cadets.

A corps of engineers, consisting of 140 officers, and 2 battalions of sappers and miners.

Attached to this branch were the royal mathematical academies at Barcelona and Oran.

Invalids.

46 companies rated as capable, including 5 of artillery.
26 companies incapable of active service.

In 1734 the establishment of 28 provincial regiments of militia took place in the kingdoms attached to the crown of Castile; and in 1766, this force was increased to 42 regiments. These, forming one battalion of 600 men each, amount to 25,200 men. Also one regiment of 2 battalions in Majorca.

In 1762 there was another augmentation of this species of force, consisting of 113 companies of local or town militia, at 100 each, 11,300 men. Also four fixed companies in Catalonia, Aragon, Ceuta, and Oran; and 10 on the coast of Grenada, amounting to 8,000 men.

The provincial and town militias were a respectable and useful force. Like our militia, they were raised by ballot, and in times of peace embodied one month in the year. In time of war, they were called into service with the troops of the line, and were advantageously employed in maintaining internal tranquillity, or defending the frontier. The patriotic zeal and excellent organization of these bodies, contributed essentially to the successful resistance opposed to the tyranny of France.

GENERAL ESTIMATE.

Regulars.

Infantry - - - - - - - - -	70,000	
Cavalry - - - - - - - - -	14,400	
		84,400

Militia.

Provincial - - - - - - - - - - - -	25,200	
City and town - - - - - - - - - - -	11,300	
Fixed and other companies - - - - -	8,000	
		44,500
		128,900

exclusive of artillery and engineers, and the companies of invalids capable of garrison and other duty.

At the accession of Philip, the Navy of Spain was reduced to a still more inefficient state than the army. The scanty remnant of a naval force, once so formidable, received a fatal blow at Vigo; and during the remainder of the contest for the spanish succession, the only protection of the spanish trade and colonies was afforded by the navy of France.

Under the administration of Alberoni, however, the most strenuous efforts were made to restore the naval force; and during the attempt to reunite Sicily and the italian territories to the spanish crown, Europe beheld with astonishment a fleet of 20 sail in the mediterranean, and nearly an equal number rapidly constructing in the different docks of Spain. The loss incurred in this contest again reduced the naval force to the lowest state. But under the active administration of Patiño, new exertions were made for its restoration both in Europe and in America, and its increase at length gave umbrage even to England.

In the succeeding maritime war relative to the colonial and commercial disputes, the spanish navy took a respectable part, and rather increased than diminished. We find the ministry of Ensenada no less active than that of Patiño; and in the reign of Ferdinand, though pacific, the increase of the navy amounted to 20 ships of the line. At the accession of Charles, the naval force, though not on a par with that of the great maritime powers,

MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF SPAIN

OF THE

HOUSE OF BOURBON,

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE FIFTH

TO

THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE THIRD:

1700.... TO ....1788.

DRAWN FROM ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.

ARCHDEACON OF WILTS, AND RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

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Page 111, *l.* 2, *for* cabinet *read* closet.—*p.* 284, *l.* 25, *for* after repeating *read* often repeated.—*p.* 305, *l.* 5, *for* whom *read* who.—*p.* 319, *l.* 3 *from bottom*, *dele* "and the Indies."—*p.* 343, *l.* 22, *after* marine *add* finance.—*p.* 353, *l.* 7, *for* discontented *read* disconcerted.—*p.* 357, *l.* 3, *for* never *read* even.—*p.* 358, *last line*, *for* to Keene *read* Mr. Keene.—*p.* 361, *l.* 16, *dele* and the Indies.—*p.* 389, *l.* 15, *for* wanting *read* being deficient in.—*p.* 403, *l.* 25, *after* although he, *insert* had.—*p.* 414, *l.* 18, *for* were *read* was.

CHAPTER XIX.

1711.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this favourable change of affairs, the crown of Philip still tottered on his head; for the fate of Spain, as well as the issue of the war, ultimately depended on the contest in the Netherlands.

In the preceding year, Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, had been added to the conquests of the allies; the iron frontier of France was broken; and another campaign prosecuted with the same skill, and attended with the same success, would have reduced Louis to receive the terms of peace,

CHAP. XIX. 1711.

dictated before the gates of his capital. Public distress increased with the public disasters, and all the energy of an absolute government scarcely sufficed to draw from an exhausted nation the means of prolonging a defensive and unfortunate contest. The death of the dauphin removed the principal adviser of the war in Spain; while the party of the new dauphin found in every quarter of the court and country, zealous advocates for that restoration of peace, which they considered as the only resource for averting impending ruin.

April 14.

With regard to the allies, the preceding year had closed with the most flattering aspect. All attempts of France to introduce divisions in the confederacy, and negotiate a separate peace, were ineffectual; while, on the side of the emperor, the defeat of the rebels in Hungary, and the commencement of a negotiation with the Turks, for the termination of a contest which had hitherto weakened his efforts, enabled him to send considerable reinforcements to Spain, the Netherlands, and the Rhine. The time now seemed to be arrived, when retaliation was to be made on France, for the manifold evils she had inflicted on Europe, since the commencement of the thirty years war; when she was to be stripped of those acquisitions which she owed to force, intrigue, and usurpation, and a barrier established for the further security of the states of Europe against her power, injustice, and ambition. At this crisis, the House of Bourbon was again saved by those jealousies among its enemies, which had more contributed to its grandeur than even its own power and resources.

The duke of Savoy, dissatisfied with the emperor for withholding those territories which had been promised as the price of his services to the common cause, opened a secret negotiation with France, which, though discovered and frustrated,

did not fail to leave behind the seeds of suspicion and discord.*

But the chief cause which rendered vain all the sacrifices and exertions of the war, which prevented the deliverance of Europe from the scourge of french oppression, was the defection of England from the principles which the british government had been the first to lay down and assert.

This change originated principally in the character and views of queen Anne. Unlike William, she entertained neither personal nor political animosity against France; and she was alike incapable of comprehending the principles, or imbibing the spirit of his system of policy. She had accepted the throne as her right; but the death of her only son, the duke of Gloucester, awakening in her bosom the affections of a sister, she became anxious to restore her dethroned family in the person of her brother. Hitherto, the unexampled success which had crowned her arms, induced her to repress her private sentiments, and she had been borne away by the spirit of an exulting people, and the authority of her great and fortunate ministers, whom she respected, without regarding or approving.

At length, accident rather than design, called these latent inclinations into action. Her favourite, the duchess of Marlborough, had placed near her royal person a dependant relation, Mrs. Masham, with the design of relieving herself from the tedium of constant attendance, and, at the same time, of strengthening her interest. This lady, secretly attached also to the exiled family, and jealous of her patroness, profited by the moments of ill humour, which the overbearing temper of the duchess frequently excited in the breast of the queen. To hasten the downfal of the duchess, she fomented the dissatisfaction of her royal mistress, and became the agent of a private negotiation with Harley, the chief of the tories. As

* Memoires de Berwick, t. 2, p. 182.

CHAP. XIX. 1711. the queen could not fulfil her designs in favour of her brother, during a war which humbled France, and strengthened the power of the whig ministry, her views were directed to the attainment of peace. In this object her tory and jacobite advisers equally concurred; because from party motives, they all had joined in reprobating the conduct of the war, and exciting the popular clamour for its termination.

Those domestic feuds, which are inseparable from a free government, aided the designs of the queen, and accelerated the downfal of the whigs. All the powers of the press, assisted by the talents of the ablest writers, had been effectually employed to misrepresent their conduct, and vilify their characters. Success had gradually lost its power to dazzle. The danger which had awakened the public alarm, was scarcely removed before it was considered as imaginary, and the people began to clamour for the termination of a contest, which they were taught to believe was prolonged merely to gratify personal avarice and private ambition. Of this revolution in the public sentiment, the tories profited with consummate address; they formed an union with the jacobites, and opened secret negotiations with France, and with the exiled family.*

The design being thus far matured, the first blow was struck
May, 1710. by the disgrace of the duchess of Marlborough, whose place was filled by Mrs. Masham. The whigs, unaware of their danger, or despising the intrigues of so inconsiderable an agent as a bed-chamber woman, hastened the crisis by their over-
June. weening confidence. Instead of catching the alarm on the removal of lord Sunderland, the son in law of Marlborough, from the office of secretary of state; instead of disconcerting their opponents by decision and unanimity, they temporised, and suffered the strength of their party to be gradually under-

* Memoires de Berwick, t. 2.——Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2, passim.

mined by the successive dismission of their chiefs. In August, the disgrace of Godolphin, the great minister of finance, announced their approaching downfal; and was followed by the voluntary resignation [redacted]. Finally, before the close of the year, an administration of tories was formed under the direction of Harley, and the stability of the party secured by the election of a new parliament, in which the influence of government, their own personal exertions, and the co-operation of the jacobites, gave them an entire ascendancy.

In the midst of their success, they could not yet venture openly to attack the well-founded authority of Marlborough. They, therefore, suffered him to retain the command of the army, till, by working on the passions of the people, and abridging the means of success, they had prepared the way for his downfal. The change of measures created a new burst of popularity in their favour, and the services of Harley were soon afterwards rewarded with the earldoms of Oxford and Mortimer, and the high office of lord treasurer. The post of principal secretary of state, with the chief direction of foreign affairs,* was intrusted to his colleague, Henry St. John, better known by the title of Bolingbroke, who, to an inveterate antipathy to the very name of Austria, united a blind partiality to France.

May 24, 1711.

This political revolution occasioned an unfeigned triumph at Paris and Madrid. The fall of the whigs was proclaimed as the salvation of the two monarchies, and Torci justly remarked, "what we have lost in the Netherlands, we shall now gain in London."†

* As Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary for the Southern Department, was unacquainted with french, the transactions with France, which belonged to his department, were transferred to Bolingbroke.

† Torci, t. 3, p. 16 and seq.

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The new ministers, secure of the parliament, hastened to dissolve the grand alliance, and hurried into a negotiation with France. They, indeed, scarcely waited till they were perfectly established in power, before they listened to overtures, which were conveyed through the channel of marshal Tallard, then a prisoner in England. After his return to France, the communication was kept up by a catholic priest of the name of Gualtier, originally a french spy, and now brought into notice by the earl of Jersey, a zealous adherent of the Stuarts, to whose lady he was chaplain.

These communications were graciously received by Louis; and as early as April 1711, Gualtier was sent to Paris, charged with directions from the new ministers. They represented, in humble terms, that peace was no less expedient for England than for France. They hinted at the necessity of preserving appearances with the allies, and requested the king to propose a renewal of the conferences to the dutch. With a servility ill becoming the ministers of a nation so recently the arbitress of Europe, they declared that such orders should be given to the english plenipotentiaries as should prevent Holland from again obstructing the conclusion of peace, by the renewal of those haughty demands which had insulted the honour, and wounded the feelings of the french monarch. No specific engagement was demanded, but merely a general acknowledgment that their overtures were favourably received.*

Louis, indeed, cordially received these overtures, as the prelude to a far more honourable accommodation than his misfortunes had permitted him to expect since the battle of Blenheim. Under the pretext of consulting his own dignity, though, in reality, to make an invidious distinction between

* Torci, t. 3, p. 31—36.

the two maritime powers, he declined opening any direct negotiation with the States, and announced his desire to employ the mediation of England. He expressed these sentiments in a memorial, containing conditions which he proposed to concede, as the basis of a general accommodation. He offered security to the English for their commerce in Spain, the Indies and the Mediterranean, a barrier in the Netherlands, and the restoration of the commercial advantages formerly enjoyed by Holland. He declared his resolution to give reasonable satisfaction to all the other members of the grand alliance; and as the favourable situation of Philip afforded new expedients to settle the dispute relative to Spain, he stated that means should be taken to obviate the difficulties, and to secure the present situation, commerce and interests of the belligerent powers. Finally, conferences were to be immediately opened for the conclusion of a general peace, and Aix la Chapelle or Liege proposed as the place of meeting.*

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April 22.

The british ministry accepted these vague conditions, and meanly approved the mark of contempt shewn towards Holland, as just and delicate. They did not, however, wait for the opening of general conferences; but selfishly grasping at the offer of commercial advantages, required such explanations as led to a private and separate negotiation. By the agency of Gualtier, they continued these clandestine transactions with the utmost activity; while they amused the states with professions of cordiality and confidence. They at length so far matured their arrangements, that Prior, the confidential friend of Oxford and Bolingbroke, was dispatched to Paris in July, to put the last hand to an engagement which was to decide the fate of Europe.

During the progress of a negotiation so fortunate for the

* Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 1, p. 172.

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House of Bourbon, the court of Spain appeared as if inclined to separate its interests from France; and evinced more spirit and independence than it had ever ventured to display, since the recal of the princess Orsini.

In the midst of the recent success the joy of Philip had been damped by the declining health of the queen. That dreadful malady,* which finally hurried her to an early grave, already preyed on her constitution, worn down with incessant cares and exertions. But though her personal charms began to fade, and her native vivacity to diminish, her spirit continued unbroken, and she maintained her usual ascendancy over the mind and affections of her doting husband. Philip, on the contrary, was deeply affected by the sufferings of one so tenderly beloved: brooding over the prospect of his approaching loss, he shrunk from the bustle of a military life, and the necessary occupations of government.

At the same time, the removal of external danger gave new force to internal discontents. The national jealousy of foreigners revived: the nobles renewed their complaints, that repeated proofs of zeal and loyalty had only led to the diminution of the royal favour, and the retrenchment of their just rights. The lofty spirit of Vendome, too independent to bend even to the controul of Louis, irritated the native generals, Aguilar and Valdecañas, who, proud of their recent services, were solicitous to appropriate the management of military affairs, and bitterly censured the operations of their chief. Disputes also arose as before among the french themselves, and amidst the warmest professions of friendship and confidence, great jealousy existed between Vendome and Noailles.

As these contentions gave birth to mutual aversion among

* The King's evil.

those, who ha[illegible] unison; and as the pending negotiations for [illegible] rendered it necessary to acquire a more perfect controul over the co[illegible]t of Madrid, the french monarch delegated Noailles to [illegible]ossa, to perform the functions, without the title of an em[illegible]dor. Nor indeed did it appear possible to make a more appropriate choice. Habituated to courts from his infancy, he was supple, insinuating, sagacious, and discreet. He possessed the full confidence of Louis himself, he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy, sister to the queen of Philip, favoured by his relative madame de Maintenon, and the intimate friend of the princess Orsini from her first career in Spain. He had recently been honoured with the title of a grandee, and the order of the golden fleece, accompanied with a flattering letter from the queen, in which she expressed her own and her husband's gratitude for his valuable services. Finally, his early attendance on Philip, and his past experience, had made him intimately acquainted with the disposition of the court and the character of the spanish nation. CHAP. XIX. 1711.

The picture drawn by Noailles for the information of his sovereign, is almost a counterpart of that sketched by Tessé, notwithstanding the changes produced by past revolutions. It contains also hints, by no means equivocal, relative to the misunderstanding between the two courts, which had extorted from Torci the complaint, that the secrets of Spain no longer found their way to France.

"I must," he observed, "strongly recommend the appointment of an embassador, who is likely to be both feared and respected, and who will take upon himself only the affairs of France. Provided I am not charged with the commission I shall be satisfied, for since I see its difficulties, I consider it as one of the least desirable. In regard to France, I can discover only embarrassments and opposition: what may be the consequence May 19.

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when the spaniards no longer [illegible] I know not! Pretences will not then be wanting to efface the remembrance of past benefits. It will be said, Louis the fourteenth has consulted only his own interest in supporting his grandson on the throne. They will censure the convention of Italy, concluded without the co-operation of Philip; the intention of abandoning Spain when France hoped to do it with advantage; the little share which she has been permitted to take in the conferences for peace; the conduct of our countrymen on many occasions, and the seizure of the american treasures.

"The king and queen and those who surround them are always the same: petty and private reasons overpower the consideration of the general good. Instead of returning to Madrid, the court, without any reasonable motive, chuses to reside at Corella. Since the battle of Villaviciosa a general lethargy prevails: application indeed is not wanting, but it is useless, because without order or rule. Those who restored affairs after the battle of Saragossa, are become suspected, and removed as much as possible. Court intrigues predominate, and no confidence is given except to five or six wretches, without experience or talents.

"It is necessary to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the death of the emperor. Peace must be made, and will be made, if Philip is still supported. Provided he keeps Spain and the Indies, he ought to deem himself fortunate, whatever commercial advantages he may grant to the enemy. It is a fine *appanage* for a younger brother. France united with Spain, without being able to give the law, has no other resource, than to persuade Europe, that the union is neither prejudicial nor dangerous. It is for *the interest of France itself*, no less than *for that of the allies, that Spain should lose something;* since we cannot confide in the disposition of the court of Madrid any longer than it has occasion for our services.

"With respect to the approaching campaign, notwithstanding all my exertions, no provisions are ready; there is a sad deficiency of arms. Great expences have been incurred for brilliant projects; but the essential point has been neglected. The best determination which can be taken, is to hazard nothing, to support as much as possible an air of superiority over the enemy without undertaking the projected sieges; to confine ourselves to the reduction of the mountainous country; to occupy the strong holds; and to open such a communication as will secure a retreat for the french troops, should any contest arise between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, on the terms of peace."

Alluding to the queen and princess, though without naming them, he continued:

"They not only govern the king, but direct all affairs. They place no confidence in any minister who is capable of governing. A presumptuous restlessness carries them beyond bounds. They flatter themselves with recovering all they have lost, and preserving all they possess; while there is reason to fear that all may be lost. The queen, proud and high spirited, ill brooks the sacrifices which are necessary to obtain peace; the princess conforms to her sentiments, but doubtless, labours to maintain herself against a formidable faction; the king acts only from the impulse of one or both. Thus the government floats with the current of prejudice, without order and without stability. Spanish tardiness heaps up the measure of embarrassment.

"The spaniards are more discontented than ever. They murmur at the little consideration which they enjoy, and the preference given to Italians and Flemings. They expect to see the government entirely confided to foreigners. The phantom of a council of war is without power; its resolutions are only fol-

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lowed when approved by the secret cabinet, which reserves to itself the minutest details; nothing is carried into execution, because no one knows to whom to apply in the most trifling concern. The evil is incr[illegible], but our sovereign must be apprised of it, that he may know how to act when he has business with this court. A blind confidence, founded on recent success, is the cause of this singular lethargy; and although Philip feels his obligations to his grandfather, he will not be more tractable with regard to the terms of peace." *

Fixed habits of discretion; the principles or at least the semblance of religion, and the sense of past obligations, did not suffice to repress in the mind of Noailles, a love of rule: like the other embassadors, we soon find him affected by the atmosphere of the spanish court.

He united with his friend Aguilar, in a design to alienate the king from the queen, and thus to undermine her influence, as well as that of the princess. He urged Philip to separate himself from her bed under the pretext of her ill health; and adopting the cant of hypocrisy, recommended him to take a handmaid to his bosom. The very mention of the revolting proposal deeply affected a devout prince, who both from motives of religion and affection, had preserved inviolable fidelity to the marriage bed. He not only manifested his abhorrence, but instantly communicated the proposal to the queen and princess. Such an attempt justly roused the wounded feelings of the queen. She imparted it to her sister the duchess of Burgundy, and the princess to her protectress madame de Maintenon; and at the austere court of Versailles, where gallantry was no longer tolerated, it produced no less sensation than in Spain. Noailles was recalled; and Aguilar deprived both of his military command and civil offices, and

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 223—228.

exiled from court. The delicate cause of this change was however involved in mystery. The recal of Noailles was cloaked with the pretext of ill health, while the disgrace of Aguilar was ascribed to his disputes with Vendome; nor was the secret known, till it was disclosed by St. Simon, the great collector of court anecdotes, and the recorder of court scandal.* CHAP. XIX. 1711. August.

From the memorial of Noailles, it was evident, that notwithstanding the weakness of Spain and its dependence on France, considerable difficulties would arise in obtaining the assent of Philip and his heterogeneous council, to the dismemberment of the monarchy, and the grant of commercial advantages to the maritime powers. The recal therefore of a nobleman in the confidence of both courts, and, before the late imprudent attempt, highly respected both by Philip and his queen; so agreeable to the princess, as well as so conciliating in his demeanour towards the spanish nobles, could not fail to throw additional obstacles in the way of the pending negotiation. He was succeeded by the marquis of Bonnac, who, in order to avoid disputes of etiquette, was only invested with the character of envoy extraordinary. His instructions, drawn up by Torci, will exhibit the peculiar embarrassments which existed in the relations between France and Spain, and at the same time will shew the selfish policy of the court of Versailles, which, in the midst of professions of disinterestedness and anxiety to secure the integrity of the monarchy, was only anxious to purchase favourable terms at the expence of Spain.

After detailing the preceding conduct of Louis in regard to Spain, since the accession of Philip, Torci adverted to the recent negotiations in Holland, and the inflexible resolution of August 5.

* We should scarcely have relied on the mere authority of St. Simon, had we not found it supported by obscure hints in the Memoires of Noailles and St. Philippe.——Noailles, t. 4, p. 230, 237.——St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 8.——St. Simon, t. v. p. 510.

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the allies. "They were," he observed, "convinced that the union between France and Spain would never be broken while Philip maintained himself on the throne. Nevertheless, the king has *concluded no treaty with his grandson*, he has always supported him *gratuitously*, and *without condition; he only acquiesced in the wishes of the Spaniards, when he accepted the will of Charles the second.* He was, therefore, at liberty either to continue or to withdraw his aid; and, perhaps, he would long ago have withdrawn it, had he felt less affection for his grandson, or less esteem for the Spaniards.

"Since the battle of Villaviciosa, the enemy have softened their tone. They found that all their efforts would not deprive Philip of the crown; they are desirous that he should accept the share which they before refused to allow, and have made indirect attempts for that purpose.* But the king of France would not understand their hints; he continued the war without any further demand for peace. His decision and firmness produced a good effect. The new succours have convinced the allies that the conquest of Spain is impossible: peace is at length become the object of their wishes. A close union between France and Spain is necessary, for the advantage of both; but it must not bear the smallest appearance of dependence on the part of Spain. Even could the king regulate the affairs of that kingdom, it would not be prudent, because it would only excite the jealousy of the european powers. Let the interests of the two crowns be united, while each is governed according to its peculiar usages and maxims. At the same time, the enemy, who consider Spain as merely dependent on the orders of the king of France, must not be permitted to flatter themselves with having sown divisions between

* This, doubtless, alludes to the clandestine overtures made at this period by the tory party.

the two kings. The appearance of a perfect concert will be as useful for the attainment of peace, as for the prosecution of war.

" For some years, the true state of Spain has been carefully concealed. Whatever may have been the motive, it becomes necessary to know the real situation of things, and the views of those who govern. Political affairs depend too much on the passions and interests of individuals, and it is no novelty to see the fate of princes regulated by the secret machinations of their courtiers. Bonnac will, therefore, endeavour to discover the hidden wheels which move the machine of government. It is a well known fact, that these secret springs of action are injurious to the real interests of Philip. The government is bitterly censured by the spaniards. Although their complaints may not be just; yet they at least prove some disorder in the administration of affairs. We must discover the evil, to provide the remedy; and if Spain is to be supported, her resources must be well known, in order to ascertain the proportion of assistance.

" The king of Spain, it is to be feared, is the first who is deceived. He considers presumption as a virtue; he obstinately persists in his opinions once formed, and, if he makes a bad choice, he is not easily persuaded to recede. Should the queen employ her influence, as she seems inclined, the king will be happy to be directed by her, since he must necessarily be governed. For some time, the princess Orsini has affected to withdraw from business; but her credit is undiminished. Philip deliberates and decides with the queen and the princess, and all other transactions are mere form. There is no doubt that the princess is zealous in the cause of France, and anxious to maintain the strict union between the two crowns; yet she may err in her views, and support those as good, which are really bad. Bonnac, while he pays her *extreme deference*, must not conceal the truth.

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"The negotiations for p[illegible]nd the inevitable dismemberment of the monarchy, will have aggravated the prejudices of the spaniards against France. Yet neither their resentment nor opposition should, in t[illegible]ent circumstances, render them suspected. But those w[illegible] the secret advisers of the king, ought to convince him that the happiest moment of his reign will be that in which he signs a peace. Besides, he is too just not to sacrifice his own interests to the tranquillity of his people. Should he, however, neither be moved by this consideration, nor by a regard for France, the king will not be inclined to continue the war, when the only effect must be to procure a few advantages for Spain."

After enjoining Bonnac to investigate the complaints made by the french merchants of vexations in their commerce, he proceeds: "Bonnac will solicit the execution of the proper acts for ceding the sovereignty of the Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria. He will appear in all his proceedings to have nothing in view but the splendour of the spanish monarchy, and the recovery of the conquered provinces; but he will not consider their loss as an evil. If Philip continues to possess Spain and the Indies, his states will be better governed, and the union between the two crowns more closely maintained, than if he were to recover the whole monarchy."

The french minister concludes his instructions with recommending a speedy overture to Portugal, through the agency of the jesuits, and to terminate the dispute with the pope without weakness; because, to break with the court of Rome, was only to labour for the enemy. He acquaints him with the mission of Mesnager to London, and transmits his instructions, with which Bonnac was to conform. "He must," it is said, "act boldly; peace is so necessary to both crowns, that no efforts should be spared to accelerate the desirable event."*

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 246.

Bonnac is represented as a man of talents, experience, and discretion, and he did not belie his character: notwithstanding the delicate situation of the two courts, he obtained from Philip full powers, authorizing the king of France to gain the english by the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the grant of the Asiento, with a port in America, for the security of their commerce. CHAP. XIX. 1711.

In the interval, the negotiation had proceeded with England. The british ministry insisting on four places in America, Louis did not hesitate to make concessions even beyond their demands. Profiting by the selfish eagerness with which they grasped at commercial advantages, and desirous to leave a perpetual cause of irritation between England and Spain, he tendered as a pledge for the security of the asiento trade, the permission to occupy Cadiz with a swiss garrison. This proposition was even given in one of the public papers in London, as an article of the preliminaries.*

The bare mention of an expedient so dishonourable, roused the indignation of the whole spanish court. Philip himself declared that he would never listen to a proposition which would virtually occasion the loss of Cadiz, and the ruin of the spanish trade to America Fortunately, the court of London declined the offer; and, after a discussion of some months, reduced its pretensions to an establishment on the bank of the Rio de la Plata, where the british merchants might carry on the commerce of negroes, under the inspection of a spanish officer; and an exemption from some of the duties imposed at Cadiz, on merchandize of british growth or fabric.

Louis acceded to these conditions in the name of his grandson, and communicated to him the result of his negotiation.

" I trust," he wrote, " you will not repent of the confidence Sept. 18.

* Tindal, v. 17, p. 44.——Noailles, t. 4, p. 249.

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which you have reposed in me. If I engage you to conditions which you did not foresee, they are essentially necessary to evade the obstinate demands of the English for four places in the Indies. There are opportunities which must not be neglected. Do not, therefore, be surprised, if I have interpreted your full power without consulting you. Had I waited for your answer, much precious time must have been lost; and, I trust, I am labouring for your advantage, when I yield a little to preserve much, which you consented to abandon. I acquaint Bonnac with the details of the negotiation. As he will give you the necessary information, I have only to assure you, that I wish for peace as much for you as for myself; and that I shall be satisfied if I see you firmly established on the throne of Spain. In contributing to that great object to the utmost of my power, I give you a solid proof of my affection."*

The hints in this letter sufficed to alarm the king and queen, and when Bonnac communicated the conditions, the ministers exclaimed against terms so subversive of the honour and interests of Spain. Philip and the queen were borne away by the torrent. "Do not the English," they said, "abuse our eagerness for peace, to extort all the advantages which their selfish policy can suggest? Will they not profit by the apathy into which we are thrown by these deceitful negotiations, to raise their exorbitant demands? Is not the best method of procuring peace a determined resolution to prosecute hostilities? enemies are not disarmed by pity, but fear." They reluctantly announced their acquiescence: yet declared that they yielded from respect and gratitude to the king of France, and not from any dread of new misfortunes.†

Sept. 20.

In virtue of this assent, the arrangements with the british

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 251.

† Ibid. t. 4, p. 253.

ministry were matured, and [illegible]al and general preliminaries were signed with Mesnager the french agent, who had been secretly dispatched to London and admitted to an interview with the queen. CHAP. XIX. 1711. Oct. 8.

The special preliminaries, which related to England in particular, contained the acknowledgment of queen Anne and the protestant succession; the rasure of Dunkirk, the possession of Gibraltar, Minorca, and St. Christopher's by the english; the transfer of the Asiento for thirty years on the same terms as enjoyed by the french; privileges of trade in Spain equal to the subjects of France; and a portion of territory on the Rio de la Plata. The arrangements relative to the fisheries at Newfoundland, were reserved for future discussion.*

The general preliminaries, signed at the same time, contained the terms offered by France, as the basis of a peace with the allied powers.

The long contested question which had given rise to the war, was passed over, with the vague and unsatisfactory declaration, that Louis would take just and reasonable measures to prevent the union of France and Spain under the same head. The acknowledgment of the protestant succession, and the rasure of Dunkirk, were again referred to; a general promise was given of a barrier for the dutch in the Netherlands, and for the empire and Austria on the side of the Rhine; and the whole was concluded with the favourite phrase, that all the belligerent powers should receive just and reasonable satisfaction.†

As these terms implied the virtual acknowledgment of Philip as king of Spain, there was little reason to expect that he would hesitate in forwarding the negotiation, or demur in

* Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 1, p. 374.

† Ibid. v. 1, p. 402.

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fulfilling his promise of cedi[illegible] Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria, as a prelude to their transfer to Austria, and the establishment of a barrier for [illegible]utch. Yet new difficulties were raised on a point appare[illegible]cided, and the objections of the spanish court were co[illegible]d with a demand for the admission of their plenipotentiaries at the intended congress.

When Bonnac pressed for the cession of the Netherlands, and represented, that as the word of Louis was engaged, his honour would be affected by the refusal; and that the objections made by Spain to a general accommodation, would reduce Louis to enter into a separate treaty, the queen indignantly replied, "France has adopted a new system of proceeding. She expects every thing to be granted by Spain, and employs menaces when arguments fail!"

Philip also dwelt on the refusal of the allies to receive his plenipotentiaries, and could scarcely refrain from reproaching Louis for acquiescing in an exclusion so dishonourable to his crown. "What," he observed, to Bonnac, "will my subjects think, if they see the interests of the spanish monarchy placed in the hands of french plenipotentiaries?" "They will think," replied the embassador, "that as your majesty relied on the king, your grandfather, for the support of the war, you ought also to rely on him for the conclusion of peace." To a similar objection from the minister, count Bergueik, he rejoined with asperity: "You ought not to forget that the plenipotentiaries of Charles the second had no other share in the peace of Ryswick, than affixing their signature." But all his arguments were fruitless, for both the king and queen were immovable, and persisted in requesting Louis to pay no less regard to the dignity than to the interests of his grandson, and engage the allies to expedite passports for his plenipotentiaries.*

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 264.

The french envoy was [illegible] by this decided opposition. "The best resolution," [illegible] to his court, "is to proceed directly to the point, [illegible] empt to gain their consent, either by promises or [illegible] ecure the acquiescence of the english in what relates to [illegible], and by their means, that of the dutch, and then extort the acquiescence of the spaniards. This is more suitable to the interests and dignity of France. For whatever is wrested from Spain, will appear a sacrifice to the cupidity of the enemy, and to the necessity of concluding peace; whereas direct demands made to Philip, will create bitterness and distrust between the two courts; and the king of France will be incessantly accused of sacrificing the interests of Spain to his own."

The chief instigator of this opposition was the count of Bergueik, who from the post of vice governor of the Netherlands, was called to the direction of the important departments of war and finance. Possessing a considerable share of the royal favour and confidence, he was the sole agent of the communications with Bonnac. From his long residence in the Netherlands, joined to the influence of his local connections, and frequent intercourse with the dutch, he had learnt to appreciate the due importance of those valuable territories; and while he suspected the sincerity of the british government, he was persuaded that a separate accommodation might easily be arranged with the states. His representations were favourably received both by Philip and the queen, who were equally proud of their late success, and equally zealous for the honour of their well earned crown. Even the princess Orsini, however attached to France, concurred or affected to concur in the sentiments of the sovereigns and minister.

"The king," observed Bonnac, "forms no decision by himself. The queen is absolute mistress of his heart and mind. Sept. 20.

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She has lofty thoughts, take[illegible]esolution at the moment; and having triumphed over [illegible] misfortunes, she hears with indifference, nay with [illegible]ll representations of future danger. Prejudices de[illegible]n the experience of good, and contempt of adverse fort[illegible]ave made a deep impression on a person of her age.

"The princess Orsini, more moderate, is alone capable of softening these high-flown sentiments of her royal mistress. Her credit is therefore necessary. She appears no less zealous for France than devoted to the king and queen; yet she does not entertain the same notions on public affairs as prevail at Versailles. She will yield to argument, when she is persuaded that the interests of Spain are not sacrificed. She is capable of rendering service, if we avoid wounding her delicacy, and convince her that we do not wish to act without her intervention. Doubtless the french cabinet would encounter obstacles perhaps even invincible, should Philip give his confidence to the spaniards." *

Meanwhile the dutch government, encouraged by the discontented whigs in England as well as by the emperor, shewed scarcely less reluctance than Philip to accede to the proffered terms. Their repugnance was however at length overcome by the threats of England, and measures were settled for opening a congress of all the belligerent powers at Utrecht. Louis announced this arrangement to his grandson in a style which shews the embarrassment derived from the captious spirit manifested by the spanish court.

"The dutch have at length consented to give passports to my plenipotentiaries. I do not know when the conferences will be opened, and when your ministers will be received. But before they depart, convince Bergueik if possible of the ab-

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 255.

surdity of attempting to [redacted] separately with the dutch. Suffer me to manage y[redacted]sts, and finish, I intreat you, the business of the e[redacted]avaria, the delay of which is not honourable to your [redacted] and may injure the negotiation. Be assured that you [redacted]find in my advice no view except for your advantage." CHAP. XIX. 1711.

Even the remonstrances and threats of Louis seemed now to have lost their effect. New difficulties were raised by Bergueik, and at length no other resource was left but to employ the agency of the princess. Fortunately means yet remained to overcome her real or affected delicacy.

After attaining all the honours which could be conferred on a subject, she aspired to the possession of a small but independent sovereignty. At her secret instigation, the queen had induced Philip, when he engaged to transfer the Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria, to reserve a small territory producing an annual revenue of 30,000 crowns; but no hint was given of the purpose for which it was destined. As Philip was now called upon to fulfil his promise to the elector, he recurred to this petty sovereignty. Designating the princess Orsini as the person for whom the gift was intended, he requested the intervention of his grandfather to obtain the acquiescence of the elector, and the guaranty of the allies. The queen also seconded his instances by an application to madame de Maintenon.

"You doubtless know the demand which the king made to his grandfather on the conclusion of the treaty, by which the Low Countries were ceded to the elector of Bavaria, to reserve for us a petty sovereignty of 30,000 crowns, annual value. July 17, 1711.

"The king of France acquiesced, and the elector consented. We now demand the fulfilment of this promise. The king

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writes to day to his grandfather on this subject, and I intreat you to speak to him on my behalf. Although we regard this affair as already settled, and expect with no difficulty, we shall, nevertheless, be grateful for it. I think you will interest yourself the more readily in it, when you know that we destine this principality for the princess Orsini, who deserves it for her past services, and merits also the interest which you may take in her favour; for, I can assure you, you have not a better friend. Would it not be shameful for the king and myself, after all our obligations, to give her no marks of our esteem? There is no dignity, except this, which we can confer on her, because she already possesses all; so, I think, no one can blame our gratitude.

"For you, my dear madam, I have no doubt of the pleasure which you will receive from it, and that our request will meet with your entire approbation. I must also add, that what the king gives is his own, and no detriment to the king, his grandfather; and it will, doubtless, please him to see a devoted subject, like the princess Orsini, so highly distinguished. I am, I confess, sufficiently vain, with doing more for my camerara-mayor, than preceding queens have done for theirs. She will not abuse it, and there is no fear that she will keep up large armies to alarm her neighbours. I conclude then that we shall enjoy this satisfaction; but to you, my dear madam, and to my sister, I would have the obligation, that it should meet with no difficulty, and be concluded without delay, since it wholly depends on the king, our grandfather, who can induce the elector to accede to so reasonable a demand."*

Louis profiting by the ambitious views of the princess, promised his concurrence, and, as a prelude to her elevation to the rank of a sovereign, she received the congratu-

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 381.

lations of the court, and a[redacted]was given that she should be addressed with the title [redacted]ss. After a slight demur, the spanish nobility acqui[redacted]the princess had at length the flattering prospect of at[redacted]er darling object.* CHAP. XIX. 1711. October.

Grateful for the support [redacted]uis, she laid aside her scruples, silenced or over-ruled the obje[redacted]ons of Bergueik, and obtained from Philip, not only an unequivocal assent to the conditions concluded in his name; but a declaration that he would no longer press for the admission of his plenipotentiaries into the congress, and would give full powers to Louis to continue and conclude the negotiation.

The accustomed harmony and confidence seemed once more restored between the two Bourbon courts; and the correspondence of the two monarchs again afforded proofs of personal regard and mutual attention.

" Do not," observed Louis, " be surprised to find yourself called only duke of Anjou. These are the last efforts of the vulgarity and despair of the dutch party, who are desirous for the continuance of the war. They will soon change their style, as they are at present obliged to change their conduct." December.

" You will have learned," he wrote in a subsequent letter, " from M. de Bonnac, that I was not deceived when I foresaw the difficulty of procuring passports for your plenipotentiaries. I know the measures, which the *good party* in England are obliged to keep to realise their favourable intentions: be assured that they have done much in obtaining the acceptance of the preliminaries, with the clause which I caused to be inserted, expressly to secure your continuance on the throne of Spain. We should lose too much by wishing to hurry a work which is well begun. Your majesty, therefore, must not be surprised, if the passports, of which you are so desirous, are Dec. 17.

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 29.

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still delayed. It would be a weak reason to press the grant of them, to say, that it is the interest of the english to deserve your friendship. The [illegible] not sufficiently unanimous to be touched by this consideration; and those who are desirous of peace, think they have already done enough for you to deserve some gratitude on your part.

"Speak not, therefore, of the interest which they have to acquire your good will, nor of protests which would be foreign to the present juncture. Send your plenipotentiaries when you please. After the conferences are opened, I will take the proper measures for their admission; but forward the peace, and think what would be your situation, should I be obliged to join my forces against you. To prevent such a calamity, I have required a new power from you, for there will be no time to lose if an advantageous conclusion can be effected. You are aware that the power you have already sent me to treat with England, would at present be injurious to your interests, if I suffered it to appear,* and you may rely on my regard that I shall do nothing to your prejudice.

"I have just received your letter of the 15th, and learn with pleasure the resolution you have taken to cause the patent which the elector of Bavaria demands, to be expedited.* I assure you, I will do nothing contrary to your interest; but, I love you too well to have observed without pain, your tardiness in fulfilling your engagements. Knowing your sentiments, I am aware of the violence you do yourself."

Dec. 28. Philip replied, "The marquis of Bonnac, by the orders of your majesty, has informed me of the state of the negotiation for peace, and the difficulties made by the english and dutch to receive my plenipotentiaries. He has also demanded in

* Alluding to the commercial advantages which were already granted to the English as the price of their defection.

your name, another full power to treat with them. My desire to give you new marks of my gratitude and friendship, joined to that of contributing as much as possible to your satisfaction, and the tranquillity of all those who are implicated in this cruel war, would not permit me to hesitate in sending you this new full power, that you may, in my name, sign the preliminaries with the dutch, as you have done with the english. I hope they will be shortly concluded. I doubt not, I shall soon feel the effects, and that England and Holland will acknowledge me, and admit my plenipotentiaries at the congress. I flatter myself, you will employ your interest to this end, as a grandfather who has so much regard for me, and that I shall have no cause to repent of the confidence I repose in you. I send an ostensible letter for the english, that they may not be surprised to find the preliminary advantages which I have granted them, are not inserted in the present full power, and that they should be apprised of the reason which prevented me from inserting them."

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In the midst of this interesting negotiation, Philip had the additional satisfaction of being relieved from the presence of his rival.

In consequence of the death of his brother, Charles quitted Barcelona in September, leaving his queen as regent of his spanish dominions; and the command of the army, which had been augmented with a reinforcement of 7,000 men, to Staremberg. He took leave of the Catalans, in an affectionate letter, stating the causes of his absence, praising their attachment, announcing his speedy return, and recommending his queen as the most precious pledge which he could intrust to their fidelity.* In his progress through Italy, he was received by the republics of Venice and Genoa, and the dukes of

Sept. 6.

* History of Europe for 1711, p. 361.

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Parma and Tuscany, as king of Spain, and made his triumphal entry into Milan, amidst the acclamations of his new subjects. He was here saluted with the imperial tidings of his elevation to the imperial throne, by the unanimous consent of all the members of the empire, except the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, whose votes were suspended for their contumacy.

On the 22d of December, he was crowned at Frankfort, in the customary forms, and with unusual pomp. In addition to his other titles of king of Hungary and Bohemia, he assumed that of king of Spain; and testified his resolution to assert his rights by creating several knights of the golden fleece. From thence he repaired to Vienna, took quiet possession of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, which had devolved on him by the death of his brother, and made the most vigorous preparations to continue the war against the House of Bourbon, and to traverse the pending negotiations.

But the endeavours of the emperor, though aided by the support of the dutch, and the whigs in opposition, were of no avail. The friends of the bourbon cause had the satisfaction to witness a breach of the public correspondence between England and Austria, in consequence of the dismission of the imperial minister, count Gallas, for caballing with the whigs. Nor was even the subsequent mission of Eugene himself to London more effectual. That great general was received with cold politeness by those in power, and, at the same time, exposed to the most ridiculous, as well as calumnious, accusations, which party malice could invent. He had the mortification to witness the disgrace of his injured friend, the duke of Marlborough; and, after his fruitless attempts to bring the queen to a sense of her honour, and the interests of her crown, departed from England, leaving the cause of his imperial master more hopeless than ever.*

* House of Austria, vol. 2, p. 2.

Meanwhile the british [illegible]ad extorted the consent of the dutch to their recent arrange[illegible]t, by the threat of concluding a separate accommodation. [illegible] in the beginning of 1712, conferences were opened at [illegible]ht, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Holland, [illegible] the duke of Savoy. The emperor, also, finding remonstrances fruitless, did not refuse to take a share in the negotiation, though he affected to receive the propositions of France, not as preliminaries, or as obligatory, but as simple projects for deliberation. To avoid irritating discussions, no minister was admitted from either of the contending parties, as king of Spain.

At the second conference, propositions were brought forward on both sides, by France, according to the clandestine arrangements with the british ministry, and by the emperor, according to the principles of the grand alliance. But the increasing division among the allies favoured the views of France; and at a congress, professedly called for the purpose of a joint negotiation, Louis succeeded in leading the different parties into separate discussions of their respective demands, and thus daily widened the breach. He likewise seized every pretext of chicane and delay, to obstruct the public conferences; while he redoubled his efforts to cajole and influence the court of England, on which the continuance of peace or war ultimately depended. In consequence of this change, Polignac, one of his plenipotentiaries, exultingly wrote to Torci, "We now play the part of the dutch at Gertruydenberg, and they ours. It is a perfect retaliation."*

During the delays occasioned by these artifices, Louis maintained a constant and intimate intercourse with the court of London, by means of his private agents. As he justly dreaded the abilities and influence of Marlborough, he employed the

* Torci, t. 3, p. 406.

CHAP. XIX. 1711.

assistance of the court of St. [illegible]ains, and the jacobite party, to co-operate with the british [illegible]inistry, in removing their great antagonist. He had finall[illegible] satisfaction to see him driven from power, and expos[illegible]e malice of his enemies, and the hatred of the nation h[illegible]d so ably served. On this event he justly observed to his agents, "The dismission of Marlborough will do for us all we can desire."* The command of the army was transferred to the duke of Ormond, whose attachment to the exiled family was not unknown.

The effect of the pending negotiations was felt even in Catalonia. Assured of the servile support of the british ministry, Louis adopted the advice of Noailles, to risk nothing, and confine the military operations to a war of posts. Nor was he disappointed in the expectations he had formed from the cooperation of England; for, although, to justify the diminution of the army in the Netherlands, the ministers expressed great solicitude to prosecute the war in Spain, yet they soon adopted methods equally effectual to thwart the operations in that quarter.

The duke of Argyle was dispatched with a trifling reinforcement, to assume the command of the british troops, but came without remittances, and was detained at Genoa, until he had raised a loan on his own personal credit. The subsequent supplies, extorted by his complaints, were granted with the same sparing hand, and his utmost exertions only tended to maintain the passes, and harrass the enemy in a series of frequent, but trifling, skirmishes. At length, an indisposition obliging him to quit the camp, he repaired to Minorca, where he more usefully employed his active mind in fortifying Port Mahon, and strengthening the defences of an island, which was already conceded to Great Britain.

* Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 497.

Nor were the operations on the part of Philip more effectual. Vendome, indeed, too[illegible] to submit to the temporising orders of his sovereign, [illegible]ted to resume the offensive, by laying siege to Cardona; [illegible] the cabals of the court, and the want of supplies, joined to the judicious manœuvres of the imperial general, Staremberg, compelled him to retreat with disgrace; and, at the close of the campaign, the two hostile armies reoccupied nearly the same positions as at its commencement.*

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 22.——History of Europe for 1711.——Cunningham, v. 2, p. 371.——Ortiz, lib. 22, c. 15.——Targe and other Historians as before.——Correspondence of Lord Bolingbroke, passim.——Report of the Secret Committee of 1715.——Memoires de Polignac.

CHAPTER XX.

1712 - 1714.

Deaths of the new Dauphin and his eldest Son, and hopes of Philip to be called to the French throne—Negotiations to prevent the union of the two Crowns—Correspondence of Louis and Philip—Philip agrees to renounce his pretensions to France—Progress of the arrangement between France and England—England separates from the Allies, and agrees to a suspension of Arms—Success of the French in the Netherlands—Philip makes his public Renunciation—Establishment of the new french Colony of Louisiana—The Dutch compelled to accept the Mediation of England—The Ministers of Philip admitted to the Congress—Conclusion of the Negotiations for Peace—Treatics of Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden.

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PHILIP had now secured the possession of Spain and the Indies, by sacrifices which, however reluctantly made, were not ultimately detrimental to the real interests of his crown, nor favourable even to the union of those very powers to whom they were conceded. But in the height of his satisfaction, new hopes and fears were excited by a disastrous mortality in the elder branch of his family. The decease of his father, the dauphin, was followed in the course of a short period by the death of his brother, the duke of Burgundy, with that of his nephew, the duke of Britanny; while the duke of Anjou, a sickly infant not two years old, was thus left the only bar against his succession to the throne of his ancestors.

Philip was of too s[illegible] a disposition, and too affectionately attached t[illegible] not to feel more hope than regret from these eve[illegible] anticipating the death of the infant prince, he was [illegible]s to return to France in order to assert the rights of his birt[illegible] that he was, with difficulty, persuaded by Vendome and Bonnac to suspend his departure, till he could obtain more precise information, and receive the advice of his grandfather, which he was bound to respect both by gratitude and affection. CHAP. XX. 1712 | 1714.

In this juncture, an active correspondence ensued between the courts of France and England, to obviate the consequences of these unlooked for events. Although the separation of the two crowns was a condition of the preliminary articles settled with England, yet Louis, no less than Philip, was solicitous to evade its execution; and he hoped to attain his object by means of the ascendancy which he had acquired over the british ministry. He, however, made an offer to concert with the queen the necessary measures for preventing the much dreaded union.

Accordingly the british cabinet sent Gaultier to Versailles with a laboured memorial, demanding the immediate renunciation of the crown of France by Philip, to be sanctioned by the spanish cortes, and confirmed in the future treaty under the guaranty of the contracting powers.*

An awful suspense ensued, which evinced the embarrassment and secret inclinations of the french monarch; and it was not till after repeated applications that he announced his decision in a counter-memorial. In regard to the proposed renunciation, he frankly declared in the strongest terms which language could furnish, "No power on earth can alter the

* Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 2, p. 207.

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constitutional law of the kingdom. The prince, next to the crown, necessarily succeeds. [redacted] his crown not to any edict, not to any decree, not to [redacted]sity of any one, but to the law. This law is consid[redacted]rance as the work of Him who has established all mo[redacted]rchies, and by Him only can it be abolished. *No renunciation, therefore, can destroy it, and if the king of Spain should renounce for the sake of peace, and in obedience to my will, those who might receive such a renunciation as an expedient sufficient to prevent the evil we wish to avoid, would only deceive themselves and build upon sand. It would likewise prove the source of civil commotions, and open the way to a general war in Europe."**

Now it was that the wisdom and foresight of those who had planned and consolidated the grand alliance, became as evident as the rashness and folly of the new ministry in England, who had precipitated their country into dependence on France, and had no resource left to prevent a far more dangerous union of power and dominion under one head, than that which they had pretended to dread in the person of the new emperor.

After the unequivocal declaration just cited, that the divine and indefeasible right of succession to the throne of France, could not be annulled by any human power, the obvious reply would have been, "Since then Philip cannot renounce the rights of his birth, he must relinquish Spain." But such a just and spirited determination could not be expected from men who had already sacrificed the safety and interests of their country, and who were styled, even by Mesnager, the plenipotentiaries of the french king.† They persisted in demanding a formality which they were assured was nugatory, and Bolingbroke, with a sophistry which at once excites our contempt

* Torci, t. 3, p. 292.——Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 2, p. 222.

† Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 497.—*Note.*

and indignation, replied, "We are willing to believe that you in France are convinced that none can abolish the law, on which the rights of succession are founded; but you will permit us in Great Britain to be also convinced, that a prince can depart from his right by a voluntary cession, and that he, in whose favour this renunciation is made, will be supported in his pretensions by the powers who are guarantees of the treaty."*

As Louis still demurred, the british ministry assumed a firmness which they had not before ventured to display. Mr. Harley, the cousin of the treasurer, was dispatched to Utrecht, to announce the inflexible resolution of England, not to recede from the demand. Lord Strafford, one of the british plenipotentiaries, was recalled, till the answer of Louis was known; all public intercourse with the french ministers was broken off, and the proposals of France for a suspension of arms rejected. The british government even endeavoured to regain the confidence of those allies, whom it had so shamefully abandoned; and, detaching reinforcements to the Netherlands, gave indications of a resolution to resume hostilities.

As the season for military operations was now returned, Louis was too prudent again to trust the fate of his crown to the fortune of war. He, therefore, acquiesced in the demand, and Torci pledged the royal word to obtain the consent of Philip. "I hope," he said, "the king of Spain will conform to the advice of the king. But if, contrary to my expectations, he should not submit, the king will take all the measures which the queen of Great Britain may think proper, to decide *even by force, if*

* Letter to Torci.—Corresp. v. 2, p. 227.——It must be confessed that this remark comes with an ill grace from the minister who had just proved the futility of the most solemn guaranties, by the breach of the grand alliance.

CHAP. XX. 1712 | 1714.

necessary, the choice of the c[illegible]ing, and secure peace to Europe."*

This promise was accepted w[illegible]y. The temporary spirit of the british cabinet evap[illegible]d secret instructions were instantly transmitted to [illegible]mond, restraining him from either risking a battle or engaging in a siege, though he was to conduct himself in such a manner as to give no jealousy to the allies. This virtual suspension of arms, which was allowed by Bolingbroke himself to have been the salvation of the french army, was immediately repaid by an attack on the british West India islands, in order to crush our trade in that quarter at the moment of returning peace.†

July and August.

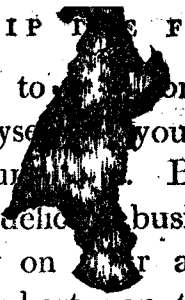
Louis had no sooner effected an arrangement with the british ministry, than he imparted his instructions to Philip. After announcing the proffered alternative of Spain or France, he observed, "The instances of the british ministry become more and more urgent. The necessity of peace daily increases, and the means of prosecuting the war are exhausted. I shall,

April 18.

* Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 2, p. 278.——This gratuitous offer to employ *force* against Philip, excites a smile, when we recollect the horror affected by Louis, at the bare hint in the conferences at Gertruydenberg, and the pathetic declamations of some of our own writers on this outrage to his royal feelings.

† "We expected," writes the duped and chagrined minister, "that Cassart's squadron might be gone to the coast of Brazil, or to Surinam; but we never imagined that our colonies would have been attacked by him, at a time when we were knitting the bands of friendship between the two nations, with all possible industry, &c." * * * "Compare this conduct with that of the queen, the moment I read the letter from Monsieur de Torcy, by which it appeared that the king of France would oblige his grandson to accept the alternative of quitting one of the two monarchies, her orders were dispatched to the duke of Ormond to engage in neither siege nor battle, and she prevented the French even from making the demand. *I will not say that this order saved their army from being beat, but I think, in my conscience, it did.*"

Bolingbroke to Prior, Sept. 19, 1711.—Corresp. v. 3, p. 77.



therefore, be compelled to [illegible]on conditions equally unpleasant to you and myself, you do not obviate the fatal extremity by making your [illegible]. Bonnac will impart to you my sentiments on this delicate business, which admits of no deliberation. As I rely on your affection for me and the House of Bourbon, I exhort you to adopt the advice I am under the necessity of giving, which is not contrary to the friendship I feel for you. It is, to retain Spain and the Indies, and yield to the obstinacy of the English, by renouncing the crown of France; *a condition with which they will be satisfied, and which they are persuaded can be carried into effect.*" *

Philip having complied with this injunction, and made his election for Spain, the british ministry, who had been cajoled by Torci † into a belief that he would prefer the reversion of France, now discovered that this arrangement would still leave the important question dependant on uncertain contingency: for if Philip retained Spain, there was no bar to his eventual succession in France, except an engagement already declared in the most positive terms of no effect. To lure him therefore from Spain, the queen was induced to offer a new alternative, namely to relinquish Spain to the House of Savoy, to receive in return the immediate possession of Sicily, and the dominions of Piemont, Savoy, the duchy of Montferrat, all of which were to be united with France, should he be called to

* Torci, t. 3, p. 299.

† "Si vous demandez, Monsieur, quelle precaution l'on prendra pour assurer une renonciation que je vous ai representé comme contraire à l'ordre etabli en France pour la succession à la couronne, je repondrai, premiérement, *qu'il n'y a pas lieu de croire que le Roi d'Espagne choisisse la Couronne d'Espagne preferablement à celle de ses pères*, par mille raisons, aisées à comprendre, et trop longues à deduire." Torci to Bolingbroke, April 8, 1712. Corresp. v. 2, p. 246. It is worthy remark that this letter was written only ten days before that of Louis quoted in the text.

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that crown, except Sicily, [illegible] in that case was to be transferred to the House of Austria.

The nervous and irritable [illegible] of Philip had been greatly agitated during the progress of this negotiation. But he was peculiarly affected by this last proposal, which promised too high advantages to France, not to receive the warmest support from Louis himself. Torci has preserved the interesting correspondence of the two monarchs on this occasion.

May 17. "I own to you," wrote Louis, "that notwithstanding the disproportion between the respective states, I have been sensibly gratified to think you will continue to reign; that I can always regard you as my successor, and that your situation will permit you to visit me from time to time. Judge how agreeable it would be to me, to be able to rely on you for the future; to be assured that if the dauphin lives, I shall find in you a regent accustomed to command, and capable of preserving order, and repressing the cabals in my kingdom. If this infant should die, which from his sickly constitution is but too probable, you will enter on my succession according to the order of your birth; and I shall have the consolation of leaving to my people, a virtuous sovereign, able to rule them, and who in succeeding to me, will unite to the crown states so considerable as Savoy, Piemont, and the Montferrat. I am so gratified with this idea, and principally with the pleasure of passing with you and the queen a part of the remnant of my life, and informing you myself of the state of my affairs, that I can imagine nothing equal to the pleasure you will give me if you accept this new project.

"If the gratitude and affection of your subjects are with you pressing motives to continue among them, I may say that you owed the same sentiments to me, to your family, and to your country, before you owed them to Spain. I now require

you to give them effect. I s[illegible]gard as the greatest happiness of my life, your resoluti[illegible]draw nearer to me, and preserve rights which one day [illegible]y in vain regret, if you relinquish them.

"I have, however, engaged [illegible]treat on the principle, that you will renounce these rights to preserve only Spain and the Indies. If your majesty should reject the proposal of this exchange with the duke of Savoy, all I can do is to leave you the choice, the necessity of concluding of peace becoming daily more pressing." *

In the conflict of contending passions which this proposal roused in the mind of Philip, his ambition assumed the tincture of devotion, and he did not adopt a final decision until he had addressed himself in supplication to the King of Kings. After receiving the holy communion, he summoned into his presence the marquis of Bonnac, and said: "I have made my choice. No temptation shall ever induce me to abandon this crown, which I consider as the gift of God." He then delivered a letter to his grandfather, announcing his resolution.

After thanking him past for marks of his friendship he proceeded, "The idea your majesty holds forth of being placed near you, would be highly flattering to me, if I deemed myself capable of accepting the new offer tendered by England; but there are many reasons against it. It appears to me much more beneficial that a branch of our House of Bourbon should reign in Spain, than to place this crown on the head of a prince, of whose friendship we cannot be assured: this advantage outweighs that of eventually uniting to France, Savoy, Piedmont, and the Montferrat. I think therefore I better prove my regard to you and your subjects in keeping the resolution I have already taken, than in adopting the new plan proposed

* Torci, t. 3, p. 308.

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by England. I thus equa[illegible]ve peace to France; I secure to her as an ally, a monarch[illegible]h might otherwise at a future period be joined to her ene[illegible] At the same time I follow myself the *path which appear[illegible]nformable to my glory, and to the welfare of my subjects,* [illegible]o by their zeal and attachment have so essentially contributed to maintain the crown on my head." *

This decision being imparted to the british ministry, the next object was to settle the formalities of the renunciations, and the conditions of the suspension of arms, which was to be the prelude for the conclusion of peace. As Louis had repeatedly violated the most solemn engagements, the british ministry proposed that the acts, which were intended to secure the separation of France and Spain, should be sanctioned by the states general of France and the cortes of Spain, as the highest legislative authorities in both kingdoms. But as the confirmation of the states general would have rendered future evasion† difficult, Louis eluded the demand under the plea, that the convention of that assembly was dangerous to the royal authority, and might give rise to civil troubles as on former occasions. In return he offered the sanction of the parliaments, as more conformable to existing usages, and to the constitution of the monarchy. Bolingbroke made no objection to an alternative which in reality rendered the engagement a mere form, and obtained the acquiescence of the queen and his colleagues.‡

* Torci, t. 3, p. 312.

† It is needless to examine the sincerity of these renunciations; because the declaration of Louis already quoted, and the subsequent conduct of Philip, prove that they were considered by both princes as vain and idle formalities. On this subject the reader is referred to a pamphlet of the times, *The Sighs of Europe*, in which this question is treated with equal irony and argument.—— State of Europe, for 1712, p. 225-6.

‡ Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 2.——Duclos, t. 1, p. 63.

A suspension of arms was n[illegible] agreed to, and Louis even consented that Dunkirk shou[illegible]e yielded to the English as a temporary deposit, the [illegible] which the armistice commenced.*

Meanwhile the campaign ha[illegible]pened, and although Ormond was restricted from joining in offensive operations, yet the presence of a british force contributed to keep the french in awe; and Eugene, with the imperial and dutch troops, besieged and captured Quesnoy. July 4.

The loss of this fortress was, however, amply compensated to Louis by the proclamation of the armistice on the part of England; and the separation of the british troops from the allied army. This incident aggravated the bitter disputes which had already arisen from the inactivity and defection of England. The dutch opposed the march of the troops destined to take possession of Dunkirk; while the auxiliaries in the pay of the two maritime powers refused to obey the orders of the british commander, and generously resolved to share the fate of those with whom they had so frequently triumphed. July 17.

The consequence of these disputes was the defection of England from the grand alliance. The discussions at Utrecht were suspended, and the negotiation confined to the courts of Versailles and London. England withheld the pay of the auxiliaries; a garrison was transported by sea from Dover to Dunkirk; Ormond seized Ghent and Bruges to secure the retreat of the troops under his command, and arrangements were immediately commenced for a suspension of hostilities both by land and sea.

* May we again recal the attention of the reader to the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenburgh, and remind him of the cavil made by Louis and his new friends, against the demand of cautionary fortresses of far less importance than Dunkirk.

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Notwithstanding the departure of the english, the imperialists and dutch, with the auxiliaries who were taken into their pay, continued offensive operations, and after the surrender of Quesnoy invested Landrecies. It was hoped that their united forces, directed by the abilities of Eugene, would obtain some brilliant success which might suspend or frustrate the pending negotiation. But their hopes were vain; for the departure of the English gave Villars, the french commander, the advantage of superior numbers, while it revived the spirit of his troops. That able general in his turn became the assailant.

July 24. He forced the lines of Denain, where a strong corps was posted to cover the passage of convoys to Eugene, and killed or made prisoners above 5,000 men. This brilliant exploit decided the fate of the campaign. The siege of Landrecies was instantly raised, and by the precipitate retreat of the allies,

July 30. the french reduced Marchiennes, which contained their principal magazines. So fortunate a blow was followed by a rapid

Sept. 4. series of successes. Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain were re-

Oct. 4. covered in the presence of Eugene himself; and at the close of the campaign no army remained in the field capable of arresting the progress of the french.

The british cabinet scarcely less rejoiced at the misfortunes of the allies, than the french themselves. But their exultation was soon checked by unexpected difficulties in the negotiation. To remedy the mischiefs which were likely to flow from their impolitic concessions, they now found it necessary to raise a new power in Italy, as a counterpoise to the House of Bourbon; and on the surrender of Dunkirk, they brought forward a series of demands in favour of the duke of Savoy. They required for him a barrier on the side of the Alps, calculated to give him an entrance into Dauphiné; the cession of Sicily, and the eventual succession of Spain after the extinction of Philip's issue.

These demands, scarcely [redacted]pected by the bourbon sovereigns, after the past li[redacted]ty of the british government, suspended that confidence [redacted]hich had hitherto prevailed. After some ineffectual expedi[redacted]nts to arrange these important points, Bolingbroke himself repaired to Fontainbleau to hasten a final adjustment. August 19.

Louis had now the gratification to see the minister of that nation to which only a few months before he had humbly sued for peace, appear in his court, a suppliant for terms far less advantageous than those he had himself tendered in vain. It is not probable that considerations of gratitude or humanity would have prevented so arrogant a sovereign from retaliating for past mortifications; but he was sagacious enough to discover that he might presume too confidently on the compliance of the british ministry. The queen had formally communicated to parliament the general principles which were to form the basis of an accommodation; and the spirit of the nation, so long accustomed to victory, was too elated to receive the law from a prince whom they had recently seen a suppliant for peace. Besides, the declining health of the queen rendered it not improbable that the throne might shortly be filled by a sovereign of far different character and principles; at the same time his own advanced age, as well as the extreme youth of his apparent successor, rendered him anxious to prevent the revival of domestic troubles by the restoration of external peace. June 17.

These considerations weighed with the french monarch. In a few conferences Bolingbroke and Torci amicably arranged the most material points in dispute. A general suspension of arms for four months was settled between the two countries; and both ministers in their subsequent correspondence exulted in the consternation of the allies, and considered the peace as already concluded.

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In consequence of these arrangements the stipulated renunciations were formally made. He first announced the design before his court and council. After hinting at the terms of the peace in general, he added, "The king my grandfather has urged me to prefer the kingdom of France to Spain; but neither his instances nor the prospect of succeeding to the great power possessed by my ancestors, have been able to outweigh my gratitude to the spaniards, whose loyalty has preserved the crown on my head. For their sake, I would not only prefer Spain to all the monarchies in the world, but would rather be reduced to the possession of the smallest portion of this kingdom than abandon so faithful a people. To prove the truth of what I now say, and my earnest desire that this crown should descend to my posterity, I declare that I am willing to renounce both in my own person and those of my descendents, my rights to the crown of France in favour of my brother the duke of Berri and his heirs, and of my uncle the duke of Orleans.*"

July 8.

This decision was the same day announced to the nation in general, by a royal decree. Shortly afterwards, lord Lexington repaired to Spain, to witness the ceremony of the renunciation on the part of England.

In any other negotiation except the present, it might have appeared extraordinary, that although according to the preliminary arrangements the title of Philip was not to be acknowledged until he had fulfilled the conditions stipulated in his name, the condition was evaded by a quibble. Torci observed that as the treaty was only *conditional*, the acknowledgment was *conditional* likewise; and Bolingbroke, with his usual complaisance, immediately discovered that it was "*natural, civil,* and *unexceptionable,* and any other mode of proceeding absurd and inconsistent." He therefore revoked, by

* State of Europe for 1712, p. 203.

his own authority, the positive orders given to lord Lexington. The acknowledgment was accordingly made in a private audience; and Philip was thus enabled to render almost nugatory the conditions stipulated for England, and absolutely to evade the demands in favour of the Catalans.* CHAP. XX. 1712 | 1714.

Meanwhile, the proper measures were adopted for assembling the cortes, and lord Lexington arranged with the spanish ministers the form and terms of the renunciation.

On the 5th of November, Philip signed and swore to his renunciation, in a full council of state, the british agent attending in a private capacity. In the afternoon, he proceeded to the hall where the cortes were assembled, accompanied by the president of Castile, and the members of his council, and after declaring his renunciation, required them to sanction it with their assent. The account of this ceremony cannot be better given than in the words of the queen herself, to madame de Maintenon.

"You will learn from M. de Bonnac, what he witnessed yesterday; so it is needless for me to enter into a detail. I will only say, that in the morning, the king read his renunciation of the french crown, with all the clauses which were required, signed it, and solemnly swore to maintain it, calling as witnesses the chiefs of our houshold and the counsellors of state. In the afternoon, all the states of the kingdom assembled in a capacious and handsome apartment, which was filled with a concourse of well dressed persons, though large without confusion. Nov. 6.

"The king began by a discourse which he delivered perfectly well, and with which the whole assembly was satisfied; for if I alone had been so, you would not perhaps have relied

* Report of the Secret Committee.——Political State.——Tindal, v. 18, p. 257.——Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 3, p. 63.

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on my approbation. Then a paper was read containing a longer detail of the reasons for which the king had assembled the states, and of the conditions settled between France and England, for the conclusion of peace. Afterwards a deputy of the town of Burgos spoke in the name of the whole kingdom, and made the king a reply expressive of their extreme gratitude for the sacrifice to which the king submitted from a love of his subjects. I regret that lord Lexington does not understand spanish; for, I think, a translation will not do justice to this speech.

"The states will open a new sitting immediately to pass into a law the king's renunciation, and that which is to be made by the french princes. There is sufficient matter for reflection on such a subject; but I have already indulged myself too far. I add, however, that the king hopes this will contribute to hasten the repose of Europe, and particularly of France, and of the king, his grandfather, which he so ardently desires. See what sacrifices he makes for this object."*

The renunciation was accordingly ratified by the cortes, and a law passed, by which, in failure of Philip's issue, the crown and dominions of Spain were entailed on the House of Savoy.

Philip profited by the present juncture to introduce a new order of succession, calculated to remove to a greater distance the transfer of the crown to a foreign family. He had already superseded the dispositions in the will of Charles the second, by substituting the House of Orleans, in the order of succession, for the duke of Berri, preferably to the archduke, and the duke of Savoy. He now brought forward a species of salic law, entailing the crown on the males of his issue, according to the order of their birth, and excluding all females, while a single male, however distant, remained, under the condition that the

* Noailles, t. 4, p. 386.

prince called to the succession should be born and brought up in Spain. Should the crown eventually revert to a female, the same rule, with regard to a male succession, was to be rigorously re-established.*

This change of a fundamental law, and of that very order of succession which had occcasioned the union of Castile and Aragon, and to which Philip himself owed the crown, excited great discontent. Means were found to secure the approbation of the council of state; but in the council of Castile, the immediate organ of the royal will, it experienced the most strenuous opposition from the president Ronquillo, and many other members. The first decision of the council was so adverse to the views of the king, that he ordered it to be burnt as a source of future doubts and divisions, and required each member to give his separate opinion signed and sealed. This expedient was calculated to produce more docility. Those who had joined in a common opposition, were too prudent to encounter the royal displeasure singly, and no dissenting voice was found. The change thus sanctioned was embodied in a royal decree, and received the ratification of the cortes, as a law of the kingdom.†

As the british government had so readily receded from their demand for the sanction of the states general of France, the renunciations of Philip and the french princes were merely registered in a formal sitting of the parliament of Paris, and Louis revoked the letters patent, which he had before issued, reserving the rights of Philip to the french crown. The ceremony was performed in the presence of the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Prior, as the ministers of England, and the duke of Ossuna, the spanish embassador.

* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 259.

† St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 64—68.

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The renunciation of Philip was confirmed by a solemn oath; but it is a remarkable fact, that either from negligence or connivance the dukes of Orleans and Berri gave only a mere declaration. The circumstance is recorded in a letter from the duke of Shrewsbury, and the answer of Bolingbroke presents a curious specimen of the reasoning by which his conduct was uniformly guided in this negotiation.

"We really took it for granted here, that the princes of the blood in France had sworn to their several renunciations of the crown of Spain, as king Philip did to his renunciation of the crown of France, and the words at the latter end of the renunciations of the dukes of Berry and Orleans confirmed this opinion. It is there said, '*Nous jurons solemnellement sur les evangiles contenus au missel,*' &c.

"I confess, my Lord, the insertion of these words in the acts, and the omission of the solemnity of the oath, carry something along with them which I do not like. The queen seemed to be of the same mind; and, if I have nothing more particular in command to say to your grace upon this head, I believe it is *because things are thought so far advanced, that there is hardly time to overhale this proceeding;* and in such case, perhaps it were better to take it for granted, that the princes have sworn, than enter into a contest which may give ground to other people now, and to the french hereafter, to cavil about the validity of these acts. Will your grace allow me to add my private sentiment? If you find the want of this solemnity may be still supplied previously to the peace, or on the ratifying of it, the princes, I think, ought to swear, not as if at your grace's instance they were doing an act which they before neglected, but as if they took the oath in a proper time and place."*

* Letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, Whitehall, March 24, 1712-13.—— Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 3, p. 509.

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It is not among the least extraordinary circumstances of this iniquitous transaction, that, notwithstanding the most solemn engagements of Louis, not to appropriate any part of the spanish territories, he seized this opportunity to aim a new blow against the commercial prosperity of England, as well as against the spanish possessions of the new world. This was the grant of a royal patent to a merchant of the name of Crozat, empowering him to colonize a country which the french court had hitherto in vain attempted to occupy, with the view to form an establishment in the Gulf of Mexico, and circumscribe the british and spanish colonies on the west. This country, which under the new name of Louisiana was in reality dismembered from the spanish provinces of Florida and Mexico, was watered by the Mississippi, comprised a vast and indefinite extent of territory inland, afforded the means to appropriate the lucrative trade of Mexico, divided the northern colonies of Spain, and commanded the navigation between Vera Cruz and the Havannah. The subsequent transactions and wars in America proved but too well the high importance and real motive of this acquisition.*

Sept. 12.

The disastrous events of the campaign in the Netherlands, the pressure of the subsidies to Austria, and the dread that England would sign a separate treaty, overcame the reluctance of the dutch, and they, at length, confided their interests to the british cabinet, as their only resource. It was scarcely possible to have selected more improper agents. In the discussion which ensued, the french monarch gained essential advantages.

Dec. 19.

* Raynal's History of the East and West Indies, v. 7, p. 16.—Eng. transl. ——State of Europe for 1712, p. 208.——There are some able observations on this subject in Postlethwayte's Great Britain's Commercial Interest. ——The reader is also referred to the Maps of these regions, prior to the close of the 17th century.

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He chicaned with regard to the terms of the treaty of commerce, and instead of the barrier which had been established by the sound judgment of the preceding ministers, he obtained the restoration of the important fortresses of Lisle and Maubeuge, and excluded the towns of Nieuport, Lierre, and Halle, which were necessary to secure the country between the Scheldt and the sea. He would even have obtained Tournay, had not the complaisance of Bolingbroke been checked by the more manly or more cautious sentiments of the treasurer.

The arrangement was accepted, though reluctantly, by the states, and became the prelude to their peace with France.*

This event was speedily followed by the conclusion of a general peace between France and all the members of the grand alliance, except the emperor and empire. The terms regarding France, England, and Holland were nearly the same in substance as the preliminaries.

Philip was acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies.

* Bolingbroke's Correspondence, v. 2 and 3, passim.——Lamberti, t. 7, p. 319.—t. 8, p. 34, &c.

We find the British minister even furnishing arguments on this subject to the french court.

"The queen," he says, "can never do any thing which shall look like a direct restraint on her allies, from demanding what they judge necessary; but as long as they act the part which they now do, she can very justly be passive and neuter as to their interests. * * * * * * This is advantage enough for France, and such a one, fairly speaking, as a year ago they would have given more than Tournay to have been sure of. * * *

"I think, in my own opinion, and I believe I speak the queen's upon this occasion, that it were better the French should, in the course of the treaty, declare, that whatever they intended to give the Dutch, when the queen spoke from the throne, their conduct has been such, and the situation of affairs so altered, that the king is resolved to have Tournay restored to him."

Bolingbroke to Prior, Sept. 10, 1712.——Corresp. v. 3, p. 65.

His plenipotentiaries, the duke of Ossuna, and the marquis of Monteleone, were at length admitted into the congress, and signed treaties with England and Savoy. To prevent the union of France and Spain, he renewed his renunciations, and declared the duke of Savoy successor to the crown, on the extinction of his own issue. He acknowledged the title of queen Anne and the protestant succession in the House of Hanover, ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to England, granted to the british nation the asiento for thirty years, and promised to restore their commerce to the same footing as during the reigns of the austrian sovereigns. He yielded the Netherlands, Naples, and Milan, with the isle of Sardinia, to the House of Austria, and Sicily to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, to revert to the spanish crown in failure of his issue. Finally he engaged never to sell or alienate to France, or any other nation, any town or province in America. This was the substance of the treaties with England and Savoy, to which they engaged to procure the accession of the other powers.

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All parties employed their efforts to include the emperor in the pacification. But Charles rejected the proffered terms, refused to relinquish his rights to Spain, the Indies, and Sicily, and was little satisfied with the conditions on which he was to receive the Netherlands. He persisted in his resolution to prosecute the war, and prevailed on the empire to support another campaign. Unable, however, to maintain hostilities in all quarters, he concluded a neutrality for Italy, consented to evacuate Catalonia and the islands in the Mediterranean, on the sole condition of a general armistice for all his adherents, and concentrated his whole force on the Rhine, where he hoped to make a vigorous and decisive effort.

May 14, 1713.

The result of the experiment proved the fallacy of his hopes, that when deserted by the allies, Austria could maintain a war

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alone against France. Villars, who was transferred to the command of the army on the Rhine, took Spire, Worms, and Keiserslautern, forced Landau to surrender after an obstinate siege, and crossing the Rhine captured Friburg, in the Brisgau. These reverses convinced the emperor that he had miscalculated his own strength and resources; and despairing of support from the maritime powers, he entered into a separate negotiation with France. Conferences were opened at Rastadt, between Eugene and Villars, the commanders of the respective armies, and speedily terminated in the signature of preliminaries. These became the foundation of a general treaty between France, the emperor, and empire, which was signed at Baden in Switzerland.

The treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen, and Ryswick were made the basis of the peace, as far as it regarded the House of Austria and the empire. Landau was ceded to France; Friburg, Old Brisach, and Kehl, were restored to the emperor, and France agreed to leave him in possession of Naples, the Milanese, and Sardinia, and of the Low Countries on the conditions of the last treaty of barrier. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were reinstated; and the princes of Italy were to be maintained in the peaceable enjoyment of their actual possessions. As Charles persisted in his refusal to renounce his pretensions to Spain, no accommodation could be effected with Philip, and the decision of the grand question relative to the spanish dominions, was still left to future wars or future negotiations.

Meanwhile, numerous difficulties had protracted the conclusion of a particular treaty between Philip and the dutch, notwithstanding he had announced his acquiescence in the terms arranged by the intervention of England; for the demands of the republic, in regard to commercial privileges, and

the payment of the arrears due from the austrian kings of Spain, produced a tedious discussion. CHAP. XX. 1712 | 1714.

Nor were the terms arranged between England and Spain carried into effect without new quibbles and delays. From real or feigned reluctance to submit to the dismemberment of the monarchy, Philip withheld the instruments for the delivery of Sicily to the duke of Savoy, and employed the interference of the inquisition to raise objections to the cession of the ecclesiastical rights in Gibraltar and Minorca. He chicaned also with regard to the commercial regulations, and positively rejected the demands made for the king of Portugal.

To obviate these difficulties, the british ministry imitated the example of Louis in flattering the princess Orsini, and by her intervention the commercial treaty was at length arranged. "We are," said Bolingbroke, "I believe, obliged to the princess des Ursins for having this treaty sent us back in the manner it is; and I beg of you to let the spanish ministers perceive that the queen thinks so, and that you appear warmly for this lady's interest. As long as this queen of Spain lives, she will govern her husband; and as long as the princess lives, she will govern her; so that the advantage of flattering this old woman's pride, for her avarice we cannot flatter, must be solid and lasting."* Feb. 13. 1713.

The failure of all attempts to secure to the princess her duchy of Limburg, deprived the british government of her further assistance.† Among the points which were still left in suspence, was the arrangement with Portugal. As early as 1711, Philip had opened a secret negotiation with the court of

* Bolingbroke to Strafford.—Corresp. v. 4, p. 473.——This letter deserves an attentive perusal, being an invective of extraordinary vehemence against the Court of Madrid for its equivocations and delays in fulfilling its engagements.

† See the next Chapter.

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Lisbon, but it was frustrated by the interference of England; and a desultory warfare continued in Estremadura with little advantage on either side. The suspension of arms between England and Spain was followed by a similar armistice with Portugal, which was likewise prolonged till the signature of the definitive treaty.

The british government affected considerable solicitude for the interests of Portugal; but cooled in proportion to the objections raised by the court of Madrid. At length, the king of Portugal voluntarily receded from the claims to which he was entitled by former treaties, and after the discussion had been prolonged till 1715, he relinquished his hopes of aggrandisement on the side of Spain, to acquire the long contested colony of Sacramento, at the junction of the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata. He likewise obtained from France the abandonment of her pretensions to certain districts on the borders of Brazil, and of a free navigation on the river of the Amazons.

Thus terminated a negotiation which proved the salvation of the House of Bourbon, and set the seal to the degradation of England. We cannot close a narrative which, at every step, has awakened sentiments of shame, regret, and indignation, without adopting the words of bishop Fleetwood, in one of the most admirable compositions of which our language can boast. "Never did seven such years together pass over the head of any english monarch, nor cover it with so much honour. The crown and sceptre seemed to be the queen's least ornaments. These other princes wore in common with her, and her great personal virtues were the same before and since. But such was the fame of her administration of affairs at home, such was the reputation of her wisdom and felicity in chusing ministers, and such was then esteemed their faithfulness and

zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her commands; to such a height of military glory did her great general and her armies carry the british name abroad, such was the harmony and concord betwixt her and her allies, and such was the blessing of God upon all her counsels and undertakings, that I am as sure as history can make me, no prince of ours was ever yet so prosperous and successful, so loved, esteemed, and honoured by their subjects and their friends, nor near so formidable to their enemies. We were, as all the world imagined, then just entered on the ways that promised to lead us to such a peace as would have answered all the prayers of our religious queen, the care and vigilance of a most able ministry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the soldiery: when God, for our sins, permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and by troubling sore the camp, the city and the country, (and oh! that it had altogether spared the places sacred to his worship), to spoil, for a time, this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give in its stead I know not what.—Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure."*

And the exultation of our enemies has sufficienty told the rest. It is needless to quote a less authority than that of Torci himself.

" England quitting her allies, who were afterwards defeated at Denain, *had the glory* to contribute in restoring to Europe a happy and stable peace; *advantageous to France by the restoration of the principal places which she had lost during the*

* Fleetwood's Preface to his four Sermons.—It is scarcely necessary to apprise the reader that this preface was burnt, by order of the House of Commons. The interest which it excited may be judged from the circumstance that no less than 4,000 copies were circulated through the medium of the Spectator. See an excellent Letter of the Author to Bishop Burnett on this occasion, in Rapin, vol. 17, p. 537.

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war, by the preservation of those which the king had offered three years before; *glorious by the maintenance of a prince of the royal family on the throne of Spain;* necessary from the fatal loss which the kingdom incurred four years after that miserable negotiation, and two years after the peace, of the greatest king who had ever yet worn the crown."*

And in terminating his Memoirs, after expatiating on the restoration of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant, and regretting the necessity of consenting to the rasure of Dunkirk for the sake of breaking the grand alliance, and the concessions made to the duke of Savoy, he triumphantly concludes; "But the monarchy of Spain, the object and the price of a bloody war during twelve years, was preserved in the royal house; and the right of the descendants of St. Louis acknowledged by so many powers and nations who had conspired to force king Philip to descend from the throne on which God had placed him."†

* Torci, t. 2, p. 228.

† For the contents of this chapter have been consulted and compared, Actes du Traité d'Utrecht, Lamberti, t. 7 and 8. The different treaties in the general Collection of Treaties of Peace and Commerce—Public Papers and Documents in the Political State of Europe—Report of the Secret Committee of 1715, and other Parliamentary Proceedings of the period—Tindal, v. 18, whose dry pages contain a treasure of useful facts—Swift's Four Last years of Queen Anne and Conduct of the Allies—Mem. de Villars, de Polignac, du Prince Eugene, ecrits par lui même—Memoirs de Torci passim—St. Philippe, t. 3.—Mably Droit Public—Koch Abregé de l'Histoire des Traités de Paix—Paix d'Utrecht, t. 1.—Larrey, Histoire de Louis xiv.—Somerville's Queen Anne—Cunningham's History; and last, not least, the Collection of Bolingbroke's Correspondence, which brings to light many proofs of the weakness and infatuation of the British Cabinet, which otherwise would not have been credible.

CHAPTER XXI.

1712—1714.

Departure of the English troops from Catalonia—Afflicting case of the Catalans—Their spirited resolution—Treaty for the evacuation of Catalonia concluded by the Emperor—Negotiation between England and Spain relative to the Catalan constitution and privileges—Their cause abandoned by England—They reject the offer of the Castilian Government, and prepare for an obstinate defence—Military operations in Catalonia—March of the French army—Siege, defence and storm of Barcelona—The Catalan constitution abrogated—Surrender of Majorca—Letter from the Emperor to General Stanhope on the fate of the Catalans.

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BEFORE the signature of the definitive treaty with Portugal, Philip had secured the possession of all the territories assigned to him at the peace of Utrecht by the recovery of Catalonia, Majorca and Iviza.

The campaign of 1712 in Catalonia was not more decisive than that of the preceding year; for the death of Vendome at Vimeros early in the spring, occasioned a sudden and temporary suspension of military operations.*

Immediately after the conclusion of the general armistice between France and England, the english troops withdrew Sept. 1712.

* Vendome died of an indigestion, the consequence of his gluttonous intemperance, in the fifty ninth year of his age.

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from Barcelona, amidst the clamorous indignation of the people, whom the english government had excited to join the austrian standard. To prevent the effects of popular despair, the empress found it necessary to send four persons of distinction and influence, to facilitate their departure, and supply them with provisions. After encamping a short time on the very spot where Charles had first landed, and sympathising with the brave nation whom they were compelled to abandon, they embarked on board the squadron commanded by sir John Jennings, and were conveyed to Minorca.*

Notwithstanding the departure of the english troops, the campaign on the side of Philip was merely defensive, from an unwillingness to expose himself to the fortune of war, when he could more confidently rely on the successful issue of the pending negotiations. The whole year, therefore, presents no other incident worthy of notice, except an unsuccessful attempt of Staremberg against Gerona, in which the marquis of Brancas sustained a siege of the unusual length of nine months.

Towards the close of the season, the imperial general repaired to Barcelona, to ascertain the disposition of the Catalans, and arrange a plan of future operations in conjunction with the states. He found this high spirited people not depressed by the desertion of the english, and the probable result of the pending negotiations; but firm in their attachment to the sovereign whom they had chosen, and resolved to maintain their darling constitution though with the sacrifice of their fortunes and lives.

The emperor was highly gratified with this proof of their disinterested and affectionate attachment. But the reverses in the Netherlands, the forced defection of the dutch, the increasing

* Tindal, v. 18, p. 29.——St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 39.

complaisance of England towards the Bourbon courts, left him no other resource than to concentrate his whole strength on the borders of the empire, and make a decisive effort for the preservation of his honour and safety. He did not, however, repay the affection of his faithful Catalans with unavailing regret. In treating for the evacuation of the principality, he struggled to save their constitution, and in spite of all the disadvantages under which he laboured, he succeeded in obtaining a general armistice for all his partisans in Spain, and extorted from England and France a solemn promise, which was inserted in the convention, to employ their intervention at the future peace for the preservation of the Catalan privileges. In consequence of this agreement, which was guarantied by England, he was to withdraw his troops and give no future succour to the Catalans; and on the commencement of the armistice either Barcelona or Tarragona, at his own option, was to be yielded to Philip.*

March 19. When the moment of the execution arrived, and the empress took her departure on board the english squadron, the Catalans, who regarded her as a pledge for the protection of Charles, burst into transports of indignation. Personal respect for a princess to whom they were sincerely attached, restrained their ardent passions, when the first division of the troops embarked; but it required all the address of Staremberg to prevent the effects of their despair on the departure of the last. During the interval before the return of the british squadron, he pacified them by offering to assist in the defence of their city, and when the fatal moment arrived, he amused the chiefs with proposals for a capitulation; while the troops quitted their posts, and silently drew towards the shore.

May 15.

* Convention for the evacuation of Catalonia.——Political State for 1712, p. 81.

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Though hopeless of external aid, and abandoned by all, the Catalans disdained to bend to their adverse fortune. A small but desperate body made a rapid march to occupy Tarragona at the moment the imperialists withdrew, and would probably have anticipated the royal troops, had not the citizens themselves shut the gates and prevented their entrance. Yet though foiled in this attempt to secure one of the keys of their province, they had the satisfaction to be joined by the greater part of the garrison, and by 4,000 men, who deserted from the imperial ranks, with the connivance of Staremberg. In addition to this force, 6,000 regular troops remained in arms in the capital, besides the neighbouring garrison of Cardona, and the numerous parties of miquelets, who still occupied the fastnesses of this impracticable country. With this force they determined to make a decisive stand, and they relied on the promises of England and the secret encouragement of their beloved sovereign.

Philip, who was anxious to reduce his whole dominions under one form of government, and had already freed his crown from the restraints of the Aragonese constitution, was resolved to abrogate the privileges of Catalonia, which had often favoured internal revolt, and as often invited foreign invasion. He therefore carefully avoided the slightest engagement contrary to his view; and in offering to the Catalans a general amnesty and oblivion of past offences, he tendered them the Castilian constitution, in terms calculated to give it the appearance of a favour. The offer, however, was received with contempt by a people who participated with the Aragonese in attachment to their native customs and laws, and in antipathy to those of Castile.

In consequence of this contumacy, Philip next employed his efforts to deprive them of the countenance or support of

England; and it is with regret that we again see our government displaying new instances of servility to the common enemy, again breaking its solemn engagements, and again sporting with the feelings and interests of its unfortunate allies.

When the queen excited the Catalans to take up arms for the austrian prince, she pledged herself to maintain their privileges; and this promise had been confirmed in the recent treaty of evacuation. Yet, Philip found means to influence a part of the british cabinet, and induced them to evade the performance of a promise twice pledged in the face of Europe. In the articles, therefore, which were submitted to the spanish court in virtue of the previous arrangements with France, lord Lexington made no mention of the Catalan constitution, but confined his demand to a simple armistice. In the correspondence of Bolingbroke with the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, these privileges are described as contrary to the interests of England; and the constitution of Castile, which was tendered as an alternative, as far more valuable to subjects who intended to live in due subjection to authority. The queen also, in her eagerness for peace, was easily induced by her secretary to adopt similar language and sentiments.

A temporary opposition, however, was made by the more independent members of administration, who evinced a wish to vindicate the national honour, and contended for the fulfilment of the royal promises. Hence arose discordant opinions, vacillating counsels, and contradictory orders and instructions. Hence we find lord Lexington at one time requiring only an armistice; at another the Catalan privileges; conceding the point in one instance, and in another reviving the question by a fruitless protest.

Philip was too well assured of the real state and disposition of the british court, to be alarmed by this struggle

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of discordant sentiments. He treated the remonstrances as mere forms to preserve appearances, and save the honour of the queen: he coolly observed to the british embassador, "Peace is no less necessary to you than to us; you will not break with us for a trifle," and on the protest of lord Lexington, Bedmar, the minister for foreign affairs, expressed his surprise, adding, "your excellency will recollect that you signed this article with your own hand; the king cannot enter into farther negotiation on a point already settled."

This dry and abrupt repulse, as Philip had doubtless expected, silenced all objections. The treaty with Spain was ratified at London without further hesitation or remonstrance, and dispatched to Utrecht, to be incorporated in the arrangements for the general peace. Nor was this the only proof of complaisance which he received from the bourbon partisans. The british government displayed the utmost eagerness for the reduction of Barcelona, employed the warmest remonstrances to reduce the regency to submission; supported the complaints of the bourbon courts against the emperor, for encouraging them to persevere in their resistance against the royal authority; and pressed the conclusion of a peace with Portugal, in order to unite the whole force of the spanish monarchy, in the reduction of its rebellious subjects.

These circumstances induced Philip to make an earnest appeal for assistance, as well to England, as to France. Louis, disengaged from all the embarrassments of the war by the treaty of Rastadt, did not hesitate to comply with the request, and collected a force of 20,000 men, which under the command of Berwick was destined to cross the Pyrenees and assist in the reduction of Barcelona. The queen of England, also, not only approved this co-operation, but in spite of her solemn and repeated pledges, sent a squadron into the Mediterranean, under

admiral Wishart, who was charged with instructions to straiten the supplies of Barcelona, and contribute to its surrender.

While, however, the crown and the ministry were thus degrading themselves, the heroic spirit and impending fate of the Catalans awakened an honourable sympathy in the british nation. In spite of the superiority which the ministry had obtained in parliament, the House of Lords spoke the public sentiment, by addressing the queen "to continue her interposition that the Catalans might enjoy their just and antient privileges." This incident, for a moment, overawed the ministry. The queen once more renewed, before her people and Europe, her solemn promise in favour of the Catalans. A hint from Bolingbroke restricted admiral Wishart from fulfilling his orders with rigour; the clause was duly inserted in the instructions of lord Bingley; and, after a delay of two months, we find Bolingbroke himself making a faint complaint to the spanish secretary, "that the Catalan privileges were not yet granted, nor any reasonable terms offered, which, if they failed to accept, they must forfeit the queen's compassion, and that of the whole world.*"

In the mean time admiral Wishart arrived with his squadron at Cadiz. As the prevailing sentiment in England, and the revocation of his original orders, were not unknown at Madrid, he was received with a coldness amounting almost to studied disrespect. At the same time, however, to profit by the presence of his fleet, without incurring the obligation of his assistance, Philip again opened a negotiation with the Catalans, and offered them a free pardon, and a general amnesty, if they would lay down their arms and submit to the castilian government.

* Case of the Catalans considered in the Report of the Secret Committee. ——Bolingbroke's Correspondence, 1713—1714, passim.

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Nothing, however, could vanquish the spirited resolution of this brave people. They rejected every condition, except the preservation of their constitution and laws, though they offered to purchase the concession by a considerable contribution.* This alternative producing no effect, they determined, though abandoned by all, to relinquish their darling constitution only with their lives. They raised and disciplined new levies, repaired their fortifications, fitted out a squadron of light ships, amounting to fourteen sail, besides frigates and armed barks; and, to supply the consumption of an extensive capital, as well as to furnish resources for their army, they seized the vessels of every nation, laden with provisions, though they paid the full value of the cargoes. They even formally declared and waged a regular war by sea, against the French and Spaniards. The military command was intrusted to Villaroel, who had received the rank of general in the austrian service, and he was ably seconded by native officers, both superior and subaltern, who had been formed in this long and dreadful conflict. To repress the timid as well as to awe the partisans or agents of Philip, a tribunal was constituted under the name of a council of conscience, and composed of the superior clergy, both regular and secular. It was empowered to judge without appeal, and by the summary rules of military law, all who failed in their duty to their country, or hinted the very name of capitulation, and a body of officers, popularly termed *Matamoros*, were appointed to carry its decrees into immediate execution.† At the same time the citizens were encouraged by frequent supplies from the austrian parts of Sardinia and Naples, as well as from the neutral coasts of Italy. They conceived hopes from the pending disputes of the court of Madrid with

* Report of the Secret Committee.——Bolingbroke's Correspondence.

† Desormeaux, t. 5, p. 317.

Holland and Portugal; and they kept up an extensive correspondence with numbers of disaffected, in their own province, as well as in the bordering parts of Aragon and Valencia, to whom the slightest reverse of the royal arms, would have been a signal for immediate insurrection. CHAP. XXI. 1712 | 1714.

Meanwhile the storm gathered heavily and fearfully around them. The duke of Popoli, with the main army, as well as strong detachments under the marquis of Tuy and the count of Montemar, gradually dispersed the desultory hordes which infested the mountainous districts, and straitened Barcelona by land, while a spanish squadron blockaded it by sea. The french troops also had already begun their march to co-operate with those of Philip, in reducing his contumacious subjects.

On the seventh of May, a bombardment commenced, but the assailants were driven from their works by a vigorous sally, and were only saved from defeat by the arrival of a french detachment. This repulse again reduced the siege to a blockade, till the arrival of marshal Berwick, with the french army of 20,000 men. The allied force now united under his command, amounted to 35,000 men before the place; 8,000 were stationed at Girona, to preserve the communication with France; a corps of cavalry scoured the country to disperse the flying parties of insurgents, and 8,000 were scattered over the districts between Barcelona and the Ebro. 1714.

To this imposing force, the catalan chiefs could only oppose 16,000 regimented troops, besides the armed citizens; but the imminent and inevitable danger only roused that chivalrous spirit by which the spanish people have been ever distinguished. Hopeless of relief, they disdained submission, and looked forward to no other alternative than the repulse of the royalists, or utter destruction. Every expedient which art could devise was employed to give effect to their efforts. The fortifications

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both of Montjuich and the town were strengthened, barricades formed in the streets, the walls of the houses pierced to render every dwelling a citadel, and no precaution omitted for defence while an inch of ground remained to defend. The aged, sickly, and timid, were removed to the protection of their friends and confederates, the islanders of Majorca; priests, monks, and even women, flew to arms; the bishop, and the different orders of the clergy, excited the popular enthusiasm, both by exhortations and example; and every motive of religion and patriotism, as well as the powerful influence of the social passions, was called into action. Finally, they deposited the promise of the queen of England to maintain their laws and constitution, on the high altar of their cathedral, as a solemn appeal to Heaven against that desertion of which they were destined to become the victims.

The unexpected firmness and menacing aspect of the Catalans convinced Philip that the impending contest would require all the support which he could draw from foreign aid. He, therefore, changed his conduct towards the british admiral, and by favours and presents, not only induced him to concur in straitening the supplies of Barcelona, but obtained from him a threatening remonstrance to the regency, for presuming to plunder british ships, and ill treat the sailors. To this menace, the catalan chiefs pleaded the excuse of necessity, and promised redress; but, at the same time, they made a pathetic appeal to british humanity, and requested his mediation for a suspension of arms. The appeal was fruitless: for to enable the Spaniards to maintain the blockade with undiminished forces, the admiral detached three of his own ships to convoy the flotilla returning from America.*

Aug. 1. 1712.

At this crisis, the long expected death of Anne, and the

* Case of the Catalans; as before.

accession of George the first, inspired the besieged with new hopes, and as the unfortunate are elated by the faintest gleam of relief, they flattered themselves that the change would produce a speedy and effectual interposition in their favour. Nor, indeed, was their confidence wholly unfounded. The very first measure of the new government was an urgent application to France in their behalf, declaring them under the protection of the british crown, and remonstrating against the march of the french troops and the investment of Barcelona, after the solemn promise given by the french monarch to concur with England in obtaining the preservation of the catalan constitution and privileges.

These instances were, however, too late to be availing. Louis replied, "he had already employed his good offices; their obstinacy alone was the cause of their misfortune, and a regard for his own honour would not permit him to recal his troops." To preclude farther remonstrance, he hurried reinforcements to the army, and ordered the commander to redouble his efforts for the reduction of Barcelona.

Embarrassed with factions in his new kingdom, and restrained by the fear of a jacobite insurrection, George could not enforce his instances by renewing hostilities. All appeals to the honour of Louis and the humanity of Philip proving ineffectual, he gave the only support to the Catalans, which his circumstances would permit, by enjoining admiral Wishart not to molest the besieged, nor to hinder any relief which might be brought by sea.*

As the emperor had now concluded a peace, and r[illegible] appeals, not only to the christian powers, but eve[illegible] turks, had produced no effect, the Catalans were left [illegible] own courage, exertions, and resources.

* Tindal, v. 18, p. 303.——Also Case of the Catalans.

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On the 12th of July, the trenches were formally opened against the city, and, under the skilful direction of french engineers, advanced regularly towards the ramparts. In spite of the most desperate sallies, the batteries began to play on the 25th, and five days afterwards, a lodgment was made on the covert way. On the 12th of August, breaches were effected in two of the bastions, but it required a struggle of three days before the assailants could gain a footing on the rampart.

Here generally ends the most desperate resistance of a fortified town; though, in this instance, it was scarcely more than the commencement of the conflict. While preparations were arranging for three assaults at the same moment, Berwick compassionately made an effort to save the city from the horrors of a storm, and deferred the signal for a combat which was likely to prove no less destructive to his own troops than to the besieged. All his benevolent offers serving only to rouse new transports of enthusiasm, the fatal signal was at length given on the morning of the 11th of September.*

A contemporary author,† who wrote under the horrible impression of the moment, has traced a glowing picture of this deplorable event.

Fifty battalions of grenadiers commenced the dreadful work, and were supported by forty others. The French attacked the eastern bastion, the Spaniards that of St. Clara and the new gate. The resistance was obstinate even to ferocity. Cannon loaded with grape made the most dreadful carnage in the [illegible]ches. Without being able to advance a single step, the as- [illegible] perished by hundreds. Fresh troops incessantly ar- [illegible] length overpowered the weaker numbers of the be- The french and spanish columns mounted the breaches

* Memoires de Berwick, t. 2, p. 174, et seq.
† St. Philippe.

at the same instant, and the french pushed forward into the town. But here it was that the conflict really commenced. Every street was intersected with barricades; every inch of ground was purchased with the sacrifice of lives. Unprovided with means to force the barricades, or fill up the ditches, the assailants were swept away by an incessant fire from every house. At length, all obstructions were overcome by torrents of blood. In the heat of the combat, the victors spared none: the Catalans, lavish of life, demanded no quarter. When they were driven into the great square, the assailants deemed the conflict at an end, and dispersed for pillage. But the insurgents, profiting by the moment, returned to the charge; the assailants were driven back to the breach, and would have been again precipitated into the ditch, had they not been rallied by the bravery and exertions of their officers. Again the combat raged with aggravated fury, for the spanish column which had penetrated by the other breach was driven back as the French retreated.

Numbers and bravery at length vanquished all resistance. The Spaniards turned their own cannon against them, and additional artillery was brought up to the breach. Yet though thrown into disorder, they did not cease to combat. The assailants, galled with a continual and terrible fire, by a desperate effort forced the bastion of St. Peter, where the besieged their principal stand, and turned its artillery against them. In this crisis, the chiefs led them to a new charge, but were repulsed, and Villaroel desperately wounded. Though discouraged by the misfortune of the commander, the besieged still maintained the struggle for twelve hours, in every quarter of the town, and there was scarcely an inhabitant of any age, sex, or condition, who did not share in the defence. The history of this century does not furnish an example of a siege so long and bloody.

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The women at length retired into the convents; the populace, vanquished and straitened on every side, and unable to defend themselves, did not demand quarter, and the french massacred all without distinction. At this moment some individuals raised a white standard, and Berwick seized the opportunity to suspend the carnage, ordering the troops to maintain their posts, till he had heard the proposals of surrender. But a sudden cry of "kill and burn" bursting from the ranks, revived the fury of the troops, the streets were again deluged with blood, and the authority of Berwick himself scarcely sufficed to arrest the disorder. Night arrived, and with it new horrors; for in the short interval of suspence the inhabitants resumed their arms and again poured a destructive fire from the houses.

Deputies at length advanced to the breach to parley with marshal Berwick, but required a general pardon and the restoration of their privileges. The marshal contemptuously rejected the demand, and threatened to give no quarter if they did not surrender before morning. His answer inflamed the spirit of the insurgents; and the combat raged with redoubled fury, a storm of fire pouring upon the assailants from the houses which by order of the marshal had been respited from destruction.

This night was one of the most horrible that imagination can form. The marshal ordered the dead and wounded to be removed, kept the troops under arms, and prepared to reduce the town to ashes. Day broke, and notwithstanding the obstinacy of the insurgents, he granted a delay of six hours. This concession producing no effect, the houses were set on fire. Apprised of their danger by the burst of the flames, the insurgents once more hoisted a flag of truce. The fire was extinguished, the deputies of the magistracy yielded

the town without condition ; and the offers of Berwick procured the immediate surrender of Montjuich and Cardona.

The lives and property of the inhabitants were spared ; but twenty of the chiefs, among whom were Villaroel, Armengol, the marquis de Peral, and Nebot, were consigned to perpetual imprisonment, in the castle of Alicante, and the bishop of Albaracin with two hundred ecclesiastics banished to Italy. Of the rest, the inferior officers were dismissed on taking the oath of allegiance. The standards of the town were publicly burnt, the privileges of the province annulled, and a new government established according to the constitution of Castile. The prince of Tzerclaes was nominated captain general of the province, and the marquis of Leide governor of Barcelona.

Thus ended a conflict which recalls to recollection the fate of the ancient Numantia and Saguntum,* and in recent times finds a parallel in the immortal defence of Saragossa. The royalists purchased their victory with the loss of no less than 6,000 men in the siege, and 4,000 in the assault, and we can scarcely doubt that the besieged were not equally sufferers. This ferocious resistance induced some of the counsellors of Philip to recommend the rasure of the place, and the erection of a pyramid in commemoration of the rebellion. But he was too prudent as well as too humane to destroy one of the most valuable cities of his dominions for the sake of personal resentment; and faithfully fulfilled the conditions which Berwick promised to the inhabitants.†

Majorca alone had not yet acknowledged the authority of Philip, but the dreadful fate of Barcelona was not sufficient

* The modern Murviedro, which has been recently illustrated by a gallant defence against the french arms.

† In addition to the animated description of St. Philippe, the reader is referred to the more brief account of Berwick, which does equal justice to the desperate defence of Barcelona.

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to reduce these hardy islanders. At length, the arrival of 10,000 french and spanish troops, convinced them that farther resistance was fruitless: after a short deliberation, they accepted the offer of a general pardon, and of more favourable conditions than had been granted to the Catalans, and pledged their obedience to Philip.

The noble struggle and melancholy fate of the Catalans, excited sympathy even in the breasts of those who were adverse to their cause. The british monarch and nation naturally witnessed their downfall with deep regret; but no heart more sincerely bled than that of the emperor, who considered himself as the innocent and unfortunate cause of their ruin. Notwithstanding the desertion of England, he had resumed his instances in their favour at the conferences of Rastadt, and the memoirs of Villars bear an honourable testimony to his zeal and firmness in their behalf, and the sorrow and reluctance with which he abandoned them to their fate. A letter written to general Stanhope, who had equally witnessed their fidelity and sufferings in his cause, will prove that the feelings of the monarch were lost in those of the man.

Sept. 8. 1714.

After expressing his grateful affection for Mr. Stanhope, and those who had acted in his cause, and his satisfaction at the recent change of government in England, he continues, "Convinced as I am of your goodness of heart, I am persuaded that you and your friends will compassionate the fidelity, constancy, and misfortune of my poor Catalans, whose attachment to me is without example. Neither calamities, nor perils, nor persuasion, have been able to weaken their generous fidelity. All this pierces my heart. I leave you to judge, you who can best judge, whether it is in my power to succour them without a naval force; on the contrary, I should only aggravate their ruin. I place my reliance on you and your friends, and doubt not but

you will reflect on the dreadful state to which they have been reduced by the evil minded of your countrymen, contrary to the most solemn and repeated promises."

* The letter from which this abstract is taken, written in the french language in the hand of the emperor himself, is preserved in the Harrington Papers.

CHAPTER XXII.

1714.

The Princess Orsini obstructs the conclusion of Peace, to extort the cession of her Sovereignty in the Netherlands—Death of Maria Louisa, Queen of Spain—Despondency of Philip, and influence of the Princess—Administration and financial regulations of Orri—Fruitless attempt to reform the Abuses of the Church—Disputes and reconciliation of the Princess with the Court of Versailles—Her negotiations and intrigues for the re-marriage of Philip—Choice of Elizabeth Farnese, Princess of Parma—Arrival of the new Queen in Spain—Disgrace and banishment of the Princess—Remarks on this singular Event—Her subsequent Adventures—Changes in the Spanish administration.

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AS Louis had concluded the peace from apprehensions lest a change in the british government should occasion the renewal of the war, he was no less sincere in desiring to terminate the complicated business of the negotiation, by an arrangement between Spain, Holland, and Portugal, which had been suspended from various causes. He therefore called on Philip to ratify the conditions concluded in his behalf, through the intervention of England. But he found Philip less grateful to the hand which had raised him to the throne, than sensible of the sacrifices extorted from him, and indignant at the insults which he had experienced from the dutch and the emperor. Various circumstances also contributed to increase his reluctance.

Among others, the most essential obstacle was derived from the opposition of the princess Orsini. The sovereignty which had been promised to her, rather as the price of future, than as the reward of past services, however inconsiderable it was at first represented, was no less important a territory than the duchy of Limburg. In addition to the absolute promise of Louis to extort the consent of the emperor, her useful agency had been repaid with a promise equally solemn from England, and the intended transfer was accordingly secured with every requisite formality.

Before the cession of the Netherlands, a grant of the duchy of Limburg, with such additional territories as should produce an annual revenue of 30,000 crowns, was passed by a legal act, and introduced in the convention concluded between Spain and England, by the agency of lord Lexington. The same clause, by the express injunction of the british ministry, was afterwards inserted in the treaty of Utrecht; and the queen pledged her royal word never to permit the transfer of the Netherlands to any prince whatsoever, till the princess was quietly established and acknowledged in her sovereignty.* Both before and after the conclusion of the treaty, members of the british cabinet continued to lavish on the princess their professions of service, and repeatedly pledged their own personal credit † as well as the word of their royal mistress, for the fulfilment of this condition.

March 27, 1713.

July 13.

Nothing appeared wanting to crown the hopes of the princess, but the acquiescence of the dutch, and the consent of the emperor. But they were bound by no personal obligations to

* Treaty between Great Britain and Spain.—See Collect. Treaties, v. 3, p. 492.

† See in the Correspondence of Bolingbroke, v. 3 and 4, numerous letters from him to the Princess, written in a style of the most extravagant adulation.

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conciliate her favour; and, therefore, the states refused their guaranty, and the emperor opposed the cession of so valuable a territory in the heart of a distant province, to a dependent of France and Spain. All arguments failing to overcome their objections, the zeal of the british court gradually cooled; and finally, Louis himself, in the conferences of Rastadt, after a slight affectation of reluctance, gave up a point of such inferior importance, compared with the restoration of a general peace.*

Stung with disappointment, the princess exerted her powerful influence to protract the negotiation with Holland; and she unfortunately found both Philip and the queen too sensible of a refusal which they considered as a personal affront to themselves.

In the midst of the suspense derived from this cause, the queen of Spain fell a victim to the fatal and lingering disorder which had long afflicted her. She died in the twenty-sixth year of her age, leaving two sons, Louis and Ferdinand; regretted by the Spaniards, by whom she was beloved and respected; and deeply lamented by her husband, who, to her lively temper and amiable character, owed the comforts of domestic life and tranquillity of mind, and to her exertions and magnanimity was scarcely less indebted for the preservation of his throne.

Feb. 14, 1714.

The interregnum, for so it may be truly called, between the death of one queen and the arrival of a second, became the reign of the princess Orsini.

In the first moments of despondency, Philip abandoned the reins of government to the cardinal del Giudice, a neapolitan prelate, recently raised to the important post of grand inquisitor, and justly meriting his confidence, by integrity, candour, and zeal for the catholic faith. Unable to support the view of a palace which brought his beloved con-

* Memoirs de Villars, t. 2, p. 316.

sort to his recollection, he retired to the hotel of the duke of Medina Celi at Madrid, and shut himself up with no other companion than the princess, who, by her post of governess to the prince of Asturias, was entitled to share the royal residence. As the hotel was too small to contain the numerous attendants of the court, the princess established herself in an adjacent convent; and the capucins to whom it belonged, were transferred to another monastery. By her order, the party walls which separated the convent from the hotel were demolished, and an open gallery, which formed a communication between the two buildings, was closed, to enable her to pay her visits to the royal widower at all seasons without restraint, and without observation.*

In this state of seclusion, a woman of such refined talents had full opportunity to establish her sway over the mind of the king, and to appropriate the royal authority. At her suggestion, the powers granted to the cardinal del Giudice were recalled within the short interval of three days, and the principal direction of affairs transferred to Orri, who, in the late political revolutions, had been again summoned to Spain.

The primary object of the princess and her dependent, was to introduce a new system of administration, and to exclude from all share in the government the native Spaniards, on whose attachment they could not depend. Grimaldo, who, in his post of secretary of state, possessed a degree of influence which clashed with their views, was dismissed from those offices which might render him a dangerous opponent, and confined to the departments of war and the Indies. The other secretary, Mejorada, was supplanted by don Manuel Vadello: don Francisco Ronquillo was removed from the presidency of Castile, which was divided among five different persons. Four

* Duclos, t. 1, p. 73.

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presidents were also appointed to the council of finance, and three to that of the Indies. Similar changes were made in the other branches of the administration, and regulations were introduced which were calculated to rouse the proverbial torpor of the spaniards, and give effect to the measures of the government. Lastly, the important department of the finances was divided between Orri and the count of Bergueik.

Orri was however soon left in the uncontrolled possession of ministerial authority. Bergueik, who was no less untractable and overbearing than himself, was offended with his airs of superiority; and, like preceding ministers, entered into cabals against the princess. Like them too, disappointed in the attempt, he resigned in disgust, and returned to Flanders.

In justice to the memory of Orri, we ought to observe, that many of the changes which he introduced into the spanish system of administration, were directed by sound views and attended with happy effects. Without giving full credit to the extravagant praises of his partisans, we ought to vindicate him from the equally exaggerated accusations of his enemies. At this distant period, it is difficult to trace the whole extent of his plans, but a brief sketch of his principal improvements will be a sufficient proof of his merits.

Formed in the french school, he naturally copied the french system in the plan of political œconomy which he originally laid down for Spain. He was, however, equally thwarted by the french embassadors, and by the spaniards, and during his first residence in Spain, appears to have confined his efforts to the introduction of temporary expedients, calculated to meet the current expences, to improvements in the œconomy of the army, and to such partial changes in the public offices, as time and circumstances would permit.

He in particular formed a plan for the resumption of the

royal fiefs in the two Castiles, which had been pledged or alienated during the troubles of the monarchy. This measure had been repeatedly recommended by different kings of Spain, in their testamentary directions to their successors; but no hand was bold enough to make the attempt. Orri reunited all these fiefs without distinction; and to reconcile the rules of justice with the royal prerogative, he appointed a junta, which was authorised to judge and decide on the claims of those individuals who could produce proper titles. With his recal in 1704 his plans were suddenly suspended; and though his system was kept in vigour by the superintendance of Amelot; yet in the subsequent changes and troubles the affairs of Spain relapsed into the same disorder from which he had endeavoured to rescue them.

Returning at the auspicious period of the conclusion of peace, and raised to power by the uncontrolled ascendancy of his patroness, he resumed his extensive designs. To obviate the endless vexations and abuses derived from a host of farmers, collectors, guards, and officers, not only in the same department of finance, but even in the same province and town, a royal decree was issued on the 26th December 1713, which reduced this complicated and jarring machinery to one simple and effective system. The whole internal revenues were divided into twenty-one provinces, each administered according to the same rules, and farmed at least by a single proprietor.* Within a month the same mode of simplification was introduced into the still more confused department of the customs, in which the competition of different officers and guards belonging to different branches in the same ports, had given rise to every species of fraud and abuse, to the ruin of

* In the first instance, the number of proprietors amounted only to eleven, because one proprietor took several farms.

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the native fabrics and trade, and the detriment of the royal revenue. This department was at first divided into seventeen farms, like the internal taxes, but ultimately placed under the sole administration of the council of finances. So perfectly were the measures matured for the adoption of the new system, that it took effect without apparent difficulty or delay. The publication of these two decrees may be considered as a new era in the political history of Spain; and as the foundation of that extensive system which the spanish court has since invariably laboured to bring to perfection.*

In his zeal for reformation, Orri extended his views to reduce the power and privileges, and restrain the abuses, of the church; and in particular, to diminish the formidable authority of the inquisition. In this design he was supported by the confessor Robinet, and assisted by Don Melchior Macanas, whose vigorous understanding and energy of character had raised him from the office of a petty judge in the kingdom of Aragon to that of attorney general of the council of Castile, and who had already proved his hostility to the immunities of the clergy. At the instigation of Orri and the princess, he presented a memorial to the king, proving that the abuses of the church had injured the rights of the crown; that the privilege of sanctuary had rendered the sacred places an asylum for crimes; that the civil immunities of the ecclesiastical body were equally detrimental to the royal authority and the public revenue; and that the tribunal of the papal nuntio had been gradually erected into an intolerable despotism.

The memorial made a deep impression on the mind of Philip, and was referred, in the regular course of business, to the examination of the council of Castile. This circumstance,

* Uztariz, Theory and Practice of Commerce, v. 1, p. 263. v. 2, p. 360. St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 82—88.——Noailles, t. 2, 3 and 4 passim.

whether occasioned by accident or necessity, was dangerous to a plan so ill calculated for the meridian of Spain, as well as to its authors. The memorial was instantly discovered by the watchful eyes of the inquisition, and solemnly denounced as heretical, and subversive of the true faith. In this sentence two french jurists, who had been consulted, were involved; but from respect to the king, the name of Macanas was omitted. The decree, after being dispatched to Paris,* to be sanctioned by the grand inquisitor, the cardinal del Giudice, was posted in every church and public place in the kingdom, and even affixed to the walls of the royal palace.

The reformers collected their whole strength to parry this dangerous and unexpected blow. They represented the publication of the inquisitorial sentence as a glaring insult against the crown; and so highly exasperated the king, that he demanded its revocation, and caused it to be removed from the churches. He even conceived the design of suspending the Holy Tribunal, nominated Robinet, and the brother of Macanas, a dominican friar, as temporary inquisitors, and enjoined del Giudice to resign his office. He also recalled the cardinal from Paris, and on his arrival at the frontier, dispatched an order forbidding him to enter Spain.†

The inquisition, however, confiding in its long established authority, defied even the mandates of the sovereign, and found means to frustrate the designs of the ministry. The removal of del Giudice was prevented by the refusal of the pope to accept his resignation, and the deputy inquisitors declined entering on their office. Attacks were made on the conscience of the scrupulous monarch; and a council of divines which he

* In the interval since his removal from the direction of public affairs, del Giudice had been dispatched on a public mission to Paris.

† St. Philippe.

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was induced to consult, gave their opinion in favour of the holy office, and censured the offensive memorial. This decision was confirmed by the council of Castile, which, though it faintly approved some particulars, censured the whole plan as too violent, and contrary to the principles of the catholic faith. Philip therefore bent before the highest, civil, and ecclesiastical authorities, and declined adopting the bold advice of his ministers, though he continued to protect Macanas from the vengeance of the dreadful tribunal, which a zeal for the royal service had urged him to provoke.*

These different reforms, and particularly the attempt to restrain the power of the church, excited general odium against their authors. But the influence of the princess was too deeply rooted, to be shaken by popular discontent, or even by the influence of the church, had she not offended the court of Versailles by her ambitious designs and opposition to the peace, and still farther had she not committed one of those errors from which the most sagacious, prudent, and circumspect, are not always exempt.

Louis, who was pressing the conclusion of a general accommodation, was irritated by her opposition, and ordered Berwick, when nominated to the command in Catalonia, to repair to Madrid, under the pretence of condoling with Philip on the death of the queen, but in reality to extort his consent to a peace. The princess, however, discovered the object of the journey; and not only possessed sufficient influence to prevent it, but persuaded Philip to accompany his refusal with the remark, that the presence of Berwick with an army before Barcelona would be more advantageous to his service than a compliment of condolence. Irritated by this ungracious expression, Louis replied, that neither troops nor ships

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 120—150.

should be sent to Barcelona, until the peace was signed with Holland.

Still, however, the princess was so determined to secure the cession of her promised territory in the Netherlands, that she over-ruled the impatience of Philip to reduce the Catalans, persuaded him to make no reply to the notification, and dispatched Orri into Catalonia, to ascertain whether the resources of Spain were sufficient to complete the reduction without foreign aid. Discovering, at length, that the assistance of France was indispensable, she made new applications at the court of Versailles, though without evincing the slightest inclination to desist from her purpose.

Meanwhile, the capital again witnessed the revival of indecorous altercations between the princess and the french embassador, the marquis of Brancas. The princess excluded the embassador from all interference at court; and he, in return, accused her of intercepting his dispatches, and inveighed against her baneful influence. He charged her with thwarting the operations of Berwick, to the disgrace of the french arms, and the ruin of Spain, and declared that she would suffer the french troops, detached into that country, to perish with famine.

These representations still more inflamed the resentment of Louis. He repeated his resolution to send no farther succour to the assistance of Philip, and even to suspend the march of his troops destined to act against Barcelona. He added in a tone of offended dignity, "I will make a separate peace with Holland and the emperor, and leave Spain to defend herself against her enemies. I am resolved no longer to plunge myself in new misfortunes for the sake of the princess Orsini; but to give my subjects that repose which they so much need." To excite the national odium against the princess, Brancas was permitted to circulate this declaration in the name of his sovereign.

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The princess now caught the alarm, and called forth all her address to pacify the french monarch, through the agency of Madame de Maintenon. In vain she protested that her pretensions had not obstructed the peace; in vain she revived the memory of her past services; in vain she urged Philip to demand the recal of Brancas. No assistance was sent against Barcelona, and the Catalans were enabled to augment their means of resistance. At length, the firmness of the french court, and the dread of its resentment, compelled her to submit. The cardinal del Giudice was dispatched to Paris, and restored the good correspondence between the two courts, and Philip transmitted to his plenipotentiaries at Utrecht full powers to conclude the peace.

This timely submission allayed the gathering storm. Louis appeared satisfied with her apologies; and the troops which had evacuated Sardinia, were ordered to join the force destined to act against Barcelona. But at the moment of this apparent calm, the aspiring views and overweening confidence of the princess involved her in a new disgrace as sudden as it was unexpected.

In consequence of the known complexion and character of Philip, the deceased queen was scarcely interred, before a design was formed to provide him with a new consort. As before, it was deemed necessary to select a princess, who, with the qualities proper to sway his mind, did not possess talents or spirit to rule without controul; and Louis, who intended to direct the choice, proposed a princess of Portugal or Bavaria, or a daughter of the prince of Condé.

But the future destiny of Spain, and the choice of a queen, who, under the name of Philip, was to pacify or trouble Europe, was not left to the option of the french monarch: for the princess, the sole arbitress of the will of Philip, was too

sagacious, as well as too ambitious, to neglect a crisis which was to consolidate her power, and decide her future fate.

The voice of scandal even accused her of consoling the royal widower for the loss of his Louisa; but with stronger appearance of truth, reports were spread that she aspired to share his bed and throne. With any other sovereign, such a project, at her advanced age, would have appeared too wild to justify even suspicion, but with a man, whom Alberoni coarsely characterised by the phrase "he needs only a wife and a prayer-book,"* and with the arts, the character, and aspiring temper of the woman, it does not appear entirely destitute of a shade of probability. Age had not totally robbed her of her personal charms, and the resources of art were lavished to supply the deficiency. With a person which had not yet lost its original elegance, with winning manners, fascinating address, and undiminished vivacity, she had acquired that imposing decision of character which is derived from long habits of rule; she possessed likewise the strongest claims to the respect and esteem of the monarch, from her faithful services, her solicitude to lighten the burthens of government, and her tender care of the royal children. Lastly, the habits of constant and familiar intercourse, and the consolation which her society had administered, when his mind was softened and subdued by sorrow, had given birth to a sentiment which may almost be termed affection. It is not improbable that a consciousness of these advantages tempted the ambition of a woman, whose passions were all lost in her love of rule; and who, with the power and ostentation, was capable of aspiring to the title and station of a queen.

Such a project is necessarily involved in impenetrable mystery, but if we may attach credit to the assertion of Al-

* Duclos, t. 2, p. 64.

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beroni and Elizabeth Farnese, and even the avowal of Philip himself, the design was certainly formed, and perhaps frustrated only by a sense of shame, which the well-timed sarcasms of the confessor excited in the mind of Philip.*

But leaving these remarks to the judgment of those who are fond of penetrating into the details of private history, it is at least certain that she was interested to select a queen as zealously devoted to her as the last, and that she was too artful to contribute to the elevation of any princess likely to be swayed by the influence of a foreign court. She, therefore, adroitly thwarted the recommendations of the king of France, while she turned her attention to discover a princess of a petty court, who, to an amiable disposition, and moderate talents, united graces of person, and whom she might govern by the ties of gratitude and respect. In this search, a casual suggestion of Alberoni, the subtle agent of the duke of Parma, induced her to fix her choice on a princess of the House of Farnese.†

Being engaged in conversation with Alberoni, while the funeral procession of the late queen was passing, she remarked, "We must provide a new wife for the king," and added the

* Le Roi," says Duclos, "aimant à s'entretenir des nouvelles de France avec son confesseur, lui demanda un jour ce qui se disoit de nouveau à Paris: Sire, repondit Robinet, *on y dit que V. M. va épouser Madame des Ursins. Oh! pour cela, non*, dit le Roi séchement, et passa."—Mem. Secrets, t. 1, p. 74.

† The author of the Life of Alberoni, published at the Hague in 1722, introduces a letter from Alberoni to a friend, in which he asserts that the marriage was arranged without the knowledge or consent of the Princess Orsini; but this letter is a palpable forgery, both from the authentic testimony of Poggiali, author of the Memoire Istoriche de Piacenza, and from the declaration of Alberoni himself, in the Apology written after his disgrace.

names of different princesses. The wily Italian raised objections to each, and penetrating her design, observed, "You must find one quiet and docile, and not likely to interfere in state affairs." The princess asking, "Where shall we discover such a person?" He rapidly recapitulated the princely families of Europe; and then, as if by accident recollecting himself, carelessly mentioned Elizabeth Farnese, daughter of Edward, deceased duke of Parma, adding, with the same tone of simplicity and indifference, "She is a good girl, plump, healthy, and well fed, brought up in the petty court of her uncle, duke Francis, and accustomed to hear of nothing but needle-work and embroidery."* He dexterously adverted also to her reversionary claims on the duchies of Parma and Tuscany, which might afford the means of regaining the spanish power in Italy.

The princess made no direct reply to the artful suggestion, but her confidence in Alberoni secretly influenced the choice. After a lapse of three months, in which the impatience of Philip daily increased, she yielded to his wishes, and proposed to obtain the acquiescence of Louis in a new marriage, though without alluding to the princess of Parma. She accordingly sent for her nephew the count of Chalais, an officer of the spanish guards, then engaged before Barcelona, to fulfil this commission. He was presented by the princess to Philip; but as the timid monarch was embarrassed, and hesitated to communicate his desire, the favourite assumed the conversation. "His ma-

* We quote the expressive language of Poggiali. He says he drew the information from a person of credit, to whom it was communicated by Alberoni himself.

"Questo pur freddamente e come a mezza voce, la nominò, aggiugnendo per altro, ch'ella era una buona Lombarda, impastata da buttero e formaggio Picentino, elevata alla casalinga, nella picciola Corte del Duca Francesco, suo zio e patrigno, ed avezza di non sentirsi di altro parlare che di mertelli, ricami e tele."—Poggiali Memorie Storiche di Piacenza, p. 279.

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jesty," she said, "is desirous to marry again, and orders you to repair to Paris, and obtain the consent and recommendation of the king of France." By this remark the embarrassment of Philip was dissipated, he gave the requisite authority for the important mission, and Chalais took his departure.

At this very moment, or immediately afterwards, she succeeded in persuading Philip to demand the princess of Parma; but urged the necessity of secrecy to prevent the emperor from obstructing a match calculated to give Spain a footing in Italy. A counter order was instantly dispatched to Chalais; but the courier passing him on the road, reached Paris before him. The sudden appearance of Chalais did not fail to excite the curiosity of the french cabinet. Although he alleged the pretence of private business, they were too accurately apprised of his movements to be easily deceived; and after refusing to disclose the object of his journey to Torci, he obeyed the positive commands of the king himself, and imparted it in a private audience.

Meanwhile the princess had gained the private dispensation of the pope, and through the agency of Alberoni, secured the consent of the court of Parma. She now thought proper to make a formal communication to Louis, and the requisite orders were accordingly dispatched to Chalais. Louis, however surprised at the preceding communication, was still more displeased and astonished at the secrecy and haste with which this match had been concluded; and indignantly replied "Well then, since he must marry, let him marry."* Chalais returning with this assent, however ungracious, was made a grandee of Spain; and measures were adopted to accelerate an

* These particulars are drawn from the Memoirs of St. Simon. They were communicated to Louis the fifteenth in his presence by Chalais himself. Oeuvres de St. Simon. Note sur la princesse des Ursins, t. 12, p. 282.

union to which the princess fondly looked, as the seal of her authority. CHAP. XXII. 1714.

In the midst of her exultation she discovered, with indignation and alarm that she had been grossly deceived in the character of the future queen; who, instead of a simple and pliant girl, was of a temper and genius which scorned controul; and though apparently obedient to the mandates of a severe mother and rigorous stepfather, possessed a spirit and understanding far above her age and sex. The information was not lost; for the jealous favourite instantly dispatched the most pressing orders to suspend the conclusion of the match. Her messenger arrived at Parma on the very morning of the ceremony; but as the object of his commission was suspected, he was stopped at the entrance of the city, and by bribes and threats induced to delay his appearance till the ensuing day.*

On the 16th of September the nuptials were celebrated at Parma, by Ulysses Joseph Gozzalini, bishop of Imola, as papal legate; the duke, as proxy for the catholic king, receiving the hand of his niece.† A messenger instantly conveyed the joyful tidings to Madrid; and the princess, concealing her chagrin and disappointment, affected no less satisfaction than Philip himself.

In a few days the new queen took her departure with a splendid retinue, and embarking on board a galley at Sestri, reached Genoa after a troublesome passage. From thence she continued her journey by land. She was received with regal honours in her journey through France, and at St. Jean Pied de Port passed two days with her aunt, the queen dowager of Spain. On reaching the frontier she dismissed all her attendants, except the marchioness of Piombino, and their

* Duclos, t. 1, p. 76.——† Poggiali, xvi, p. 282.

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places were supplied by the officers and servants of her new houshold. At Pampeluna she was met by Alberoni, who for his important services was created a count, and received the appointment of envoy from the court of Parma to that of Madrid.

On the news of her approach the king quitted the capital to meet his bride at Guadalaxara, where the nuptials were to be consummated. He was accompanied by the princess Orsini and her nephew Chalais, and surrounded with officers and domestics of her appointment. On the evening of the first day he reached Alcala; and here the princess, who had resumed her office of camerara-mayor, quitted him to meet her new mistress. She passed on to Xadraca, a small village four leagues beyond Guadalaxara, where the queen arrived while she was taking some refreshment. She instantly quitted the table, met the queen at the foot of the stairs, and, kneeling, kissed her hand. She was received with apparent complacency, and in virtue of her office conducted her royal mistress to her apartment.

She began to express the usual compliments, and to hint at the impatience of the royal bridegroom. But she was thunderstruck when the queen interrupted her with bitter reproaches, and affected to consider her dress and deportment as equally disrespectful. A mild apology served only to rouse new fury; the queen haughtily silenced her remonstrances, and exclaimed to the guard, "turn out that mad woman, who has dared to insult me." She even assisted in pushing her out of the apartment.

She called the officer in waiting, and commanded him to arrest the princess, and convey her to the frontier. The officer, hesitating and astonished, represented that the king alone had power to give such an order. "Have you not," she indignantly exclaimed, "his majesty's order to obey me without reserve?"

On his reply in the affirmative, she impatiently rejoined, "Then obey me." As he still persisted in requiring a written authority, she called for a pen and ink, and wrote the order on her knee.

The princess was instantly placed in a coach, with only one female attendant, and two officers, without being permitted to change her dress. In this manner, and under an escort of fifty dragoons, she was conveyed during the whole night, which was so severe, that the hand of the coachman was frost-bitten and mortified; and so dark, that they were guided by the light of the snow. Astonishment and consternation at first benumbed her senses, and suspended her faculties. But this state of sullenness gave place to indignation and despair, and these passions were succeeded by deep and bitter reflections on such unexpected, such violent, and unjustifiable treatment. Gradually she began to imagine that the king, whom she supposed to be ignorant of what had passed, would resent such an abuse of his authority, and that some of her numerous adherents in the court would interest themselves in her behalf. Absorbed in these reflections, she passed the rest of this long and dreadful night without breaking silence, till morning arrived, and it was necessary to stop and bait the horses at a small hovel. She had now time to compose her countenance and weigh her expressions. To her companions she testified her extreme surprise at what had happened, and related the circumstances of her interview with the queen. The two officers, accustomed, as all Spain had been, to fear and respect her more than even the sovereign, suggested such motives of consolation as occurred under the astonishment with which they were themselves overwhelmed.

As she proceeded on the journey, and no news arrived from the king, her hopes became fainter and fainter, and at length

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gradually vanished. Circumstances which in the first emotion had not touched, now began to affect her. No beds, no provisions, no change of dress, nor even of linen; no defence against the severity of the weather, was to be expected till she arrived at St. John de Luz. These multiplied inconveniences excited the most violent transports of rage in a woman so imperious and ambitious, so long accustomed to unbounded power and public consideration, so long habituated to the servility of a court, and the luxuries and indulgencies of authority and affluence.

On the third day she was joined, at a small village, by her two nephews, the count of Chalais and the prince of Lanti, with a letter from the king. Disdaining to give any outward sign of depression, she replied to their condolence, "Why do you come to me with that doleful countenance? shake it off, or leave me. I have nothing to reproach myself with, and am perfectly tranquil." As she anxiously enquired respecting the behaviour of the king, and the circumstances which had passed since her departure, they told her that the whole evening he had passed at cards, and expressed impatience to receive a message from her. At one in the morning he retired to rest. When he rose, he was attended by Chalais, and proceeded to Guadalaxara. Here Chalais first heard, from one of the domestics, the news of her arrest, and requested leave for himself and the prince his cousin to follow. Grimaldo brought the permission of the king; and a packet, which, according to his account, contained a donation of the principality of Roses; but they were ordered not to depart before the queen arrived. Soon afterwards Alberoni appearing, was admitted to a private audience, and at eight came the queen herself.

The marriage ceremony was then performed; the king and queen retired to their apartment, and not a word transpired

relative to the fate of the princess. At length, Chalais was permitted to depart, but instead of the donation originally offered, he received a letter, cold and formal, permitting the princess to remain at the place where he might overtake her, and promising that her pensions should be duly discharged.

This faithful account took away all hope; but, at the same time, relieved her from anxiety, and composed her agitated mind. She became suddenly resigned; she shed no tear; she uttered no sigh; she expressed neither regret nor reproach; she shewed no symptom of feminine weakness. She supported without complaint the extreme cold, the want of common necessaries, and the fatigues of the journey, and by her patience and fortitude excited the admiration of her guards and attendants.*

At length, after a journey of twenty-three days, she reached St. Jean de Luz, where she was restored to liberty, and left to brood over the recent catastrophe, which appeared as the illusion of a dream. Here she desired permission to wait on the queen dowager at Bayonne, but her request was rejected. Still, however, she entertained hopes of being favourably received at Versailles, and wrote to madame de Maintenon in her customary tone of friendly confidence. "I now inhabit," she said, "a small house near the sea. I see that element sometimes calm, but oftener agitated; fit emblem of courts, of what I have seen; of what has recently happened to myself, and what must excite your generous compassion." She also

* The reader will please to recollect, that in Spain scarcely any accommodation can be procured on a journey; travellers carrying with them provisions, and even beds and cooking utensils. From the extreme precipitancy with which she had been hurried away, the Princess was unprovided with money; she was reduced to borrow a trifling sum of her conductors, and it was not till after the arrival of her nephews that a messenger overtook her with a supply of 1,000 pistoles.

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dispatched her nephew with letters to Louis, and to the ministers, soliciting an asylum in her native land.

After some delay, she was allowed to proceed to Paris, and found a temporary asylum in the house of her brother, the duke of Noirmoutiers. She received numerous visits rather of curiosity than of compassion; and, repairing to Versailles, experienced such attention from the monarch and his courtiers, that she resumed her native gaiety. But in this moment, her reviving hopes were again crushed. At the instigation of the queen, Philip made overtures of reconciliation to the duke of Orleans, and, attributing their former misunderstanding to the princess, released his two agents Renaut and La Rotte, who had been retained in strict confinement. In consequence of this reconciliation, the duke manifested his resentment against the princess, and obtained from Louis an order forbidding her to appear before any part of the family of Orleans, and thus virtually excluding her from the court.*

* We have drawn this account from various authors, all worthy of credit, who derived their information from persons actually concerned in the transaction. Among these we may distinguish Duclos, who received his intelligence from the Duchess of St. Pierre, the Marquis of Brancas, and others who obtained their information from Alberoni; and St. Simon, who has preserved a very interesting Memoir, written by the Duke of Luynes from the information of Chalais, and from the communications of the Queen of Spain herself to the Duchess of St. Pierre.—St. Simon, t. 5, p. 227—239.—t. 12, p. 282—309.

We quote the information given by the Queen, as decisive of the most contested point in the preceding narrative.

" J'ai marqué un grand detail sur Madame des Ursins. Madame de Luynes, en parla à Madame la Duchesse de St. Pierre, pour qui la Reine d'Espagne avoit beaucoup d'amitié. Madame de St. Pierre dit à Madame de Luynes qu'elle avoit beaucoup questionné la Reine d'Espagne sur cette aventure, et que la Reine l'avoit assurée qu'elle n'avoit agi dans toute cette affaire, que sur un billet du Roi d'Espagne. Que le Roi d'Espagne etoit persuadé que Madame des Ursins avoit fait tout ce qui avoit dependu d'elle, pour l'engager à

Of the remaining life of the princess few notices are preserved. All that we know with certainty is, that her attempts to regain the favour of Louis, and the confidence of madame de Maintenon, were fruitless. During the height of her power, she had employed her favourite, d'Aubigné, to build a magnificent palace at Chanteloupe, which she destined as her future residence, purposing to exchange her principality in the Netherlands, for the province of Touraine, and the Pays d'Amboise, to revert to the crown on her death. But in her disgrace, she never acknowledged this pompous edifice as her own, and left it to be occupied by d'Aubigné.* She hovered about Paris and Versailles till the last illness of Louis; but dreading the resentment of the duke of Orleans, in the event of his death, she quitted Paris; and, after being refused an asylum in Holland, resided a short time at Avignon: she next established herself at Genoa. In vain she solicited permission to resume her residence at Rome, during the life of pope Clement; but obtained her request under his successor, and attached herself to the establishment of the Pretender, doing the honours of his house, and as Duclos observes, "consoling herself with the

l'epouser, et qu'il avoit écrit à la Reine qu'elle fît en sorte d'eloigner Madame des Ursins, qu'elle les empêcheroit assurément de vivre dans l'union où ils devroient être. La Reine d'Espagne ajoûta que lorsqu'elle rencontra Alberoni elle assaya de l'engager à la servir dans ce dessein, mais n'ayant pu le determiner, elle fut obligée de lui montrer la billet du Roi d'Espagne ce qui mit totalement l'abbé Alberoni dans ses interêts. La Reine d'Espagne convient, qu'elle prit l'apparence d'un prétexte dans la crainte de manquer la moment."—St. Simon, t. 12, p. 309.——Duclos, t. 1, p. 82.

We likewise refer the reader to St. Philippe, who differs from St. Simon and Duclos in some particulars, t. 3, p. 141.

* Chanteloupe was the temporary residence of Lord Bolingbroke, afterwards the favourite seat of the Duke of Choiseul, and since the Revolution, has been inhabited by the celebrated chymist, Chaptal, ex-minister of the interior.

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shadow, in default of the substance, of royalty."* She died in 1722 at an advanced age.

The intrigues which occasioned the sudden disgrace of this celebrated woman in the very meridian of her power, and the singular manner in which it was effected, have long exercised curiosity and conjecture. The most probable opinion seems to be, that Louis the fourteenth was offended with her conduct in retarding the peace, and concluding the marriage of Philip; that the pride of madame de Maintenon was wounded by the ostentation and ingratitude of a woman, who in the height of favour forgot her past obligations; Philip himself was shocked with her attempts to raise herself to his bed and throne; and indignant at the bondage in which she had long held him; Lastly, the young queen was offended by the attempt to break off the marriage, and was anxious to free herself from the superintendance of a woman whose abilities she knew, and whose controul she dreaded.

The interests of all parties uniting in her disgrace, little difficulty occurred in arranging the means, though the particulars are uncertain. It appears, however, that Philip, not having the courage to dismiss her in person, sent a private order to the queen, and left the execution to her spirit and discretion. A part of the letter containing the order has been preserved. After requesting the queen to dismiss the princess, he added, "at least take good care not to delay it; for if she converses with you only two hours, she will captivate you."

From the intriguing character of Alberoni, and his subsequent influence with the queen, this event has been attributed to his machinations, but without foundation; for he was totally ignorant of the design when he met the queen at Pampeluna. When apprised of it, he endeavoured to dissuade her from the

* Memoires Secrets, t. 1, p. 83.

attempt, but she silenced his objections by throwing the letter of Philip on the table; exclaiming, "read that and fear nothing." With this sanction, he contributed his advice and assistance, and conveyed the intelligence to Philip.*

Orri and his subalterns were involved in the disgrace of their protectress. By the suggestion of Alberoni, the cardinal del Giudice was restored to the royal confidence, re-established in his inquisitorial authority, again intrusted with the direction of foreign affairs, and nominated governor of the prince of Asturias.

When restored to office, he retaliated on the princess and her partisans. He represented to Philip, that the holy office was the support of his monarchy; and procured the signature of a royal decree, enjoining the different councils to represent the injuries done to religion and th state during the late administration. Orri withdrew into France, Robinet was dismissed, and Daubenton replaced in the office of confessor. The innovations introduced into the different departments of administration were revoked; and Grimaldo was not only reinstated in his original posts, but as private secretary to the queen enjoyed a principal share in the government. The fall of a foreign domination gave universal satisfaction to the spanish people; and after this great political convulsion, a temporary tranquillity ensued which had been long unknown both in the court and kingdom.

* St. Philippe, t. 3, 151—163.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1715—1716.

Death of Louis the Fourteenth—Change of policy in the court of Madrid—Rivalry between Philip and the Regent Duke of Orleans, and his animosity against the Emperor—Character of the new queen Elizabeth Farnese—Rise, ascendancy, and designs of Alberoni.

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ON the 1st of September, 1715, Louis the fourteenth closed his long and chequered reign, leaving as his successor his great grandson, Louis the fifteenth, a weak and sickly boy in the fifth year of his age. By his will the regency was intrusted to the duke of Orleans, who, in consequence of the renunciation of Philip and the death of the duke of Berri, was presumptive heir to the crown; but the care of the young king's person, and the command of the royal guards, were vested in the duke of Maine, and other restrictions established, which were calculated to reduce the authority of the regent. However, as Louis himself had foreboded,* the duke of Orleans in an instant swept away all restrictions, and obtained the sanction of the parliament and the acquiescence of the peers in a form of government scarcely less absolute than if he had succeeded to the throne in his own right.

* St. Simon, t. 6, p. 220.

The death of Louis gave a new aspect to the views and situation of the court of Madrid, by changing the relations of France and Spain, and leaving Philip to pursue new political maxims.

Hitherto Spain had been merely subservient to the will of Louis. Not only the great operations of war and policy, but even the minutest affairs of the court, and the most trivial arrangements in the administration, had been regulated by his orders. In vain the subdued spirit of Philip occasionally revolted against the slavery in which he was held: on the slightest symptom of independence he was haughtily reminded of his endless obligations to the sovereign who had sacrificed his own ease, tranquillity, and interest, to place him on the throne, and was again awed into silence and submission.

The death of Louis dispelled the charm. Philip now deemed himself at liberty to pursue his own principles, and to consult his own interests, and those of his adopted country. Personal considerations also contributed to alienate him from the existing government of France. Though he had renounced his pretensions to that crown, he never for an instant relinquished his intention to assert his birth-right in case of a vacancy; and at different times had even hesitated whether he should not descend from the throne of Spain to render his pretensions more valid. As the means for attaining his object, he was desirous to secure the regency, which, according to the constitution of France, and the public opinion, would have belonged to him as presumptive heir. He therefore had no sooner heard of the decease of Louis than he assembled his confidential counsellors to deliberate on this subject, and was only persuaded to desist from his purpose by the apprehension that an avowal of his claims would rouse the principal powers of

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Europe against him.* He was consequently both disappointed and indignant at the conduct of the duke of Orleans in seizing the whole power of the government, which not only frustrated his immediate purpose, but tended to increase the difficulty of realising his distant views, on the reversion of the crown.

The peace of Utrecht also formed a new æra in the history of Spain, and the life of the sovereign. Philip, though his faculties were benumbed by the indolent habits derived from his hypochondriac malady, was animated by the lofty spirit which distinguished the princes of the House of Bourbon. He had imbibed from his french education and french advisers a rooted jealousy of the commercial prosperity of the maritime powers, particularly of England, as one of the causes which had materially contributed to diminish the population, depress the trade, and reduce the naval power of Spain. Without losing sight of his eventual succession to the throne of his ancestors, he was not the less anxious to recover the strength, promote the welfare, and restore the splendour of his adopted country. Not even the dangers of a struggle involving the very fate of his crown could divert his attention from his darling object, and he eagerly seized the first moment of returning peace to bring forward measures proper for its attainment. In the treaty of commerce concluded at Utrecht with England, the same influence which had so effectually served the House of Bourbon on other occasions, had enabled him to introduce into the act of Ratification a series of supplemental

* According to the dispatches of Mr. Doddington, (Sept. 6, 1716,) it was the prevailing opinion at Madrid, that on the death of Louis, Philip would instantly repair to Paris, and Alberoni, in his Apology, claims the merit of dissuading him from the journey.

conditions, under the title of explanatory articles,* which furnished the pretext to deprive the english of their commercial privileges in Spain; and by the imposition of heavy duties, and incessant vexations, abridged their means of entering into competition with the native trade and fabrics. From this cause the public intercourse with the court of England, during the short period since the peace of Utrecht, presented little but a series of complaints and discussions on commercial grievances.†

The same motive which rendered Philip anxious to restore the commercial prosperity and naval power of Spain, impelled him to recover its territorial grandeur. Notwithstanding the possession of Spain and the Indies, he brooded with sorrow and regret over the dismemberment of the monarchy, and panted for an opportunity to re-unite the Italian territories, Gibraltar, Minorca, and perhaps the Netherlands, to his empire. To political, were likewise added personal motives, for aspiring to these acquisitions. He was urged by the powerful stimulus of resentment against the emperor, who still retained the title, and assumed the honours attached to the crown of Spain.

The different changes in the constitution and state of the kingdom, had greatly contributed to consolidate the power and augment the resources of Philip. The recent dismemberments had rather lopped off the superfluous branches, than weakened the trunk of the monarchy, which was rooted and nourished in the peninsula. By the regulations of Orri, a foundation was laid for a new system of finance and œconomy, and the way opened for eradicating innumerable abuses.

* Treaty of Commerce between England and Spain, Dec. 9, 1713, in Lamberti, t. 8, and other collections of public papers.

† Instructions and Correspondence of the British Envoy, Mr. Doddington. Melcombe Papers.

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Finally, in abolishing the free constitutions of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, Philip had removed a fertile source of internal discord, and a perpetual restraint on his prerogative; while by subjecting those countries to the same system of administration as the two Castiles, he weakened the local antipathies which had divided Spain into as many nations as provinces, restored vigour to the sinews of government, and made a certain, as well as considerable addition to the royal revenue.

Besides these causes, personal and political, which led to a change in the conduct and policy of Philip, he received an additional impulse from the spirit and ambition of his new queen Elizabeth Farnese.

Melancholy, indolent, and reserved, the slave of habit, uxorious without delicate attachment, fond of splendid enterprizes without the talent to plan or resources to pursue them, he was formed to be governed by his queens, to become the instrument of those designs to which they were prompted by their own interests and passions, or the suggestions of their advisers. The death of his first consort, and the dismission of the princess Orsini, produced no change in his solitary and monotonous life; the new queen succeeded to the power as well as the place of her predecessor, and by the same arts became in a few months no less absolute mistress of his will, and arbitress of his monarchy.*

The character of Elizabeth Farnese, who till the death of Philip had so great a share in embroiling or pacifying Europe, was almost totally opposite to that of her husband. Though educated in a retired corner of the palace of Parma, and secluded from the world by a severe and vigilant mother, she had assiduously cultivated her mind, and was better acquainted with history and politics than the generality of her sex. She

* St. Philippe, t. 3, passim.

also spoke several languages, and possessed an elegant taste for the polite arts.* She was plain, but not uninteresting in countenance, graceful in person, obliging in her address when she wished to conciliate, and gifted with the most fascinating powers of conversation. Imperious and aspiring by nature, she was habituated to constraint and self command by the mode of her education; a perfect mistress of dissimulation; artful and stedfast in her designs, and animated with a spirit which neither time, difficulty, nor opposition could subdue.

All these qualities she called into action to govern her doting husband. Aware that he was jealous of his authority, she ruled without appearing to rule, by practising all the refinements of coquetry, praising him for the beauty of his person granting or withholding her caresses to serve her political purposes, and affecting the utmost zeal for his glory. She was indefatigable in her attentions, never contradicting him, approving what he approved, or disliking what he disliked; yet adroitly and vigilantly watching all the emotions of his mind, and leading him to adopt her wishes, however contrary to his own. She strengthened his aversion to society; she shared his only and favourite amusement of the chace; she passed a perpetual tête à tête, with a hypochondriac and unsocial husband, discovering neither disgust nor fatigue; and enlivening the tedium of constraint, solitude, and etiquette with an inexhaustible fund of gaiety and good humour. She thus acquired and consolidated a power which neither time nor accident could shake, and to the last hour of his reign was the real sovereign of Spain.

Recently delivered of a son, Don Carlos, and looking forward to the prospect of a numerous offspring, the ruling

* Poggiali in his Mem. Istoriche has given a well drawn but too highly coloured portrait of this princess. T. 10, p. 279, 280.

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principle of her actions was the aggrandisement of her children. She encouraged the views of Philip on the succession of France, with the hope of entailing that crown on her own issue, while the sons of the first wife were left to vegetate in Spain. But as this was an uncertain and at best a distant object, she brought forward her own pretensions to Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, from the succession of which she was only separated by three princes, all without issue.* She looked forward to the

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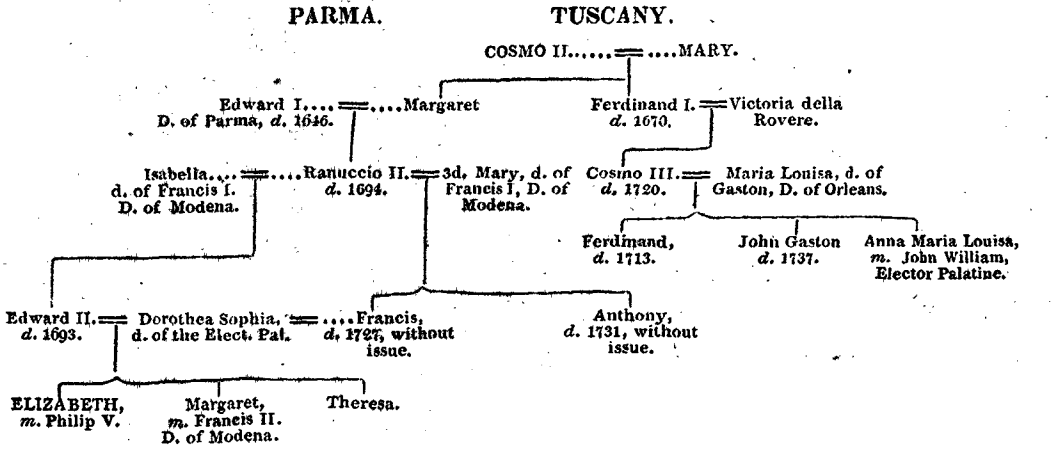
* GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

HOUSES OF FARNESE AND MEDICI,

SHEWING THE CLAIMS OF ELIZABETH FARNESE TO THE DUCHIES OF PARMA AND TUSCANY.


PARMA.
TUSCANY.
COSMO II.....=....MARY.
Edward I....=....Margaret
D. of Parma, d. 1646.
Ferdinand I.=Victoria della Rovere.
d. 1670.
Isabella....=....Ranuccio II.=3d, Mary, d. of Francis I, D. of Modena.
d. of Francis I. D. of Modena.
d. 1694.
Cosmo III.=Maria Louisa, d. of Gaston, D. of Orleans.
d. 1720.
Ferdinand, d. 1713.
John Gaston d. 1737.
Anna Maria Louisa, m. John William, Elector Palatine.
Edward II.=Dorothea Sophia, d. of the Elect. Pal.=....Francis, d. 1727, without issue.
d. 1693.
Anthony, d. 1731, without issue.
ELIZABETH, m. Philip V.
Margaret, m. Francis II. D. of Modena.
Theresa.

acquisition of these duchies as an advantageous establishment, should the untimely death of Philip frustrate her more splendid and distant designs.

The first guide of this enterprising princess, and her master in the science of politics, was Alberoni, who as her countryman, and the original cause of her elevation, became her counsellor, and the depositary of her confidence.

Giulio Alberoni was the son of a labouring gardener in a suburb of Placentia, and was born May 21, 1664. He was brought up conformably to his humble station, without instruction, even in the lowest rudiments of learning; and for a time assisted in the daily labours of his father. He shewed little aptitude for this toilsome occupation; but like the celebrated Sixtus the fifth displayed striking proofs of premature talents, and an ardent desire of instruction. About the age of twelve he became in succession servant to the sextons or clerks of two parochial churches. In this situation he attracted the notice of a priest, who taught him to read; afterwards he acquired the rudiments of the Latin tongue; and finally became a pupil in the school of the jesuits. Under these able masters he displayed equal ability and industry, and left several volumes in his own hand writing, which were preserved in the time of his biographer Poggiali,* and shew an intimate and extensive ac-

* This account of Alberoni's early life is principally drawn from Poggiali's Memorie Istoriche di Piacenza. He was a native of Placentia, a contemporary of Alberoni, librarian to the duke of Parma, and derived his information either from notes written by Alberoni himself, or from persons intimately connected with him, who received their intelligence from his own mouth.

We have also had recourse to St. Philippe, St. Simon, and Duclos, and have consulted the Vita di Alberoni, which though erroneously supposed to have been written under his own direction, and teeming with errors, contains much curious and authentic information.

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quaintance with sacred and profane literature. To a lively, bold, and enterprising genius, he joined a supple and insinuating behaviour, and a watchful attention to seize every opportunity of improving his knowledge, which his sagacious mind had discovered to be the surest instrument of fortune.

By these talents and winning manners he gained many friends and protectors; and particularly acquired the patronage of Ignazio Gardini di Ravenna, a judge or coadjutor of the criminal court at Placentia. This patron, however, falling under the displeasure of the sovereign, sought an asylum in his native city; and the young Alberoni voluntarily shared his disgrace.

Such was the path which was marked for his future elevation. At Ravenna he attracted the notice of the vice legate count Barni, who being promoted to the bishopric of Placentia, made him his steward. Being, however, as little qualified for the details of this office, as for the labours of a gardener, Alberoni turned his views to the church, was ordained priest in 1690, admitted to a small cure, and by the interest of his patron received a prebend in the cathedral.

He next became preceptor, or rather companion, to count John Baptista Barni, nephew of his protector, and accompanied him to Rome. In this situation he not only improved his knowledge of classical literature and philosophy, but acquired the french tongue, which was the instrument of his further rise. At Rome he cultivated the acquaintance of many distinguished persons, particularly count Alessandro Roncoveri, afterwards bishop of Borgo St. Domino, the travelling companion of the heir of Parma. On his return to Placentia, chance opened to him a channel of promotion, which he adroitly improved. During the campaigns of Vendome in Italy, the french and spanish armies were quartered in the

duchy, and oppressed the people by heavy contributions. To obtain some relief from these exactions, the duke employed the bishop of St. Domino as his agent to Vendome, and the prelate being ignorant of the french tongue, chose Alberoni to accompany him as his interpreter.

The vivacity and insinuating address of the young priest had already captivated all to whom he became known, had gained him numerous patrons, had converted those patrons into friends, and had inspired them with the same solicitude for his interests as for their own. He was no less successful in acquiring the favour of the rough and soldier-like Vendome, than in pleasing his more refined and polished countrymen. During the course of the negotiation, he enlivened the tediousness of discussion with sallies of wit and buffoonery; he gratified the gross taste of the french commander by the most extravagant flattery, and libertine conversation, and by preparing with his own hand such poignant italian dishes as were calculated to provoke a jaded appetite. By these means he gained new favour in every conference. The bishop soon perceived the superior influence of his interpreter, whom Vendome called his 'dear abbot', and being disgusted with the gross manners of the french commander,* advised his sovereign to transfer the whole negotiation to Alberoni. The duke adopted the advice, and gave additional consideration to his agent by conferring on him a canonry of Parma; and as he was the guide and interpreter of many french officers of high distinction, who repaired to the court, a salary was added to the donation, with a house in the city to receive his military guests. In this situation he is described by a contemporary writer: "The french officers are pleased with his jocose humour; they amuse the duke of Vendome with repeating the jests,

* St. Simon, t. 12, p. 117.——Duclos, t. 1, p. 248.

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repartees, and witty conceits of Alberoni, whose person is as comical as his conversation; for he has a monstrous large head, a swarthy complexion, a very short neck, broad shoulders, a very low stature. In a word, he is a pigmy, of whom fortune has made a colossus.*

Intimate acquaintance endeared him still more to Vendome, and when he quitted Italy at the close of the campaign Alberoni readily accepted the offer to enter into his service, instead of remaining at the petty court of Parma. He was intrusted with the most secret correspondence of his new master, became his confidential secretary, and accompanied him in the campaign of Flanders. After this arduous period of service, he was introduced, by his patron himself, to Louis the fourteenth, as a man of superior merit, skilful and indefatigable in business, whose advice and exertions had rendered essential service in that difficult campaign. So strong a recommendation procured him the most flattering marks of royal favour, and a pension of 1,600 livres. †

When the presence of Vendome was demanded in Spain, the powerful influence of Alberoni was employed to induce him to accept the command. He accompanied his patron, displayed his talents and address on numerous occasions, and was repeatedly recommended in the official dispatches to Versailles as a model of fidelity and intelligence, and as assisting, by his dexterity, to rouse the loyalty of the spaniards. Vendome endeavoured likewise to promote his interest at the court of Madrid, by representing him as a man of profound knowledge in finance. Alberoni was accordingly employed to draw up a plan for the regulation of the revenues; and by the assistance

* Essay towards the Life of Alberoni, in Political State for September 1718, p. 206.——Likewise Preface to the Vita del Card. Alberoni.

† Poggiali, t. 10, p. 236.

of Macanaz, then in the humble situation of a provincial lawyer, he performed the task with such ability that he received the thanks of the king and a gratuity of 500 pistoles.*

Vendome wanting a confidential and discreet agent near the princess Orsini, could not select for the delicate commission a more proper person than Alberoni, who by his conciliating manners and insinuating address acquired her confidence, removed her jealousy of his patron, and by her influence obtained a pension from Philip. He paid the last tribute of affection to Vendome, who expired in his arms; and even this event, which appeared to cloud all his further prospects, contributed to his advancement. As the confidant of the deceased commander he repaired to Versailles, described the state of the army, developed his plans, and detailed the measures adopted to ensure success. He was consequently received with great favour and marked distinction, and returning to Madrid with new recommendations, continued to increase his influence with the princess. By the generosity of his patrons, as well as by the produce of his ecclesiastical benefices and pensions, he was now in a state of affluence; and employed his wealth with a liberality and grace which is ever inherent in great minds.

While he was pursuing his fortune in Spain, he did not neglect to improve his interest in his native country. He succeeded in preventing the dismission of the Parmesan agent when the duke incurred the displeasure of Philip by acknowledging Charles † as king of Spain, and in consequence of this proof of his influence, was soon afterwards appointed to fill the office himself. In this situation he became the means of raising Elizabeth Farnese to the throne of Spain.

* Account of Ripperda, by the Sicilian abbots. MS. in Walpole Papers.

† St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 16.

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The new queen, having according to the customary etiquette dismissed her Parmesan attendants, was perfectly insulated in the solitary court of Madrid. She naturally, therefore, turned to her countryman Alberoni, to whom she principally owed her elevation, and who, besides his services and attachment, and capacity of agent from her father in law, was best adapted to become her counsellor, from his experience in public affairs, and intimate acquaintance with the court in which she was to figure as a sovereign. By his advice she was principally governed; and from the moment of her arrival his power may be dated; for the disgrace of the princess relieved him from an irksome dependence, and left him without a rival.

Among the first effects of his political power may be reckoned the revocation of the ecclesiastical reforms projected by Orri, the restoration of the holy office to its functions,* and the reinstatement of the cardinal del Guidice in the direction of foreign affairs, as well as his appointment to the office of governor to the prince of Asturias. Alberoni had also the address to recommend as confessor to the queen Dominico di Guerra, a native of Italy, whose moderate talents and servile character fitted him to become a docile and useful agent. If he did not promote, he at least did not oppose the recal of Daubenton, from a conviction that the memory of past disgrace would curb his meddling spirit, and deter him from thwarting the living, as he had attempted to oppose the deceased queen.†

Too adroit and discerning to mar his rising fortunes by a premature attempt to seize the reins of government, Alberoni continued with no other public character than that of *minister*

* St. Philippe.

† St. Philippe, t. 3, passim.——Alberoni's Apology, *in* the Historical Register.——Duclos and St. Simon, as before quoted.

from Parma, which intitled him to the privilege of a constant and familiar access to the cabinet. In this situation his profound knowledge of policy, fertility of resource, facility in transacting business, and insinuating address, gave him daily new interest in the mind of an indolent prince, who was no less attached to the splendour, than unequal to the burthens of royalty. He thus gradually rose from the capacity of an occasional adviser to that of a favourite and confidential counsellor, and finally was enabled to wrest from the real ministers the principal management of affairs.

Perfectly acquainted with the ruling passions of Philip and the queen, he knew that his hopes of advancement depended on holding forth the prospect of realising their respective designs. He found, indeed, the nation exhausted by the recent contest, by a defective system of government, and by an endless series of abuses; but he won the royal ear while tracing remedies and improvements; and he calculated on the native energy of the spanish character and the vast resources of the monarchy. Aware, however, that a period of tranquillity was necessary to give effect to his measures and accumulate the means for future enterprise, he does not appear to have flattered the passion of Philip for war; but according to his own avowal, which is corroborated by the tenour of his discourses with the british envoy, he invariably inculcated the maxim, "If your majesty will maintain your country in peace for five years, I will pledge myself to render you the most powerful monarch in Europe."* To prove the truth of his promises, he employed the able assistance of his friend baron Ripperda, in tracing a new system of political œconomy, for improving the finances, reducing the expenditure, correcting abuses, reviving trade, raising a navy and army, and restoring Spain to its

* Apology of Alberoni.——History of Europe for 1722, p. 201.

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former ascendancy in the civilised world.* This plan, presented and supported by the queen, captivated the sanguine imagination of Philip, who was fond of splendid designs, and conscious of the mismanagement which pervaded every department of the state.

* Aecount of Ripperda, by the two Sicilian abbots, Platania and Caraccioli. MS. Walpole Papers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1716—1717.

State of Europe—Political and commercial Disputes between Spain and England, and views of Philip on the French throne—Alberoni promotes a Breach with France and an Union with England—Signature of a commercial Treaty—Declaration of Philip against the Pretender—Correspondence of Mr. Dodington, British Envoy, and his intercourse with Alberoni—Overtures to England for an Alliance against the Emperor—Declined—Treaties which led to the conclusion of the Triple Alliance.

AS the means of tracing the progress, and developing the designs of a minister under whom Spain was destined to assume a new character, it is proper to take a brief review of the different powers more immediately interested in the affairs of the peninsula, as they were affected by the peace of Utrecht.

Although the emperor could no longer cherish the hope of wresting the spanish sceptre from his more fortunate competitor, he still persisted in bearing the title of king. He bestowed the spanish order of the golden fleece; he established at Vienna a tribunal formed of his spanish adherents, under the presidency of the ex-bishop of Valencia, and called from its functions The Council of Spain, and confiscated in the Netherlands and in Italy the property of those who had acknowledged Philip.

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The disputes arising from the hasty and imperfect arrangement which closed the war of the succession, had occasioned a breach between Austria and the maritime powers. The emperor was indignant at the loss of Sicily, and still more irritated at the onerous terms on which he was to receive the Netherlands; the occupation of the principal fortresses by the dutch garrisons, with the appropriation of the revenues for their maintenance; and the shackles imposed by the commercial cupidity of the maritime powers, on the trade and manufactures of this rich and industrious people. At this juncture he was involved in a war with the Turks, which obliged him to draw his forces into the remote provinces of Hungary, and leave his newly acquired dominions in Italy almost defenceless.*

The dutch were scarcely less alienated from Great Britain than from the emperor, by the discussions relative to their barrier; and, besides their jealousy of the English, who had deprived them of many of their commercial advantages, they were vigilantly watching for an opportunity to recover their lucrative trade to the spanish territories in the old and new world.

George the first, the new king of England, in addition to his disputes with the emperor and the dutch, was involved in peculiar difficulties. He had, indeed, ascended the british throne with unexpected tranquillity, and had seen the party who had so lightly sacrificed the national interest exposed to the vengeance of their offended country. But the calm was of short duration. The jacobites, who, at the close of the late reign, had acquired a dangerous ascendancy, had now broken into open rebellion, and were favoured by the disappointed and factious of other parties. The Pretender had actually landed in Scotland to make a decisive effort for the throne, and was encouraged by the secret assistance both from France and Spain.

Jan. 1716.

* House of Austria, Chapters 3 and 5.

The whigs, who had paved the way for the accession of the House of Brunswick, were weakened by their own personal contentions, and the schism was already commencing which, in the following year, threw the most powerful chiefs of the party into the opposition. Even the royal palace was the scene of feuds; and the rising disputes of the king with the prince of Wales at once disturbed his domestic peace, and increased the insecurity of his throne.

The popularity attending the accession of a new sovereign, and the formation of a new administration, had rapidly subsided. A train of mistresses and adherents, by their rapacity, excited the national jealousy against foreigners, and every measure of the sovereign was censured as derived from german views, and directed by german agents.

George had equally offended the two great powers of the north, Sweden and Russia, by wresting from Sweden Bremen and Verden, and by thwarting the attempts of Russia to form an establishment in the Empire. With France he was also engaged in disputes relative to the fulfilment of the recent treaties, particularly to the two important points, the razure of Dunkirk, and the dismission of the Pretender. Finally, in his intercourse with Spain, he encountered still greater difficulties, both political and commercial, derived from the same fertile source; for notwithstanding the positive engagements of the treaty, the assiento was still unsettled, and the british merchants daily exposed to new vexations.*

The war of the succession had only contributed to exasperate that political rivalry which had rendered France the most dangerous and inveterate enemy of England. Although the effects of the recent conflict were yet too severely felt in her finances

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chs. 9—16.

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and population to permit the resumption of those ambitious designs which had endangered the liberties of Europe, motives were not wanting for indirect hostility, nor means for aggravating the troubles which impended over the House of Brunswick. While, however, the government was thus profiting by the internal disorders of a rival power, the nation itself was agitated with a ferment which threatened the renewal of civil wars. The change in the order of succession appeared to have shaken the very foundations of the monarchy. A numerous party both in the cabinet and the country, fostered a zealous attachment to Philip as the lineal descendant of their late monarch, and the principal support of that political system which had rendered France the arbitress of Europe.*

Victor Amadeus, king of Sicily, was dissatisfied with the cessions which had been made to reward his services in the late war. With the characteristic cupidity of his house, he was anxious to obtain the Milanese with the title of king of Lombardy, in exchange for Sicily, which, however valuable in itself, was a distant and precarious possession to a prince without naval power. For this purpose he was engaged in a secret negotiation with the emperor; and he flattered himself with the hope of obtaining an eventual claim to a part of the austrian succession, by uniting his son, the prince of Piemont, with one of the Josephine archduchesses. He was, however, not the less ready to listen to any overture which might increase his consequence, or afford the prospect of advantage in other quarters.

The pope did not, without jealousy, behold the House of Austria uniting Naples with the Empire and the Milanese, and reviving the dangerous power possessed by the Suabian emperors in Italy. To this general ground of jealousy were added

* Memoirs of the Regent Duke of Orleans.

inferior causes of dispute, concerning the principality of Comocchio, and the feudal superiority of Parma and Placentia. Hence, although of little weight as a temporal prince, the pope was disposed to grant his spiritual support to Philip, and the favours of the church were too important to be disregarded in a catholic country like Spain.

The minor states of Italy, harassed by the exactions of the emperor, and alarmed by his claims of feudal superiority, were looking forward to the support of some foreign power, under whose protection they might find security.

In such a situation of public affairs, Alberoni duly estimated the weight of England and Holland in the political balance, and the value of their assistance, or even connivance, in his design to restore the spanish dominion in Italy. He, therefore, successfully laboured to overcome the aversion of his sovereign to the two powers who had been his most dangerous enemies in the recent contest, and even pledged himself for their secret or open assistance. He assiduously courted the friendship of the dutch minister, baron Ripperda, and by his intervention endeavoured to purchase the naval support of the republic, by proposing to take twelve of its ships into spanish pay, as a protection to the american trade. Aware also that Holland would be essentially influenced by England, he employed the agency of Ripperda to introduce himself to the notice of the british government, and tendered his services to restore a good understanding with Spain.

The british envoy * thus describes the first appearance of

* The British envoy at this period was Mr. Bubb, who afterwards changed his name to Dodington, and terminated his political career under the title of Lord Melcombe. He was left in charge of the British affairs on the departure of Mr. Methuen, and though young gave proofs of great discretion and talents in this delicate crisis.

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this new political agent, whom he had hitherto never spoken to, or even seen.

"Baron Ripperda informs me that he received a message to repair to court, where a person waited to speak with him, by order of the king. He went, and found a gentleman * of great consequence, who, he says, shewed him a power from the king, authorising him to speak on the part of his majesty. They talked much relative to dutch affairs, on which full satisfaction was promised. Afterwards the gentleman desired him to come to me this evening, and inform me, as from the king, that his majesty was perfectly disposed to live in good understanding with my sovereign. To give all imaginable proofs of it, he was ready to consent to annul the explanatory articles, and do every thing calculated to promote a good intelligence between his britannic majesty and himself. Of this the gentleman desired I would apprise my sovereign this night."†

In a subsequent letter, the envoy adds, "I have found out the gentleman, who alone is absolute here. He has gained an entire ascendant over the queen, and, by that means, over the king, who is not a lover of business, and suffers himself to be governed by her majesty. I ought to add, I see no party forming capable of opposing him."‡

In the first public intercourse which had succeeded the peace of Utrecht, the british government had struggled against all the influence of the great bourbon party, headed and directed by the cardinal del Giudice, the principal minister, and against all the tardiness, contradiction, and prejudices of the spaniards

* Alberoni.

† Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, Sept. 20, N. S. 1715.——Melcombe Papers, in the possession of H. P. Wyndham, esq. M. P.

‡ Ibid. Oct. 11, N. S.

themselves. No sooner, however, did Alberoni appear on the scene, than all difficulties vanished. The commercial discussions, which had been thwarted at every step, were immediately terminated. Alberoni became himself the bearer and advocate of a project for a new treaty, abrogating the explanatory articles, obviating all the points in dispute, and restoring the English to the commercial advantages which they enjoyed under the austrian princes.* CHAP. XXIV. 1716 | 1717.

The british envoy, triumphantly announcing this transaction to his court, observes, "We signed the treaty, which is inclosed, last night after a thousand wranglings. * * * I flatter myself, that upon the whole we shall find ourselves in right to pretend to all the advantages we enjoyed at the time of king Charles the second, and the first article seems to set our duties on the same foot, with the same advantages and favours. Dec. 12.

"The ratification is agreed to in six weeks, of which I was very glad, that we may finish as soon as possible. For you will please to observe, that the ministry here have done every thing they could against us, partly from the narrowness of their views, partly from the monstrous inventions which the Irish have spread about our disturbances at home, which some of them are weak enough to believe in a great measure. I have not thought it consistent with the honour of the king to endeavour to undeceive any of them, except his catholic majesty, who I hope is in a very sincere diposition to live in perfect friendship with his majesty. However, this being so, whatever we settled with the king in the morning, the cardinal del Giudice and his party undid at night; and raised a thousand suspicions, that I never knew what to depend on. We have been on the point of signing any time these eight days.

* Project of the Treaty. Melcombe Papers.——Treaty of Commerce between Spain and England, Dec. 3–14, 1715.

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"Yesterday I got a friend of ours (Alberoni) to draw up this instrument, and go to the king, and, with my duty, tell his catholic majesty, that I conceived it contained exactly what he had several times been pleased to approve; and as I had in every thing obeyed his commands to the utmost, in bringing it to his very words, I hoped he would consider, that no more lay in my power, and would be pleased to end this affair one way or other. The gentleman did so; the king read it over, and asked his opinion. He said he thought the demand very reasonable, and if his majesty approved of it, it would be best to declare and finish it at once. The king said he was very well satisfied, and bid him have it signed. He went to the office and ordered a full power for the marquis of Bedmar, and as soon as it was ready in the evening, we met at Bedmar's house, who keeps his bed, and I fancy never heard of the matter till dinner time. There, after reading the instruments, they were signed, and the other sent to the king. This was the first time, and probably may be the last, that I ever saw the marquis of Bedmar.

"Count Alberoni has behaved very obligingly and heartily in this affair, and orders me to say abundance more to you, of service for you, than I shall trouble you with at present. Only any thing that you will order me to say to him from the king or yourself, will be very well taken, and may be of use."*

Nor did the services of the adroit and insinuating favourite end here. He persuaded the king not only to with-hold the assistance promised by his ministers to the Pretender, but even prompted him to adopt the strongest terms of solicitude and friendship for the king of England. When del Giudice ventured to express his surprise at the conclusion of so advan-

* Mr. Doddington to Secretary Stanhope, Dec. 12, 1715. Melcombe Papers.

tageous a treaty with a prince who tottered on his throne, and recommended the interests of the Pretender, whose progress in England he exaggerated: Philip, to his surprise and consternation, interrupted his representations with the brief, but decisive reply, "I consider the king of England as my brother, and am determined to live in friendship with him. Let me hear no more on this subject."*

Not content with this private declaration, Alberoni obtained from the sovereign a public and solemn pledge of his determination to give no support to the Pretender or his adherents. The paper was arranged between Alberoni and the british envoy, and the sanction of the king given with the same alacrity as to the commercial treaty. The publication of this paper made a great sensation in Spain, and essentially contributed to discourage the partisans of the exiled family, both in England and abroad.

The services of Alberoni were so warmly acknowledged by the british government, that he deemed himself secure of its support, or at least its connivance, in whatever designs he might chuse to undertake. He therefore availed himself of the occupation of Novi by the imperial troops, to appeal to the king of England as a guarantee of the neutrality of Italy; and even laboured to entangle him in an alliance with Spain, under the plausible plea of maintaining the faith of his public engagements. Confiding in the effect of these representations the king of Spain offered the genoese the support of a corps of spanish troops, and his effectual protection against the oppressions of the emperor.†

The british envoy himself was induced to become the proposer and advocate of this new connection with Spain. "I by

* Dispatch of Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, April 27, 1716.

† St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 169.

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no means," he observed, "presume to form new schemes of power; but I fancy it might be so contrived, that by a compliance with our guaranty in a point, which it appears necessary to engage in, we might entirely ruin the french power here, and utterly divide the two nations. We might so highly oblige the queen, who is absolute, that his majesty would be looked upon as the protector of Spain, and be more favoured in commerce than ever. We might induce this crown to enter into the guaranty of the protestant succession, the strengthening of which alone, while there is any virtue in England, will be more valuable to us than any thing under heaven, to say nothing of the joint guaranty of the barrier for the dutch, to which Spain may possibly be brought, and which I regard as an essential, though remote part of our security."

Cautiously suggesting the proposal, he continued, "I proceed to explain, what I believe are the views of this court, and what may probably engage it to make such alliances and take such measures as his majesty pleases, both now and in future. I know not what may have been written to you on this affair, but I believe they have asked nothing specifically, because they have asked nothing of me, that they might not expose themselves to a denial. But in case his majesty should think of making a fast friend of Spain, and determine in their favour, I imagine the first thing asked of him, will be to interpose his good offices with the emperor to innovate nothing in Italy; and to send some men of war up the Mediterranean to countenance the king of Spain's ships as his ally, under the pretence of hindering a landing by the Turks. If in the mean time his majesty will set a negociation on foot, for a stricter union with Spain, I am satisfied he may obtain conditions which we had very little reason to expect six months ago."

He did not conclude his dispatch without adverting to an

article calculated to gratify the queen. "His majesty is already guaranty of Italy. If he would go one step further, and guaranty the preservation of the states of Parma and Tuscany to the queen and her heirs, I am of opinion he might obtain very ample conditions, at the head of which I consider the guaranty of the crown in his majesty's royal family and of the barrier treaty. I thought on this particular thing, because we shall thereby so highly oblige the queen, whose son is the fourth prince of Spain, and can pretend to nothing from the succession, that I doubt not his majesty will in time be as much considered here, and more beloved than ever the french were." CHAP. XXIV. 1716 | 1717.

"I think it is at present in his majesty's breast to make as strict an alliance as he pleases, and to lay so firm a foundation, by the conditions he may obtain, that the nation will soon be brought to its ancient bent, which was always in our favour, and his majesty be more considered here than ever his predecessors have been. As to the french, they have not the least influence here; and the creating and advancing that breach has been the chief difficulty in the negociation. This court has treated them very indifferently of late, and is disposed to treat them just as his majesty pleases, so that I believe they will never be able to lift up their heads here, unless we let slip this favourable conjuncture.

"The king of Spain has broken entirely with his old friends, in making a treaty which has highly disobliged them, without any condition for himself, and in opposition to all his ministers. Since he seems to have thrown himself so fairly into our hands, if we should now refuse him, he will be most sensibly mortified.

"As low as Spain is, there is no nation can so soon retrieve itself; and sooner at present than ever. Formerly the domi-

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nions in Italy and Flanders were a vast charge to them instead of an advantage. They were maintained by the resources of the Indies and of the two Castiles, whereas at present this expence is at an end; the Castiles pay rather more than ever, while the king draws considerable resources from Aragon and Catalonia, which paid little or nothing before. In fact his resources exceed, by one third, those of any of his predecessors; and his expences are reduced one half; so with a little order he will soon make himself an useful ally.

"It would be a most sensible pleasure to me, nor do I despair of it, to see his majesty in a twelve-month's time; and it is hardly so long since he began to act in the affairs of Spain, make his subjects trade supportable here; bring so great a guaranty into the succession and barrier treaty; separate Spain and France more effectually than a war of fifteen years has done, and establish a lasting alliance in the place. In short, to see him do more good for his people with respect to Spain in one year, than all our late mismanagements have done hurt in four." *

Had England been disposed to sacrifice her political to her commercial interests, this was the opportunity to have formed an intimate connection with Spain. But the british cabinet, fully acquainted with the rooted jealousy fostered by the spanish court against the commercial prosperity of other powers, were too prudent to engage in hostilities for the sake of maintaining a treaty which might be as lightly revoked as it had been lightly concluded. Sensible also that the nation needed repose to recover from the weakness occasioned by a long and expensive contest, and embarrassed by civil war, they were chiefly anxious to establish the public tranquillity,

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, Feb. 19, 1716.——Melcombe Papers.

and to deprive the jacobites of the dangerous support of France. CHAP. XXIV. 1716 | 1717.

Hence they dexterously evaded the proposal of the spanish court, though with professions of amity calculated to soften their refusal. "His majesty," they observed, "was perfectly disposed to enter into a new treaty with the catholic king, to renew and confirm the past; but the actual situation of affairs did not permit him to form other engagements, which, far from contributing to preserve the neutrality of Italy, would give rise to jealousies tending to disturb it."*

The failure of the regent to regain the french ascendancy in Spain, his personal anxiety to secure the eventual succession to the crown, joined with the overthrow of the rebellion in favour of the Pretender, induced him to overstep the antiquated system of policy; and adopt new maxims with regard to England. This coincidence of public and private interests led to the formation of a great alliance, the sole object of which was the restoration of public tranquillity, and the confirmation of the provisions in the treaty of Utrecht, concerning the succession to the two crowns.

The progressive steps to this alliance were a series of individual treaties. In February, the king of England renewed his union with the states general, and in May, entered into an alliance with the emperor, for the reciprocal defence of their respective territories, with an unusual clause comprising the guaranty of such future acquisitions as they should make by mutual consent. These treaties were the prelude to an arrangement between France and England in June, by which the Pretender was to be sent beyond the Alps, the fortifications of Dunkirk to be rased, and the succession of both crowns, according to the treaty of Utrecht, secured by a mutual guaranty. All 1716.

* Secretary Stanhope to Mr. Dodington, March 13, 1715-6.

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subordinate points being thus separately accommodated, these different engagements were, in July, consolidated in the Triple Alliance between France, England, and the United Provinces, and as the means of rewarding the accession of the Emperor, secret arrangements appear to have been formed for securing to him the island of Sicily in exchange for Sardinia.

CHAPTER XXV

1716—1717.

Indignation of Philip at the treaties between England, the Emperor, and France —Artful conduct of Alberoni—His attempts to alarm or lure England into an alliance with Spain—Conferences of Alberoni with the British Envoy—Extracts from the correspondence of Mr. Doddington, relative to the situation and views of Alberoni.

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WHILE Philip and Alberoni were flattering themselves with the prospect of obtaining the assistance of England in their designs against Italy, they were thunderstruck with the intelligence of the treaty between England and the emperor, the very rumour of which had already excited their alarm.

When the unwelcome account of the negotiation was transmitted by Monteleone, the spanish embassador in London, the king bitterly reproached Alberoni with his rashness and overweening confidence: "Where," he tauntingly asked, "are your english and dutch, of whose friendship and assistance you so much boasted? What can you say in their defence, after seeing them engage in new alliances with our greatest enemies, and after granting at your suggestion all their demands, and entering into all their measures?" To the reply, that even if the intelligence was true, England had nevertheless offered her alliance, the king impatiently rejoined, "I will not believe it.

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Let them do as they will. I will take measures, which, however disagreeable, are unavoidable; for I cannot trust to these two nations. But I will persevere in my friendly disposition, till I am convinced there is no remedy." Then, apostrophising Alberoni, he continued, " On your word I have abandoned my old friends. To what an extremity am I reduced. I have not a single friend. You have finely advised me!"

Alberoni was, if possible, still more mortified than Philip himself; and his imperious temper swelled with indignation at being made the dupe of his own sanguine hopes, as well as of the professions of the british court. But, conscious that resentment was fruitless, he suppressed the emotions of anger and disappointment; and continued to hold the language of conciliation and friendship, though mixed with expressions of complaint and regret. In his conferences with the british envoy, he chiefly dwelt on the disappointment and chagrin of his royal master. " I never before," he declared, " saw him so deeply affected. He never treated me with equal indignity, regarding me as the cause of this unexpected, this unheard of affront, for advising him to break with the regent, and connect himself with England. It is scarcely possible to transact business with him.

" His majesty complains that the article by which the two parties not only guaranty their present possessions, but also whatever may be acquired by mutual consent, is directly levelled against him, because the emperor can make no acquisition in Italy except to his prejudice. He objects likewise to the stipulation that no power shall be admitted into the alliance except by mutual consent, as expressly intended to exclude him. But what alliance can England make with Spain? what compensation can she give for the favourable terms of the late convention, if she at the same time enter into

a connection with the emperor? Spain has no cause to fear France; and we are convinced that the maritime powers will not become our enemies, nor England maintain her engagements for the guaranty of Italy. We only require that the king your master will enter into a discussion of our rights, and adopt the part which is most just, and most consonant to his own interests.

"Next to God, the king, my master, looks up to yours: he is disposed to cultivate his friendship, and to favour the commercial interests of his people. For your sake he has broken his covenants with France, and irrevocably separated himself from the other branch of the bourbon family. We can indeed never be induced to harbour so unworthy a sentiment as to imagine that England will join our enemies without a cause; but you must not wonder if my royal master is indignant; you must not deem it extraordinary if we are astonished at a treaty concluded at a time when you have nothing to fear, and for which no possible cause can be assigned.

"Consider, I intreat you, the cruel situation in which I stand. I, who alone persuaded my master to renounce his family connections. I, who persuaded him to remove the grievances laid on the english trade by the treaty of commerce. I, who persuaded him to grant the recent treaty, so advantageous to your interests; and am equally ready and willing to procure for you the settlement of the Asiento so long delayed. How can I appear before my royal master; I, who pledged my word for your sincerity; and became the organ of your repeated assurances that England would cultivate his friendship? How can I appear before him, who have so recently deceived him?"

To all the declarations of the british envoy that the alliance with the emperor was purely defensive; to all his assevera-

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tions that it contained nothing injurious to Spain, the same answer was repeatedly given, "England has made an alliance with our mortal enemy; with one who refuses to acknowledge Philip as king of Spain; with one who has heaped on him insult upon insult, and whose vast power in Italy will involve all the minor states in one common destruction."*

But, however deeply Alberoni felt his disappointment, he was still unwilling to relinquish the hope of detaching the king of England from France, and of inducing him not to oppose, if he would not assist in reducing, the austrian power in Italy. He therefore adopted a mode of conduct calculated to operate equally on their fears and hopes. He suffered the spanish officers to exercise new vexations on the british merchants, and suspended the execution of the recent treaty.

By his connivance the english merchants were subjected to all the exactions which the convention was intended to remove. They were even charged with additional imposts, called on to pay the local and municipal taxes, from which they had hitherto been exempted, and compelled to permit the quartering of soldiers in their houses, or punished with confinement for asserting their privileges.

Still, however, he affected to appear as the unalterable friend of England; as anxious to soothe the irritation of Philip, and to obtain a redress of grievances, and the execution of the treaty in which he had so considerable a share. In reply to repeated remonstrances of the british envoy, he lamented his own want of power; expatiated on the malicious opposition of the spanish ministers, who were equally his own enemies, and the enemies of England, and referred to the time

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, April 27, and May 4, 1716. Melcombe Papers.

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when he hoped to assume the name and authority of a prime minister, and prove his sincerity by deeds, not by words.

"I see plainly," he said, "that the king has a set of people about him who are my enemies; but he is so full of doubts and so irresolute, that notwithstanding the ascendant the queen has over him, it is inconceivably difficult to bring him into any vigorous measures. For my own part, I have been so discouraged, that I had made a solemn declaration never more to concern myself with business. However, notwithstanding the umbrage which his majesty has taken at your treating with the court of Vienna, I will speak once more, and let you know my success. You may depend upon it that I will serve you to the utmost of my power, and what I would not do for you, I would not do for any one living."* July 18.

By this dexterous management, Alberoni succeeded in preventing an open breach, and endeavoured by lures and threats to detach England from France and the emperor, while he laboured to soothe the irritation of Philip, and protract a rupture till he was better prepared for the renewal of hostilities, which he deprecated as the ruin of Spain.

His frank and insinuating address, his repeated and solemn promises of future service, in some measure prevailed; and the british envoy looked forward to his elevation to the roman purple, as the period which was to terminate all existing difficulties, and as a new æra in the political relations of England and Spain.

In the preceding pages we have frequently employed the correspondence of the bourbon sovereigns and their agents as the most authentic expression of their sentiments, and the most faithful detail of their views and designs. We are fortunately enabled to follow the motions of the spanish court, in

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, July 18, NS. 1716.

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its change of policy, and to trace the conduct and rise of the new favourite, from the correspondence of the british envoy, with whom he maintained an almost daily intercourse. It would be difficult to produce examples of more profound dissimulation and exquisite address.

One of the many instances in which the assistance of Alberoni was employed with advantage, was the establishment of a secret and direct correspondence between the two courts, in order to supersede the agency of Monteleone, who, from a partisan of England, was become an adherent of del Giudice and the french faction, and in his situation of embassador at London, was enabled to raise continual difficulties in the arrangement of the various points at issue. The origin of this correspondence was the renewal of an acquaintance which Mr. Stanhope, when a prisoner at Saragossa, had formed with Alberoni, then in the service of Vendome, and the first letter which occurs, was written to return thanks for the conclusion of the treaty of commerce. After adverting to their former intimacy, and recalling the predictions which he had then hazarded that merit so distinguished could not fail of advancement, Mr. Stanhope expresses his satisfaction that he had so skilfully divined, and proceeds:

Dec. 30. 1715.

"The king, my master, is much gratified with the conduct of the king of Spain in terminating our discussions at a season which might have furnished specious pretexts for cavil, had he been disposed to take false impressions on the state of our affairs. His catholic majesty has acted like a wise and just prince. I may venture to promise that the event will shew he has not been deceived. England knows how to be a friend. She has expended 200,000,000 crowns, with the sole view of having a king of Spain her friend. The present king has just given a solid proof of his amicable intentions. Judge then what we would

do for him, should it happen that he has occasion for us. In all cases, sir, behold the foundation of a sincere and lasting friendship. You have begun the edifice, and to you I am ordered, by the king my master, to address myself for its completion.

" Mr. Dodington will have the honour to speak to you on the affair of the Asiento. Enlightened as you are, I am persuaded, you will be fully convinced, that Spain is more interested than England in what he will propose to you on the part of the south sea company. I entreat you to give him a favourable hearing, and to make such a report to the king of Spain as you may judge suitable to his interests. This stumbling block once removed, I see nothing to affect the union between the two powers, which we, in England, think absolutely necessary, not only for the welfare of both nations, but for the tranquillity of all Europe. I wish, with all my heart, that you may have the honour to strengthen this salutary union more and more, by your advice and good offices."

Alberoni was flattered with these professions from the confidential minister of George the first, and anticipated the zealous support of England. The correspondence thus begun, was continued with equal cordiality by both parties, and few letters had passed, before the trammels of office were completely superseded. A letter from Mr. Dodington shews the nature and effect of this new mode of intercourse.

" I went to Aranjuez, and got thither Wednesday the 6th, May 11. in the morning, before M. Alberoni was up: I left your letter to be delivered to him as soon as he waked, and went into the garden. At my return, he was in the queen's apartment, from whence I sent for him. I told him what you did me the honour to write to me about his majesty's good intentions for the king of Spain, and read to him the latter part of the letter. He seemed mightily pleased, and told me that

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you had written to him a very obliging letter. That he had already read it to the queen, and they would take their measures, and shew it to the king in the afternoon. I am a little acquainted with him, and saw that it had an extraordinary good effect, and might be a favourable occasion to push the matter. I told him that from what I had read to him, it was plain how much it was his majesty's resolution to cultivate a strict friendship with the catholic king; but I had good grounds to suspect that it had been much misrepresented of late. That I must inform him we knew most certainly the marquis of Monteleone was entirely in the french interest, and his enemy, as well as a friend to the Pretender, and a creature of the cardinal. From most incontestable proofs, the king was so fully convinced of this, that I thought I should be wanting in my duty, if I did not demand his recal.

"He answered, he was much surprised at what he had heard. Monteleone was a man who had nothing at all in Spain; he had served a good while, and had been trusted with some secrets, and, therefore, they must do what they did with as little *eclat* as possible.

"Finding that he was not well disposed, I told him I would not affirm that the point which so much alarmed them was wholly false, because I knew nothing of it either directly or indirectly. But I would venture to affirm that it was either false or of no consequence. I said, if it were otherwise, it is inconceivable that a thing of such importance should be confided to a minister of Spain, and that at a time when his majesty did me the honour to inform me that he had most ample demonstrations of his being an improper person to promote the union between the two crowns; so improper that I could not avoid insisting that he should be recalled.

"He replied, he had all imaginable reason to hope there was

nothing in it, from your letter, which came very luckily, and, I can assure you, did a great deal of service. He promised me that Monteleone should be recalled, and shortly. In the mean time, he desired that no regard might be had to any thing he said; and assured me no sort of credit should be given here to what came from him. He requested when any thing was to be done you would be pleased to write to him or to me, and we would settle it among ourselves; and it should never be seen except by the two kings, the queen, and us three. He told me you had wrote to him all in your own hand, and fetched the letter to shew me how many pages there were of it. I mention this last to remind you that there are some people who love mightily to be complimented. I must repeat to you that the letter has done an infinite deal of good, and came at the conjuncture when there was the most need of it.

"I then told him that it was obvious these proceedings were the effects of the rage of the french partisans in this court, headed by the cardinal, who had made use of his emissary, Monteleone to create groundless jealousies, and break the union between the two crowns, which *he* had established with so much glory to his catholic majesty and himself.

"The french party hoped by these extravagant misrepresentations to precipitate the king into some hasty measure and lessen his credit, since it could not be cleared up in less than six weeks; and if their workings should prove ineffectual in that time, they were at last but where they set out, that is, entirely defeated. I told him, this was an occasion not to be overlooked of striking at the root; and routing them at once, or else they would sooner or later overturn *him*. He might depend upon it, the king of Spain would always find a true friend in his majesty, and he as many friends as his majesty had ministers, and a particular one in you. I am of opinion

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I have persuaded him so far, that he will not lose an opportunity of revenging himself.

"From thence I took an occasion to represent the propriety of finishing the Asiento, that I might dispatch the messenger, and we might both write more freely to England. He told me it should be done next week, and I settled with him to come this day se'night and fetch it."

* * * * * * * * * * *

"At the same time I cannot say the late treaty is put in execution, or the necessary orders given for placing things on a right footing. But this I ascribe to the great disorders of their government; their continual parties of hunting, and frequent absences from Madrid, with this last alarm, rather than want of will, which I cannot but think to be good. Though M. Alberoni is absolute with their majesties, he is not yet entirely master of the ministry, but if the king our master pleases to support him, I believe he will shortly be so. * * * *

"The queen, either really or out of complaisance to the king, is as much given to hunting as he is. M. Alberoni has talked to me much about our English horses, for the Spanish are too fiery for a lady, and she was lately in danger of being thrown. He says he has orders to send for some. If his majesty should think fit to send her two or three, I fancy it would be taken as a high compliment, and would certainly keep her more a friend than is to be imagined from such a trifle."*

We soon discover proofs that these representations were not without effect.

"The day," writes Mr. Dodington, "when I thought to go to Aranjuez, M. Alberoni came to me, and saved me the journey. The next, which was last Wednesday, we were together all the morning.

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, May 11, NS. 1716.

"After having talked over the business of the Asiento, I represented to him, in the warmest manner, the delay in executing the treaty, and the mode of treating our merchants here. I detailed to him all the reasons contained in the inclosed memorial; and the ill consequences which must necessarily result from such proceedings. He told me he hoped the king of England was sensible that by the channel I had employed, we had made some steps, certainly not useless to his service, and he doubted not the rest would follow. That I might assure his majesty he was convinced of the justice of my representations, and was as much mortified at these things as we could be; that he would always continue to do the utmost for his majesty's service, believing that it was for the interests of Spain.

"I am not," he added, "yet master here; nor have the queen or myself a single person on whom we can depend. *If I did not hope to overcome the foreign spirit which reigns in these counsels, I would not remain twenty-four hours in Spain.* The queen is forced to proceed gradually; and I cannot always induce her to apply herself so much as I wish. Indeed it is difficult to engage a young lady in examining matters of trade.

"After much discourse, we agreed that I should present a memorial to the king, pressing the execution of the treaty. I drew up the inclosed, and gave it to Alberoni, who promised me to use all the means in his power to put things in better order, and indeed I believe it is not his fault.

"I shall take the liberty to trouble his majesty with a little sketch of the situation of this court, to which he will be pleased to refer what I have the honour to write to him hereafter.

"We have two parties here, one spanish, and the other french. The spaniards oppose, and create as many difficulties

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as they can, rather because things are not done by themselves, than from any real ill will to us. You well know that these grandees are accustomed to treat their kings like cyphers, and to do and dispose of every thing according to their fancy. This the queen will by no means permit, however the king might, which makes them raise as many obstacles as they can in the way of all business.

"The french faction, from which we have the most to apprehend, and which is indeed the most active, and I believe the most powerful, because it fills the principal offices of state, has the cardinal del Giudice at its head. Whether he really continues in that interest, as he certainly was before the death of the late king of France, or whether he espouses the party from ill will to us, I cannot determine. It is not, however, surprising, that he should be a zealous enemy of our's in general, and of mine in particular, considering the figure we have reduced him to make, in consequence of the late treaties.

"Finding his power decrease, this gentleman, by some of his party, prevailed on the king to name a committee from all the councils, at first in order to regulate some disputes with France, and now to take cognizance of all foreign affairs under the title of *Junta de dependencias extrangeras*. He has contrived to make himself master of this junta, and it is there that most of our affairs suffer. After they have been favourably determined in the councils, he draws them into this committee, and then he does with them what he pleases. He still sets up for prime minister. Though he has not really power to do any thing, yet he has enough to stop much business, by suggesting objections to the king, who, though a prince of great probity and good natural sense, is startled by the least difficulty, and not easily persuaded to examine it.

"I have often represented all this to M. Alberoni in the

warmest manner, and told him if he does not dissolve this junta, and place himself publicly at the head of affairs, Spain will be ruined; we can never establish that perfect confidence which is so necessary to us both, and I shall be obliged to return with the mortification of having been unable to render the least service to my sovereign. He promises me that the junta shall be broken, and every thing placed on a right footing in a little time; but I can by no means pretend to fix when that time will be.

"This much I think certain. Without the queen we should never have done any thing here; and when she desists from supporting our interests, we may take our leave of Spain. I am fully persuaded she is heartily for us now, and a sworn enemy to the french; and I believe his majesty may keep her so as long as he pleases. Thus, though our affairs are much disordered, and hitherto we have obtained nothing but promises; yet it seems to me we have united ourselves to the party which sooner or later must prevail. In a word, the absolute controul over Spain will belong to *the highest bidder for the queen's son.* This is the grand and the only maxim, which has never changed since I have been here."*

To one of the repeated representations of the british minister of the vexations practised on our merchants, Alberoni replied, "I see it with sorrow, but I cannot remedy it. The malicious servants of the king have sown such secret jealousies of the negociation, that I have declared to the queen my resolution not to speak any more about business. The greatest sacrifice I can make to you is to represent the complaint again, after which I will say no more. I do not intend to become a trafficker in promises which I cannot fulfil."†

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, June 3 and 15, 1716, NS. Melcombe Papers.

† Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, July 6, 1716.

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At length the intrigues of Alberoni prevailed over the patience and pertinacity of del Giudice, who, relying on the interest he had acquired with the king, maintained his post in spite of every species of insult and mortification. The agency of the confessor was therefore now employed to injure him in the mind of Philip, and the jealousy of the queen was roused by the accusation that he endeavoured to prepossess the mind of his royal pupil against her and her children. Accordingly, July 17. he was removed from all his ministerial offices, except his place in the council of state; and the charge of governor to the prince was transferred to the duke of Popoli.

The correspondence of the british envoy represents the mode and effects of this change. "You will easily conceive," he wrote to the secretary of state, "that del Giudice is not a man of much resentment, not indeed of what is becoming his quality and fortune, or he would have thrown up his employ at the notorious slight that was put upon him in the grossest manner, with relation to the late treaty of commerce. It set him in the most ridiculous light imaginable, both as first minister, and as particularly deputed to treat that affair, which was the most important of any public one then or since depending, and was concluded while he was declaring that it never could be concluded on those terms. We were in hopes that such mortifying usage would have prevailed upon him to ask leave to retire; which his not having spirit enough to do, has drawn on him this new slight. We shall soon see how far the serenity or rather insensibility of his temper extends.

"It is thought a great deal to have brought the king thus far, and it is to be hoped he may be persuaded further, if the cardinal is resolved to stand out. However, it is certain there is so much done by removing him from the palace, that he will scarcely ever see the king but when others do. The day after the dismission, he presented himself at council,

and the king did not refuse him, though he has since asked leave to lay down his post of inquisitor general, and retire, which the king has granted him. But as he cannot do it without the pope's permission, he may protract it as much as he pleases, and possibly for some time."*

The cardinal was unable to submit to this partial disgrace, or discovered that resistance was vain. He obtained the papal permission to relinquish the only office which he held in Spain, and repaired to Rome. The ostensible place of minister being thus left vacant, the management of public business was diverted into the hands of Alberoni and Grimaldo.

Still, however, Alberoni did not think proper to assume a public character, and incur the consequent responsibility; but contented himself with directing the puppets of administration behind the curtain, until he had attained the roman purple, which, besides being a natural object of his ambition as a churchman, gave additional weight to a minister in Spain, and afforded an eventual security in case of disgrace. To this object, therefore, all his views were now directed. He spared neither professions nor promises to acquire the favour of the pontiff, and his instances were supported by earnest and repeated solicitations from the king and queen. While he applied with success to the different members of the roman court, he tendered his assistance to promote an accommodation of the existing disputes between the king and the holy see, and the re-establishment of the nunciature.

As a proof of zeal for the cause of christendom, he induced the king to dispatch a squadron with a force of 8,000 men into the Levant, to assist the Venetians against the Turks, and by this succour saved Corfu, the key of the Archipelago. In return for this service, and the promises of future aid to the

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, July 18, N. S. 1716.

CHAP. XXV. 1716 | 1717.

christian cause, he obtained the papal grant of the usual contribution, from the clergy of Spain and the Indies, for the prosecution of a war against the infidels, the promise of a cardinal's hat, and a plausible pretext for continuing his naval and military preparations.*

At this moment, however, he was exposed to a dangerous attack from the regent of France, who could not contemplate with indifference his rising ascendancy, his apparent devotion to England, and the decline of the french influence with the fall of del Giudice. The agent employed on this occasion was Louville, the early favourite and counsellor of Philip, who had been removed from the court under the rule of the princess Orsini. Though the duke of St. Aignan filled the post of regular minister from France, Louville was charged with private credentials to the king, and even with letters of recommendation to Alberoni himself. His ostensible commission was to promote an accommodation with the emperor, as the means of restoring a general peace; but it was evidently expected that the habits of former familiarity and confidence would give him sufficient influence over the mind of the king to balance the power of the queen and Alberoni, and re-establish the political connection of the two bourbon courts.

Alberoni, however, was too jealous of the royal favour to give Louville either time or opportunity to fulfil his commission.

July 24. 1716.

At the very moment of his arrival, a letter from the secretary of state, Grimaldo, was presented to him, expressing the displeasure and surprise of the king at his presumption in returning to a court from which he had been banished, and enjoining his instant departure. In the midst of the agitation occasioned by this unexpected mandate, he was visited by Alberoni himself, who loaded him with compliments of condo-

* St. Philippe, t. 2, p. 174—179.

lence, lamented his own want of power to prevent such a mortification, and employed all his address to obtain the communication of his instructions. Louville shewing his full powers, and demanding an audience, the wily Italian traversed the apartment with great apparent emotion, exclaiming, "this is a terrible court! people believe that I have power, but I possess none!" In vain Louville expatiated on the danger of offending the court of France; in vain he declared that he was deputed for the purpose of restoring harmony between the two crowns; in vain he persisted in demanding an audience of the king, to disclose the object of his mission. His demands, remonstrances, and expostulations, were all equally fruitless; and, though he was not compelled to depart from the capital, such representations were dispatched to the regent, that orders were sent for his recal before he could render an account of his unsuccessful embassy.*

This attempt on one side, and the disappointment on the other, inflamed the mutual jealousy of both courts, and gave rise to new machinations both at Paris and Madrid. The connections which Louville had formed during his short stay in a discontented capital, and his exaggerated accounts of the public feuds, induced the regent to continue his intrigues through the agency of the accredited embassador, who was accordingly instructed to embroil the new favourite with the confessor, and to employ the spiritual authority of the confessor over the mind of Philip. These attempts were, however, frustrated, and the failure served only to widen the breach, and to establish the power of the queen and the influence of Alberoni.

Alberoni did not fail to make a merit of this stroke of policy with England, and, in declaring that Spain was totally se-

* Noailles, t. 5, p. 45—55.——Dispatch from Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, Aug. 5, 1716.

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parated from France, redoubled his instances for an intimate connection between the two countries. He also gave a new proof of his anxiety to gratify the british court, by terminating the long pending discussions relative to the Asiento.

In rendering an account of this arrangement, the british minister observes, " Inclosed is the asiento treaty, signed by the marquis of Bedmar and myself, with the catholic king's ratification.

Aug. 5.

" On the receipt of Mr. Stanhope's letter, in which I am ordered to renew my instances in the warmest manner, for the execution of the late treaty, as I had so often done it ineffectually to the ministers, I took a resolution of addressing myself directly to the king. Accordingly, on Saturday the 1st, after having communicated it to M. Alberoni, and settled with him some points that might be proper to be introduced, I went to the levée, and desired leave to speak to the king. As soon as he was dressed, he carried me into his closet, where I had the honour to talk to him some time.

" I took the occasion of giving thanks for the conclusion of the Asiento, to express the sense I had of his goodness in having pleased to make me a means of establishing the confidence between the two crowns, by the conclusion of two treaties of so much importance: that the king, our master, never could be wanting on his side to cultivate it; as I hope he had given his majesty proofs both by his proceedings in Jamaica, and by the communication of his counsels and plans. That the surest basis of that important union, and indeed the only thing which could give both parties force to be reciprocally useful to each other, was the re-establishment of commerce. That I had the honour to make a treaty wherein his majesty had been pleased to declare his intention to that purpose; but it was so far from being executed by his officers,

that every post brought me complaints of new oppressions. That I endeavoured, indeed, to avoid, as much as possible, importuning his majesty with them, though I received more in a week than I could represent in a month, or than I could get redressed in the councils and tribunals in a year; for which reason, I intreated his majesty to refer me to his ministers again, if he continued in the same favourable disposition, and to name one in his confidence to execute the treaty. I observed to him how prejudicial the ruin of commerce would be to himself; and how shocking it would be to the king, our master, after having given and received so many marks of friendship, to see, that instead of redressing the old grievances, as was agreed on by the treaty, new ones were daily imposed.

"What his majesty said was, in substance, that he should be glad to give new marks of his friendship to the king, and it was his intention that the treaty should be punctually observed.

"I replied: Since you have pleased, sire, to express yourself so obligingly on that head, I hope you are satisfied with what has been done, as your majesty was thoroughly acquainted with every step which has been taken, and well knows that I have in all these affairs applied to M. Alberoni alone. Indeed, without him I have reason to fear that your majesty's good intentions would have been rendered fruitless by those who were jealous of the union which they saw growing up between the king and your majesty. Nor can I sufficiently commend the choice of so faithful a minister, and so proper for those affairs, by the great esteem which he has acquired in England, and the personal value our ministers have for him. If your majesty should think fit to honour him with orders to put the treaty in execution, I flatter myself that from his zeal for the common interest, he will settle it to the advantage of both crowns, though

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either by him, or by any other way that your majesty shall please to complete so good a work, I shall always receive and obey your orders with the greatest respect and submission.

"After his majesty had been pleased to express his personal satisfaction at my way of proceeding, in a very obliging manner, he told me that he would give the necessary orders for the execution of the treaty. On this I retired.

"I should not indeed have ventured to meddle with their councils, or the choice of their ministers, had I not been sure that if affairs were put into any hands but Alberoni's, it would be impossible to do any thing; and having agreed with him, and being sure of the queen, I thought it could not succeed very ill.

"I heard no more of this till Alberoni sent for me. After some discourse about the payment of the Asiento, where Monteleone has been pleased to create some difficulties, he said to me: The queen has spoken to the king and me about what passed between his majesty and you. He seems mightily pleased with what you said to him. His majesty told me he never had designed to put that negotiation into any other hands than mine. He is very desirous that it shall be finished, and has ordered me to examine into it, and settle it in the best manner I can, independently of every body. You, at the same time, must know, that a regulation of that nature is what I do not understand. I am, however, willing to enter upon it, and do what I can, if you will inform me what is to be done, and what is the best way of doing it."

It, however, appears that, notwithstanding these professions, little or no progress was made in this arrangement.

Aug. 29. "By the inclosed state of the councils, you will see the confusion and difficulties that every trifle meets with.

"I am ashamed to beg his royal highness * to believe that

* The King being at Hanover, the Prince of Wales was now at the head of the regency.

I use all possible applications to advance our affairs here, considering the little progress I make in them. But till the king of Spain will publicly set some man at the head of the ministry, with sufficient authority to act vigorously, and to go to the bottom of the present disorders, I can hardly think we shall be able to root out entirely the difficulties under which we lie. For, while every council, and indeed every body in the public employments, out of ignorance, want of application, or malice, perpetually frustrate and perplex every thing that passes through their hands, it seems to me that we cannot settle our affairs advantageously, otherwise than by some man, who has capacity and power to see and put in execution what is just and reasonable wherever he finds it. So that, instead of employing myself about the affairs themselves, I am labouring to get somebody named who will be able to treat and settle them independent of any body else."

Philip had scarcely recovered from the chagrin occasioned by the treaty which England had concluded with the emperor, than he received the still more mortifying intelligence of her alliance with France, and the unexpected union and friendship of George the first and the Regent. He was equally irritated at the conclusion of a treaty, which not only cut off his darling hopes of succeeding to the throne of France, should the infant king die, but precluded him from the prospect of securing the regency, or even of interfering with the government.

Of too irritable a temper to conceal his indignation, Philip gave vent to his resentment against the English, whom he designated as the perpetual enemies of the House of Bourbon, for presuming to decide the question relative to the right of succession in France, which exclusively belonged to the states of the realm. He inveighed against the partiality and injustice

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of the allies, in requiring him to abide by the strict terms of the treaty of Utrecht, while they permitted the archduke, as he contemptuously called the emperor, to usurp the title, and exercise the functions of king of Spain. His indignation was aggravated by his suspicions of the secret promise made by France and England to assist the emperor in procuring the exchange of Sardinia for Sicily. This arrangement he justly considered as a glaring infraction of the treaty of Utrecht, which had precluded the alienation of Sicily, by entailing it on the spanish crown, should the issue of Victor Amadeus become extinct.

The queen was no less indignant at the prospect of such an accession of power to the House of Austria, as would render the emperor the arbiter of Italy, and retard, if not prevent, her expected succession to Parma and Tuscany.

Alberoni fully participated in the resentment and mortification of the king and queen; but the same motive as on the former occasion, induced him to suppress his emotions. He was still unwilling to renounce the hope of detaching England from France; and employed all his address to prevent a hasty resolution. While he soothed the king and queen, he renewed his appeals to the british government, dwelt on the embarrassments of his situation, insulted by the king, and reprobated by his patroness, on whom depended his present favour, and future hopes. He repeated his overtures for an union, and continued to urge, that by the late arrangement with England, his sovereign had irreconcilably offended the regent, and broken with France.

At his suggestion, even the king and queen vanquished their resentment, and assumed a tone of friendship and confidence, hitherto unknown in the intercourse between the Houses of Bourbon and Brunswick. "Tuesday the 29th," writes the minister, "I had my public audience. The king

Oct. 5.

received me with extreme kindness, and in return to my compliment, talked longer than I ever saw him do to any body on such occasions. The queen seemed to be mightily satisfied with my expressions of his majesty's esteem, and behaved herself in so obliging a manner, all the while I had the honour to speak to her, that every body took notice of the satisfaction she was pleased to express in her looks and actions. She made me a very obliging answer, with all possible assurances of her esteem for his majesty, and her desire to preserve his friendship. Her majesty was pleased to do me a particular honour, in giving me audience without making me wait her return from mass, contrary to her constant practice. The next morning Alberoni came to see me, and gave me abundance of assurances of the king's good intentions, and his own friendship. God send that I may see the effects of the one and the other." CHAP. XXV. 1716 | 1717.

Speaking of Alberoni in a subsequent dispatch, he observes, "Though I can do very little with him, I should do nothing without him. As to the settling of our commerce, I have strong promises that it shall be done. Alberoni protests to me, that which he does not do, he cannot do; and that the whole ministry unanimously do all they can to perplex and frustrate every thing he undertakes, both by themselves and friends, and I believe him. He hopes shortly to break through them, and pretends that we shall have justice and favour, and that he will protect our commerce in every thing. I fear he will not be able to act openly and with authority till he has the character from Rome, which is stopped by some little difficulties." Nov. 19.

"If Alberoni was openly at the head of affairs, I should expect effects instead of promises. As it is, I must be contented with promises; for either he cannot, or will not put his promises in execution at present. If he cannot, which I Nov. 30.

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believe to be the case, it is more reasonable that we should have patience; if he will not, it is much the same, since he has always the excuse of want of power, not being publicly declared minister."

Dec. 21. "It is a delicate thing to press people that are not yet charged with affairs in any public station; and consequently not obliged to engage themselves further than they have a mind to do, out of complaisance. The truth is, the unsettledness and disorder in this administration are so great, that it is as difficult and tedious to bring about the most trifling things, as those of the utmost consequence. The delays are such and so unseasonable, that though I have neglected nothing in my power to shorten them; yet it were unreasonable to expect that any body else should think so. It is a little more excusable in considering the present situation of this court.

Dec. 28. "Since the dismission of the cardinal del Giudice, the public ministers have nobody delegated to treat with them. It always used to be a counsellor of state. We have nobody to apply to openly, but Grimaldo, as the king's secretary, who has no apparent power, is no minister of state, nor has any voice in the council. Alberoni, who has the power, is in no public situation, and is to be seen and applied to, only when, and by those that he thinks proper. So that those to whom we can always apply have not the authority, and those who have the authority are not to be engaged further than they themselves please, besides numberless other inconveniences, which must result from such a mode of treating. This I fear cannot be thoroughly redressed, till the disputes are wholly made up with Rome."*

Jan. 25, 1717. "Last Thursday I saw Alberoni, and represented to him our difficulties, and the causes from whence I imagined they pro-

* Alluding to the nomination of Alberoni as Cardinal.

ceeded. He told me he was sensible we had suffered much and long, and I might believe he had done so too. That I knew very well he had once resolved to meddle no more with affairs; but now in a little time he should be freed from those difficulties; I might be sure he would then take all occasions that lay in his power to redress ours. In a week's time he believed the alterations in the ministry would be ended, and then he would use his best endeavours; and it should not be long ere we found the good effects of his hearty desire to serve us. In effect, considering the present situation of our affairs, I do firmly believe that sooner or later they *will* be regulated to our mutual satisfaction. I shall not pretend to fix the time; but on the whole, they cannot fail of coming to a final and advantageous settlement." CHAP. XXV. 1716 | 1717.

At length some partial changes were made in the administration, which tended to increase the power of Alberoni, and to give him a superiority in the departments of finance and the Indies. Jan. 11.

In alluding to these circumstances, Mr. Dodington observes, "I am of opinion that there will be more changes, and in the mean time the fear of them puts a stop to business. My reason for appearing desirous to promote these alterations, has been to have the ministers reduced to some sort of regular dependence on one another. For, as it is, there is little confidence between them and Alberoni. He will not permit them to do every thing they have a mind to do by their own authority, and what he designs doing, being to be dispatched through their hands, they endeavour to perplex and obstruct it as much as they can; all which subjects every thing to a perpetual intricacy and confusion. I pray God we may see the end of it by any means." Jan. 11. 1717.

But it was not by removing the ostensible members of ad-

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ministration, or substituting one puppet for another, that Alberoni gained a real accession of strength. Spanish ministers, even if appointed by his influence, soon became hostile to the controul of an upstart foreigner; and directly or indirectly opposed the measures which tended to annul long existing customs, or to eradicate abuses sanctioned by time. Alberoni therefore introduced an essential change into the mode of conducting the business of each department, which threw the whole power into his hands, and rendered him the sole depositary of the royal confidence, and the chief organ of the royal will. Besides reducing and modifying the councils, to the exclusion of those members whose talents and influence he dreaded; and the advancement of those who favoured his views, he obtained from the king, under the pretence of maintaining the requisite secrecy, an order enjoining the foreign ministers, not to address their correspondence through the public channel, called *Via de Estado*, but, by the private mode of communication called the *Reservada*, directly to the royal cabinet, by which means he became the immediate agent of the sovereign with foreign powers.

Although he could not overcome the king's partiality to Grimaldo, and was compelled to leave him in the office of secretary for foreign affairs; yet he reduced him to the situation of a mere clerk, and transferred the secretaryship of war to a dependent, Don Michael Fernandez Duran, marquis of Tolosa.*

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 194—405.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1717.

Hesitation of the Dutch to join in the Triple Alliance—Proposals of reconciliation made to Spain and the Emperor—Conferences of the British Minister on the offer of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany—Arrest of the Spanish Inquisitor General, by the Austrian Governor of Milan—Indignation of Philip—Fruitless attempts of Alberoni to prevent a Rupture—Letter to the Duke of Popoli—Obtains the Sanction of the Council of State for the commencement of Hostilities.

NOTWITHSTANDING the reconciliation between England and France, and the union of England with the united provinces, the leading members of the dutch government deprecated hostilities with Spain, and Beretti Landi, spanish embassador at the Hague, retarded the accession of the states to the recent treaty, which was to form the triple alliance, till the commencement of 1717. CHAP. XXVI. 1717.

The triple alliance was, however, no sooner consolidated, than the contracting powers directed their efforts to prevent a rupture, by mediating an accommodation which was calculated to favour the interests of both parties. The emperor was already gained by the promised exchange of Sicily; and it was hoped that the king, or at least the queen of Spain, would be gratified with the reversion of Tuscany and Parma. But when

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this proposal was brought forward, Philip disappointed their expectations by declining a distant and uncertain compensation for present and positive pretensions; and particularly as he well knew that this reversion, however distant and uncertain, must be the price of his consent to the transfer of Sicily to the emperor; a virtual renunciation of all his hopes to restore the spanish power in Italy. A dispatch from Mr. Dodington to the secretary of state, contains the cold and repulsive answer given to a proposition, which it was hoped would have been received with alacrity.

April 12, 1717.

"M. Alberoni sent me a billet this morning, desiring me to come and see him at the palace, where he talked a great deal to me about the overture of accommodation, that his majesty has been pleased to make between this court and that of Vienna. He desired me to assure his majesty, in the king of Spain's name, that he was very much obliged by his good intentions to favour him on the occasion. He told me M. de Beretti Landi had acquainted him with the discourse which Mr. Stanhope held with him on that subject at the Hague. That he had given him for answer, from the king of Spain, that he had never thought of coming to an accommodation by the interposition of the pope. If he had any thought of an accommodation, he would certainly have desired to owe it to the good offices of the king our master, whom he regarded as his very good friend. That he loved quiet and tranquillity, and should never be averse to make all reasonable steps to procure them, and re-establish the balance of Europe.

"He afterwards spoke of the proposals that had been made concerning the states of Tuscany and Parma. The king, he said, did not look upon them to be sufficient to establish a balance, though they were even to be yielded up by treaty to one of the queen's children; for while the emperor was so strong in Italy,

he would always be the master to keep his word or not; and a thousand occasions might happen in time, which might incline him to break it. Further, that by this the king would be obliged to renounce for ever *all his just pretensions in Italy, which he might make good on a proper occasion*, and for the sake of rights, which might perhaps never, or late, fall into his hands; (there still surviving three in one house, and two in the other) and even when they should fall, might not be faithfully preserved, there being but a simple verbal promise in his favour, and the other party having all the strength. Indeed, if the king was permitted to put garrisons into the places where there are any at present in these states, till the accomplishment of the treaty, it was an affair which might be entered upon. But if he could have only verbal assurances, he would rather leave things as they are, and endeavour to find *occasions to make good his pretensions in Italy, as time might serve*, since the worst would be to see the emperor the master, which might well happen, notwithstanding the treaty in question, and *his rights would be yielded up besides*. It is not, said M. Alberoni, that the king does not very much regard his britannic majesty's guaranty, and even will not make any treaty with any one without it; but he believes that in the present affair, the emperor may put himself in possession before his majesty or himself can be capable of making any opposition."*

Meanwhile the hostile preparations were actively continued. The prospect of a war, as well as the rigorous reforms in the internal administration, and the national aversion to a foreign domination, created such discontents, that the court thought proper to apply to England for permission to raise 3,000 irish troops, which might be employed to curb the capital.

" I have only touched," writes the british envoy, in mak- June 7.

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Methuen, April 12, N. S. 1717.

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ing the proposition, " upon what M. Alberoni said to me about the 3,000 men, in my letter to Mr. Secretary Addison, and I should not have mentioned it had I not been compelled, because I comprehend that his majesty has no mind to grant the favour. It is certain it would be looked upon as the greatest favour imaginable, and a couple of regiments only, to shew his majesty's inclination to oblige the king, would be highly esteemed. The reason which makes them so very pressing on this head; (for I have been perpetually tormented with it) is, because it is extremely necessary, there being great dissatisfaction here among the people. They have so far disobliged the walloon guards, that they cannot very well reckon on them, and they would have a body of men entirely at their devotion, who have no habitation in the country, in case of an accident."*

Disappointed in the hope of preventing the union of France and the maritime powers, and foiled in the different attempts to create a breach in the alliance, Alberoni was the more anxious to defer an open rupture, and endeavoured to persuade the king to temporise till he had prepared a fleet and army to give weight to his pretensions. Possibly he might again have over-ruled the inclinations of Philip; but, at this juncture, an unexpected incident baffled his efforts, and prematurely hurried on a war.

Don Joseph Molines, spanish embassador at Rome, was appointed grand inquisitor in the place of the cardinal del Giudice. In returning through Italy to take possession of his office, he traversed a part of the Milanese, on the faith of a papal safe-conduct, and the promise of the imperial embassador. He was, however, arrested by the austrian governor, and confined in the castle of Milan, and his papers being seized, were transmitted to Vienna, with the expectation that they

* Mr. Dodington to Secretary Stanhope, June 7, N. S. 1717, private.

would furnish intelligence relative to the designs of the spanish court. CHAP. XXVI. 1717.

This insult from a prince, against whom so many motives of complaint existed, roused the highest resentment in the punctilious and vindictive mind of Philip. Without reflecting on the imperfect state of his preparations, or the impolicy of drawing on himself the whole force of Europe, he determined to avenge this injury to his own person in that of his minister, and to vindicate the honour of his crown.

Alberoni was thus reduced to the most embarrassing dilemma. He had in vain laboured to obtain the support or even the connivance of England; he had been equally disappointed by Holland; contrary to his expectation he saw even France united with the maritime powers and the emperor, to guaranty the austrian possessions, and the successions of the two crowns of France and England as established by the peace of Utrecht. Spain was without an ally, or even the hope of assistance, except from the weak and distant diversion of the Turks, or the desultory efforts of the rebels in Hungary, and the faint prospect of co-operation from the northern powers. The navy was yet only in embrio; the reforms and changes, in the army and administration, too recent to be efficient. A formidable party in the kingdom opposing or thwarting all his measures, himself without public authority, relying only on the support of the queen, and directing the helm of state under the sanction of temporary and occasional mandates.

Seeing the danger both to the country and himself, should he engage in a war thus unprepared and unsupported, he called forth all his address and talents to defer a rupture. His efforts and arguments made but a faint impression on his indignant master, whose impotent resentment, and passion for

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grand enterprises, were not curbed by the calculations of ordinary prudence. Nor were his applications to the queen more availing, for though his remonstrances frequently extorted tears,* yet her lofty spirit, or zeal for the glory of her husband, rendered her equally untractable.

Indignant at this procrastination, and desirous to oppose the judgment of a person of consequence to that of the minister, Philip wrote a letter, demanding the opinion of the duke of Popoli, who, besides sharing the royal confidence, was distinguished for his rank and employments, and possessed considerable influence among the nobles. The duke, penetrating the wish of the king, like an adroit courtier, gave his opinion in favour of war, and after inveighing against the conduct of the emperor, detailed many arguments to prove that the resources of Spain were equal to the contest. From his own local connections, he recommended the invasion of Naples.

Satisfied with this confirmation of his opinion, the king sent the letter to Alberoni, as a decisive answer to all his arguments. In return Alberoni had recourse to a similar expedient in his own defence, and profited by the opportunity to address a letter to the duke, enforcing his opinion in stronger terms than he could have employed towards the sovereign himself.

June 10. "The king, my master," he said, "has put into my hands your excellency's letter, on a matter which fills me with horror and consternation; as in my poor judgment, should it take place, it would ruin this poor exhausted country, which cannot recover without the benefit of a long peace."

After stating the question whether the arrest of Molines was an infraction of the neutrality of Italy, and even admitting the affirmative, he proceeds:

* Account of Ripperda, by the Sicilian abbots MS.

"But with what force, with what treasure can the catholic king attempt to invade the kingdom of Naples? For even granting that there are two millions of dollars in the treasury, that we have another fleet, transports, provisions, ammunition, artillery, granting that it reaches Naples, that the whole country declares in favour of the king, that the fortresses surrender; who is the person that can answer for the maintenance of the conquest? All these requisites, however, are not yet there. Let the duke of Popoli state how much time is necessary to collect them? Is your excellency ignorant that two months would be required for an expedition to Majorca. So long a time then being necessary for such preparations, the squadron destined for this glorious enterprise must be left in the port of Cadiz or Barcelona to rot in inactivity, to the shame and scandal of the world.

"Consider, my lord duke, that before the declaration of war against the Turks, the archduke obtained through the pope the assurance that the king of Spain would not attack his Italian dominions. Can the king consider the arrest of Molines as an infraction of the neutrality, and in consequence as a motive to recal his promise? My lord duke, according to the guaranty of the maritime powers and France, no hostilities were to take place in Italy, nor any change in the existing possessions. Now reprisals, whether they happen or not, cannot be regarded as acts of hostility between two powers already at enmity.

"Supposing then that our troops effect a landing, and take possession of the kingdom, this very success will be desirable to the germans; because it will furnish them with a reason to carry into execution those vast designs which might be opposed, should they be attempted without a motive. Doubtless then, on the first intelligence of the invasion the court of Vienna will hasten a peace with the Turks, or suddenly pro-

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viding for defence, will be able to dispatch a detachment of 18,000 men into Italy, and instantly occupy the states of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. Supposing, however, a successful debarkation and peaceable occupation of the kingdom, it will still be necessary to keep the fleet at Naples, and all the vessels ready for transport, otherwise the king might be unable to withdraw his troops.

"What will the dutch say to see such an attempt at the time, when they appear willing to form a league with Spain, and reconcile the king with the archduke? What will France say, who offers to induce the maritime powers to secure for Don Carlos the states of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany? What will England say, who knows and promotes such arrangements? Oh, my lord duke, these are wild ideas, thus to involve two young and innocent sovereigns in the utmost distress! In a word, this is leading the world to imagine that a *few mad Italians*, from attachment to their native country, have urged the king to the extermination and ruin of Spain.

"Without allies the catholic king cannot hope to conquer Italy, particularly at a time when he has neither troops nor money, nor able commanders. With three kingdoms* more disaffected than ever, with a people enraged, with a nobility discontented, finally deprived of all human help; in this state we are not able, according to your excellency's phrase, to oppose force to force. Lastly, in such an important affair, I want the courage of your excellency to say, or think, that notwithstanding so many difficulties we should throw ourselves into the hands of Providence, and trust to the justice of our cause. This I declared to their majesties, on the first word with which they honoured me on the subject; and I should be most

* Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon.

gratified, even were the enterprise attended with the most happy result, that the world should know, my weak judgment did not approve it. I request your excellency to receive these my crude sentiments, written in haste, to peruse and return them, observing this religious secret, confided to your honour and probity, with the protest, *salvo saniori judicio.*"*

This masterly composition, which remains a monument of the judgment, foresight, and policy of Alberoni, made a deep impression on the duke of Popoli. He had the candour to address a new letter to the king, revoking his former opinion as crude and imprudent, and deprecating the premature commencement of hostilities. This opinion he adroitly sanctioned by contriving to communicate at the same time the letter of Alberoni, which he described as the cause of his change of sentiment.

Philip accordingly sent the confessor, d'Aubenton, with the letter to Alberoni himself, to demand whether he acknowledged this paper which had fallen into his hands, and probably with the hope that fear would induce him to disavow it. But the minister was superior to such weakness. He boldly owned the letter; he expressed his satisfaction that it had reached the royal eye, and declared that he was too zealously attached to the honour and interest of his royal master, to revoke an opinion founded on such irrefragable principles. This declaration he induced d'Aubenton to indorse on the letter itself, though at the moment of subscribing it, the confessor observed, "I decide for war, and I must candidly inform you, that your refusal will exasperate the king, and may expose you to disgrace."

Still, however, Alberoni continued to combat the obstinacy of the king, with almost equal perseverance. He urged the

* Storia del Cardenale Alberoni, P. 2, p. 152.

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impracticability of an attempt on Naples, represented that the season was too far advanced for the invasion of Sardinia, and recommended an attack on the infidels, or a descent on the coast of Africa, as conformable to the promise pledged to the pope, and as an enterprise of more easy execution, and more suitable to the honour of the crown, and the interests of Spain.*

* It is singular that almost every writer, whether domestic or foreign, has accused Alberoni as the only cause of the aggression, and St. Philippe, whose judgment, in other instances, we have found reason to approve, considers the correspondence through the duke of Popoli as a mere political farce. We feel it, however, necessary to differ from such respectable authorities. The characters of Philip and his Queen, as drawn by those who most accurately observed them, shew that they wanted no foreign stimulus to excite their ambition; while the situation of the two courts of Madrid and Vienna, and the known reluctance with which Philip abandoned Italy, render it as little necessary to argue, that Alberoni was not the original projector, but merely the able executor of their hostile designs. We may refer to the very letter of the minister himself, which we have given in the text, and appeal with confidence to every impartial judge, whether it was possible to use such cogent arguments, without feeling their force, and as a mere blind to the purpose which he was determined to execute.

The two Sicilian abbots, Platania and Carraccioli, who possessed the most accurate knowledge of the court and cabinet, exculpate Alberoni from the charges of being the instigator and prime mover of war. The whole correspondence of the British envoy, Mr. Dodington, who was in almost daily intercourse with this great statesman, evinces his anxiety to avert a rupture in the early stages of the dispute. The mighty preparations, yet only commenced in Spain, as well as the imperfect state in which the expeditions both against Sardinia and Sicily were sent out, fully demonstrate, that it was his interest rather to temporise than to hurry into a war. Lastly, to these decisive proofs, we may add his own solemn, invariable, and frequent asseverations, both in public and private, both during his ministry and after his fall, and the virtual acknowledgement in the Answer to his celebrated Apology, which reluctantly admits his justification that he was not the author of the war. Storia del Cardenale Alberoni, P. 11, p. 146—158.——Apology for Alberoni in the same work.——Translations in the Historical Register for 1722.——St. *Philippe*, t. 3, p. 197—200.——Ortiz, t. 7, l. 23, c. 2.——Desormeaux, *t. 5*, p. 330—340.——Noailles, t. 5, p. 74.

The positive injunctions of Philip over-ruling all objections, he was too apprehensive of the event to incur the heavy responsibility which was annexed to the enterprise; and, submitting the question to the council of state, obtained the sanction of its vote for war.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1717.

Hostile preparations in the eastern Ports of Spain—Promotion of Alberoni to the dignity of Cardinal—Departure of the Spanish Expedition against Sardinia—Attempts of Alberoni to amuse the courts of England and France—Invasion and Conquest of Sardinia—Justification of Spain—Alarms and preparations of England and France—Overtures of accommodation made to Spain—Preparations for a new Expedition—Mission of Mr. Stanhope to Madrid, to propose overtures of accommodation—England finally overcomes the lukewarmness of France and Holland—Conferences of the British ministers with Alberoni on the subject of the overtures—The Spanish court affects to accept the proffered terms—Illness and recovery of the King—Unpopularity of Alberoni—Anecdote relative to his ludicrous squabble with the duke of Escalona.

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THOUGH reluctant to engage in hostilities, Alberoni was no sooner convinced that war was inevitable, than he pressed the requisite preparations with the same zeal and alacrity as if the design was his own. He was, however, too anxious to secure the roman purple, the primary object of his personal ambition, to omit any effort for its attainment, before he risked the displeasure of the pope by a breach of his solemn and repeated promises. But it was no easy matter to overcome the indecision of the Roman court; where the wishes of

Philip and the personal credit of the minister were opposed by the influence of the emperor, and the intrigues of del Giudice, who did not neglect so favourable an opportunity to retaliate for his past mortifications. This delay of the pope, combined with the displeasure testified by the king for the opposition of Alberoni to the war, was hailed by his numerous enemies as a certain signal of his approaching disgrace.*

Nothing therefore but a stroke of authority could relieve Alberoni from this embarrassing situation; and this resource he did not hesitate to employ. Notwithstanding the reconciliation with Rome was finally settled, and the new nuntio had advanced as far as Perpignan,† a prohibition was issued, suspending his entry into Spain; while a messenger was dispatched to Rome with the hint that the long expected honour must be the price of the reconciliation. To counterbalance the representations of the imperial partisans, this message was accompanied with a declaration, that the preparations of Spain were not directed against the emperor, and a renewal of his promises to prosecute the war against the infidels.

So decisive a mode of negotiating vanquished the hesitation of the pontiff, who was as little inclined to relinquish the advantages of a reconciliation with Spain as Alberoni to lose the cardinal's hat. He therefore signified his compliance. The nuntio was received in Spain; and in a solemn consistory the pontiff announced the nomination of Alberoni, with a pompous eulogium of his character and services. He added the declaration that he could not resist the instances of the king and queen of Spain, who had testified more solicitude for this promotion than had ever before been shewn even for a prince of the blood. In vain del Giudice vehemently harangued

* Noailles, t. 5, p. 70.

† Dodington's Dispatches.

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against the person and administration of the new cardinal; his eloquence made no impression, and on the 10th of July, the usual messenger carried the welcome tidings to Madrid.*

The intelligence of this promotion was the signal for the execution of the enterprise. While all Europe was held in suspense; while England apprehended a new invasion in favour of the pretender; the emperor trembled for Naples, Victor Amadeus for Sicily, and the Genoese for their own coasts; while the pope anticipated a decisive blow against the infidels, and while the capital and kingdom were occupied with rumours and conjectures which only tended to increase the general uncertainty, Don Joseph Patiño, the friend and confidant of the minister, was dispatched to Barcelona, bearing the final orders for the departure of the expedition.†

At this moment Alberoni redoubled his wiles, as if to gain yet a trifling interval of suspense, or as a final effort to sow divisions among the allies. From the correspondence of the

Aug. 9. british envoy, we find that he adroitly contrived again to bring forward the question of commercial regulations, and again lavished his promises to redress the grievances of our merchants, and cultivate the friendship of England. Still, however, he clogged his promises with his usual pretexts for delay, particularly the pressure of his own occupations, and the absence of Patiño, the only person competent to the arrangement of so difficult a point.

Aug. 30. To the customary application, relative to the object of the armament, he gave no specific answer until it was ready to sail. Then with an air of affected candour, as if yielding to the pressing instances of the envoy, he confessed that it was intended against the emperor, though without affording the slightest hint relative to its specific destination. He concluded

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 200. † Dodington's Dispatch.

with the observation, "I have no part in this enterprise, except the execution; and, I do assure you, that I have strongly represented to the king, both in writing and discourse, the inconveniences which will follow it. But the king is determined, and all my arguments have failed to dissuade him." This mixture of candour and dissimulation made the expected impression, and the envoy, in transmitting the intelligence to his court, betrays a conviction by no means faint, of the sincerity of his professions, and testifies a hope that his promises would ultimately be fulfilled.*

At the moment when he thus cajoled the English, with regard to their commerce, Alberoni made an overture which appeared equally calculated to produce an effect on the french court. To the french embassador he observed, "It is the general opinion that Spain can do nothing of herself; yet her preparations alarm the world. What would have been the consequence, if the king had followed my advice to remain quiet some years, and apply himself to the restoration of his finances?" To the answer of the embassador, that such conduct would have been worthy of a great minister, and no less conformable to the wishes of France, than to the interests of Spain, he replied, by insisting on the necessity of an union between the two Bourbon crowns. "The king of Spain," he continued, "is only interested to conciliate France; and, therefore, I am not anxious to receive proposals from other quarters. The king of England, for instance, has long solicited us to make peace with the emperor, and offered his mediation. Yet, to his utter astonishment, we shall cut him out work elsewhere." At the same time, he offered to accept the mediation of France, provided the liberty of Italy and the pretensions of the queen were secured.† Aug. 17.

* Mr. Dodington to Mr. Secretary Addison, Aug. 9 and 30, 1717.

† Noailles, t. 5, p. 74—75.

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To gratify the spaniards, as well as to sow jealousies between France and the maritime powers, he caused rumours to be circulated that the object of the armament had been secretly communicated to the regent, and that there was no doubt of his connivance, till a favourable opportunity should occur of declaring for Spain.

Aug. 2.

Meanwhile the armament, which had occupied the attention of Europe, departed from Barcelona in two divisions, forming a force of twelve ships of war, and 9,000 men, commanded by the marquis of Lede. The first soon shewed the object of the enterprise, by appearing in the bay of Cagliari; but contrary winds delayed the second for twenty days. Had not this delay occurred, Cagliari must have fallen without resistance, and the conquest of the island would have been instantly effected. But the unforeseen delay gave time to the austrian governor, the marquis of Rubi, to prepare for defence. The works were strengthened, the artillery mounted on the ramparts, and the garrison reinforced with a body of militia and Catalans in the austrian pay; the posts in the interior were also fortified and guarded by the native troops, or by those who volunteered their service for their austrian sovereign.

The summons of the spanish commander being rejected, a force of 6,000 infantry, and 600 cavalry, was disembarked, the garrison were driven within their walls, and the greater part of the neighbouring country declared for Philip. However, the intemperance of the season, the scanty supply of fresh water, and the want of requisites for a siege, enabled the governor to protract the defence of the capital; and when, at length, further resistance was hopeless, he made his escape into the upper district, to maintain the austrian cause, while a foot of ground remained to defend. On the departure of the governor,

the garrison surrendered; but the reduction of the capital and the neighbouring districts did not ensure the possession of the whole island; for the strong posts of Castel Aragones and Alguer still remained, and the spanish army had yet to traverse a country of 40 leagues in extent, harrassed by the active mountaineers, and exposed to the pestilential air in the midst of the autumnal heats.

Alguer was first attacked, and, though the garrison was reinforced by means of small vessels from the coast of Naples, was compelled to surrender on the 28th of October. The reduction of Castel Aragones, as well as the conquest of the whole island, was not completed before the beginning of November. A general amnesty being then proclaimed, many of the austrian partisans, among whom was the archbishop of Surfari, profited by the usual permission granted to those who chose to quit the island. As the season was too far advanced to commence any further enterprise, if any was yet intended against Naples, the marquis of Lede left 5,000 men to maintain his conquest, and with the remainder, exhausted by fatigue and sickness, returned to Barcelona.*

Philip was highly gratified with the recovery of an island which once belonged to the crown of Spain, and the successful commencement of his long meditated hostilities against the emperor. *Te Deum* was publicly performed, the capital illuminated, and every testimony of national triumph displayed. But Alberoni did not participate in these feelings of exultation. To gratify the sovereign, he assumed in public the tone and appearance of satisfaction; yet in private he lamented the obstinacy of his royal master, in hurrying into hostilities before his preparations were fully matured for the attainment of a

* Dodington's Dispatches.——St. Philippe, t. 4.——Ibid. t. 3, p. 208—228.——Historical Register for 1717, p. 388, &c.

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more valuable object than the possession of a barren island. The blow was, however, struck, and it was necessary to justify the aggression; but the language of this justification sufficiently bespeaks the embarrassment of the minister. According to his direction, the marquis of Grimaldo, as secretary of state, issued a circular letter to the ministers of Spain in foreign courts, containing the principal arguments which they were to employ in vindicating the conduct of their sovereign. In this curious document, the secretary virtually throws the blame on the king, as the prime mover of the enterprise, by avowing his own ignorance of its object, and his surprise when it was carried into execution. He proceeds, however, with a laboured detail of the insults, provocations, and injuries which Spain had experienced from the emperor. He recapitulates the various infractions of the most solemn engagements by the austrian court, from the peace of Utrecht till the moment of the rupture, and he sums up his series of accusations and grievances, with expatiating on the arrest of Molinez, as a glaring breach of the neutrality of Italy, and sufficient cause for the declaration of hostilities.*

The emperor was indignant at this invasion of his dominions, at the time when he was engaged in war against the infidels, and in violation of the solemn promise which the king of Spain had pledged to the pope. He appealed to the members of the triple alliance to fulfil their guaranty, by protecting him against this unmerited aggression, and he called on the pope to justify himself against the suspicion of connivance, by breaking off his connection with Spain, recalling his nuntio, annulling the grant of the tax on ecclesiastical property, as

* Rousset, t. 1, & 2, passim.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 307.——Tindal, v. 19, p. 166. —In the Historical Register for 1717, p. 376, the reader will likewise find various documents on this subject..

unjustly obtained, and depriving Alberoni of the purple. In case of refusal, he menaced the Roman see with the loss of Benevento. CH. XXVII. 1717.

However anxious for the reduction of the austrian power in Italy, the pope could not fail to feel high resentment at the deception practised on him in the face of Europe. He therefore solemnly vindicated himself against the imputation of connivance; and addressed a brief to the court of Madrid in language which marks the poignancy of his feelings. He accompanied this appeal by suspending the further perception of the ecclesiastical tax.

Though the nuntio was ordered to enforce the contents of the brief with his personal representations, and though it was publicly circulated in Spain, as well as every other country of Europe; yet Alberoni contrived to prevent its formal presentation, and the only notice taken of this appeal by so high an authority was the contemptuous observation of Philip, "I have seen a letter said to be written by the pope, but it is a clumsy forgery; for it is impossible that his holiness can employ such language, so abusive, and so unworthy of the father of Christendom."*

The reduction of Sardinia was rather a deviation from the projects of the minister, than a part of the original plan; and was principally intended to suspend the arrangements for the transfer of Sicily, which was one of the primary objects of attack. Alberoni therefore now called forth all his activity, to recover the lost time, and to employ the short interval of suspense occasioned by the advanced season, in accumulating the means for a new expedition. To provide the requisite funds, he made the most rigorous reform in the public establishments,

* See this Brief in Ortiz, t. 7, p. 304, and Historical Register for 1717, p. 369.

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not sparing even the royal houshold. He did not hesitate to controul the taste of his royal patroness for buildings and improvements, and to her remonstrances and demands for money, replied, "Your majesty would rather be countess of St. Ildefonso than queen of Spain."* He continued also the exaction of the ecclesiastical tax, in spite of the papal prohibitions, imprisoning or banishing the refractory priests who defended the privileges of their order. Finally, he recurred to anticipations of the revenue, to an increase of various duties, to impositions on wealthy individuals, and even to the sale of lucrative offices.

The energy of the minister gave a new impulse to every wheel of the state machine. Ships and naval stores were obtained from every maritime nation where they could be purchased, and neutral vessels seized for transports. Metal was procured from Holland; founderies of artillery built at Pampeluna; an activity long unknown was introduced into the armouries of Biscay; and native establishments formed for the fabrication of various articles of naval and military equipment, hitherto drawn from abroad.

The enthusiasm of the towns and provinces was also awakened, by the glory which the recent success had cast over the spanish arms: they not only added to the resources of the government by voluntary contributions, but raised an efficient force of sixteen regiments of infantry and eight of cavalry.

Besides the ordinary means of recruiting, the minister did not hesitate to call forth the assistance of a tribe hitherto the object of suspicion and dread. He found means to allure the miquelets from the mountains of Catalonia and Aragon; and to form six regiments of these desultory bands, of all people

* M. de Villars, t. 2, p. 437.

the best calculated for irregular warfare, by their vigour, enterprise, and activity, by their dexterity in the use of arms, and their patience of fatigue and hardships, the natural effects of their climate and predatory habits of life. A similar force of two regiments was drawn from the hunters of the Sierra Morena. CH. XXVII. 1717.

Meanwhile the allies laboured with the utmost solicitude to prevent a war, by arranging articles of accommodation, which were regarded as favouring the interests of both the rival powers. They expected to satisfy the anxiety of Spain for an establishment in Italy, and to promote an accommodation with the emperor, by flattering the views of the queen on the successions of Parma and Tuscany. In return for this acquisition, it was imagined that Spain would acquiesce in the transfer of Sicily; and the two sovereigns were respectively to renounce, one his pretensions to Spain, the other, those to the dismembered provinces. To give additional weight to these offers, Mr. Stanhope, the relative of the secretary of state, was dispatched to Madrid.

Contrary, however, to public expectation, the spanish court shewed not the slightest inclination to desist from its designs on Italy; and received every proposal of inferior importance with indifference or contempt; though in the first instance, the transfer of Sicily was rather mutually understood, than formally proposed. From the correspondence of our two envoys we collect the authentic expressions of the spanish minister.

Bitterly inveighing against the imperfect arrangements of the peace of Utrecht, Alberoni exclaimed, "You made war to establish the balance, and you concluded a peace without any balance, and left the emperor in a situation to disturb every moment the public tranquillity of Europe. The king, Oct. 18.

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my master, has no repugnance to propositions of peace; but those propositions must be such as to re-establish, in some measure, the antient balance, and not leave the emperor in a situation to make himself master of Italy whenever he pleases. Nor will the king of Spain send a minister, until he knows the condition on which he is to treat for an accommodation." To the proposition relative to Parma and Tuscany, he made the same reply as before, though in less conciliating and guarded language.

Wearied at length with repeated appeals to the neutrality of Italy, and the obligation of the king of England to maintain it, he exclaimed, with that vivacity which was natural to him, "For the successions of Tuscany and Parma the king cares not; such trifles are not worthy the attention of his catholic majesty. All he requires is such an arrangement as may re-establish the balance in Europe, which he considers as incompatible with the power possessed by the emperor in Italy. With regard to the engagements which the allies have taken, it is a well known principle that princes and states are not bound to observe a treaty contrary to their interest. This principle is acknowledged by all religions, whether catholic or protestant. You," he ironically added, "have always acted thus. For instance, did you not acknowledge Philip as king of Spain? Yet soon afterwards finding it to be your interest, did you not endeavour to dethrone him and place another in his room? Nor do I blame you for pursuing your interest as a nation."

After this apostrophe, he adverted to the proposed conditions, which he censured as disadvantageous to Spain, on three principles. First, because the emperor would continue too powerful in Italy; and from thence might foment troubles in Spain. Secondly, the successions in question would afford no

means to obviate this danger, on account of their distance and uncertainty, and the impossibility of maintaining them against the emperor, if he chose to attack them. Thirdly, because the king could not rely on the proffered guaranty, as he had unfortunately experienced, in the breach of the treaty for the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca.

Argument and persuasion were in vain employed to obviate the objections of a man determined not to yield. He found also an additional plea for equivocation and delay, in the reluctance and lukewarmness with which the vigorous remonstrances of the british ministers were seconded by their french and dutch colleagues. To the frequent declaration, that the members of the triple alliance must support their guaranty by arms, he as frequently adverted to the silence of the french and dutch governments, and he positively denied that the regent, either by his private correspondence, or through the channel of the regular embassador, had ever specifically announced a resolution to extort the acquiescence of Philip by force.

Indeed, the reluctant avowal of the ministers themselves proves the embarrassment derived from this want of concert. "We are fully convinced the french embassador has never signified that the regent would maintain the guaranty of the neutrality of Italy, except by good offices, or that he should be obliged to send troops into that country, in case the peace should be disturbed by Spain. We have so closely pressed the embassador on the subject, that he has been obliged to confess he had received no order to adopt this language. So that this point, which would probably be the most effectual to influence the determination of Spain, has not been touched, or at best but slightly. This confirms our conjecture, that the king, our master, alone, acts heartily and without reserve in this affair."*

* Messrs. Stanhope and Dodington to Lord Stanhope, Nov. 1, N. S. 1717.

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The address of the wily Italian was, however, encountered by equal address. At length, the dutch and french ministers were induced to assume a more manly tone, and Alberoni, after in vain endeavouring to extort the cession of Sardinia, consented to open a negotiation on the basis of the proffered conditions. From the numerous dispatches which trace the progress of this delicate transaction, we present that * which marks the result.

Nov. 15. "Soon after the return of the king from the Escurial, we paid a visit to the cardinal, and opened our discourse by hoping that he had received from the french embassador the declaration of the regent in favour of our propositions. He replied, He had not yet received more than general expressions, on the desire of the regent to contribute as much as lay in his power to the accommodation between the two crowns. * * *

"Finding him a little calmed, we expressed our hopes that, after due reflection, he had seen the great advantage which would accrue to his catholic majesty from these propositions, and would no longer reject them as insufficient preliminaries for opening a negotiation."

"The king, my master," he rejoined, "will never be adverse to give peace to Europe. And, as a proof of this truth, as soon as he is assured by the regent, that the propositions meet with his approbation, his majesty will accept them as preliminaries. But as he has received information that the emperor has sent troops into Italy, and has already levied contributions on the states and princes, it is his positive resolution not to enter into any accommodation, if the emperor raises the most trifling imposition, or takes any step to trouble the repose of Italy. It is a resolution from which he will never swerve."

* The originals of this, and many other dispatches, are in the French tongue, for the purpose of being directly communicated to the King, who did not understand the English language.

"On this we retired, and going to the french embassador, told him what had passed. He promised to deliver, on the following morning, to the cardinal himself, the declaration which he required; and when Alberoni refused to see him for some days, he extorted an interview by a strong letter. After the interview, the embassador came to us, and told us he had declared in the fullest manner the assent of the regent to our propositions. He had also pressed the cardinal to send a plenipotentiary to London, to treat on these conditions, but received for answer, the catholic king would never treat till he was assured that the emperor would not disturb Italy.

"We requested, the same day, another interview, which the cardinal did not grant till the twelfth. After having observed, that as all difficulties were now removed on the side of France, we hoped the catholic king would now make no delay in accepting these preliminaries, and sending a plenipotentiary to London? 'I have, as yet,' he replied, 'received only general declarations from the regent. He has, indeed, written to me; but he neither mentions any specific proposition, or hints at the mission of a plenipotentiary; nor does the embassador say any thing satisfactory. However, to convince you of the king's regard for his britannic majesty, and of his sincere desire for peace, he is willing to accept the preliminaries, and to open a negotiation as soon as he is satisfied that the emperor will make no attempt on Italy, but not before.'

"We replied, Reflect on what you said to us in our last conference. We are come to assure you, that the king, our master, will not refuse to give the catholic king this proof of his friendship; but he cannot make instances to the court of Vienna to remove all causes of complaint, with proper dignity, unless certified that the king of Spain will send a minister to

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London, to open a negociation as soon as the emperor has consented.'

" ' The proofs,' replied the cardinal, ' of my royal master's sincerity are evident. At the request of the king of England, he stopped the movement of his troops, and suspended the embarkation already begun. He has paid more than 50,000 dollars for the transports, and has declared his resolution to be satisfied with Sardinia, a promise which he will religiously observe. I do also affirm, that without the interference of the king of England, he would have dispatched ten thousand men to the kingdom of Naples. He would then have been enabled to treat of an accommodation in a different manner from what he can do at present. Neither does he wish to prevent the emperor from arming in any way he pleases, provided he does not in the slightest degree infringe the neutrality; for then he will break every treaty. All this is a sufficient proof of the catholic king's sincerity, to induce his britannic majesty to take the step which we desire. But it is idle to suppose that the king will send a plenipotentiary to London, before he knows what will be required of him. This he will not do; nor, indeed, will this step be of the consequence which you attach to it. The delay will be trifling; for you cannot know that our embassador, already at London, has not either full powers to treat as soon as the said declaration is made by the emperor, or that he will not receive them before that time. But in all cases, I pledge the word of the king, that a plenipotentiary shall be dispatched without a moment's delay, to open a negotiation on the basis of the preliminaries, as soon as his majesty receives the assurances which he demands for the security of Italy.'

" Finding it useless to continue this debate, we had recourse to another expedient, and required him to give a declaration

in writing, that the catholic king accepted the preliminaries to treat of a peace, and would dispatch a plenipotentiary as soon as he should receive the required satisfaction from the emperor. He promised to send us this declaration, in a letter, this very afternoon.

"We have taken occasion to repeat to him the two preliminary observations respecting the reversion of Parma and Tuscany, in the terms of Mr. Stanhope's instructions. We remarked also, that, after having engaged his majesty to make that overture to the emperor, if the king of Spain did not act with sincerity, his majesty could not any longer delay the execution of his treaty with the court of Vienna.

"He particularly assured us, that the king of Spain would not give any subject of complaint on his side, and would not undertake the smallest enterprise contrary to this solemn promise.

"The preliminaries being thus settled, we deemed it prudent to say a few words on the treaty in general; and we touched again on the necessity of forming it on the basis of the reciprocal renunciations, without which all proceedings will be useless. To this the cardinal replied in the affirmative, adding that it was necessary for the conclusion of peace, which was the object of both crowns. He rose up, and we repaired to the french embassador, and communicated the object of our conference.

"The next morning he sent us the promised letter. But as it was not conceived in such precise and specific terms as the importance of the business required, and we were unwilling to trust to the chance of an equivocal expression in the spanish tongue, we instantly sent another letter to the cardinal, in which we recapitulated the promise of the king of Spain to treat on the basis of the preliminaries, and to undertake nothing during the negotiation, as soon as the emperor

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shall have equally promised not to infringe the neutrality of Italy. We worded it in such a manner, that the silence of the cardinal should have the same force as a positive answer. A messenger delivering the letter to him, he read it, and returned the envelope, with the reply, 'there is no need of an answer.' We hope we have thus placed the question beyond a doubt, and that there will not be the smallest opening for cavil, however well they may be inclined. * * *

"In a word, by our letter to the cardinal, by his answer, and by what has passed in general concerning the reciprocal renunciations, our principal view was directed to soften things, to place our sovereign in a situation to prevent further acts of hostility on either side, and to give time for the operation of his good offices, towards completing the glorious work of peace, or taking proper measures in case of a rupture. Such were our principal intentions, and we hope that our letters and the answer of the cardinal will produce these effects; at least, we flatter ourselves, that they will exonerate his majesty from any obligation to take an open and direct part, even according to the most rigorous interpretation of his engagements."

In the midst of these negotiations, the cardinal had cause to tremble for the stability of his newly acquired power. Philip, afflicted with a relapse of his hypochondriac disorder, was unequal to the transaction of public business, and the whole management of affairs was left in the hands of the queen and Alberoni. In the moment of a more violent attack, accompanied with faintings, and the most alarming symptoms, the confessor was summoned at midnight to perform the last offices of the church; and the king made his testament with the usual formalities.

This temporary suspension of the royal functions, and the power assumed by the queen and cardinal, gave new force to

the national antipathy against a foreign minister. To increase the unpopularity of the Italian government, rumours were industriously circulated, that the regency was to be intrusted to the queen, which would not only have militated against the constitution of the kingdom, but would have left the administration in the hands of Alberoni.

"You have already seen," observe the british envoys, "the state of the king's health. He is a little better to day; as his disorder is one of the most flattering, its termination cannot be placed at any certain period. But we believe that cabals have already commenced, and we will endeavour to ascertain the real situation of affairs, as much as is possible in so delicate a matter. By the will, which the king executed a few days ago at the Escurial, we do not at all doubt that the queen is nominated regent; but it is contrary to the custom of this country, to see the government exercised by a princess who is not the mother of the king; and all those who speak out, are of one opinion on this point. Further, the queen has not acquired a single friend in the country, as far as we can discover; so that it is nothing but fear, which can induce these people to submit to her regency. Reason therefore persuades us that this pretended disposition of the king will not be followed, in case of his death; but on the other hand, the experience we have of the degradation of this nation leads to conclusions far different from those so clearly deduced from reason."*

At the same time, the most horrid reports were spread to rouse the national odium, and an intention imputed to the queen of poisoning the children of Philip by the late queen, in order to place her own issue on the throne.

Such rumours, however extravagant, raised violent emotions

* Messrs. Stanhope and Dodington to lord Stanhope, Madrid, Nov. 1, NS. 1717.

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among a people, as proverbially jealous of foreigners, as they are zealously devoted to their established forms of government. Application being made by the discontented to the regent of France, they received from him the most solemn promises of protection, accompanied with assurances, that he would employ his utmost endeavours to restore their national government, and baffle the machinations of the step-mother and her upstart favourite.

It is doubtful to what extremities this discontent might have led, had not the recovery of Philip given a new direction to the public sentiment. Still, however, some of the malcontents, among whom we find the names of such distinguished characters as Aguilar, Veraguas, and Las Torres, suggested the plan of deposing the hypochondriac monarch, and placing the prince of Asturias on the throne. In the memorial transmitting this proposal to the regent, they observed,

March 24. 1718.

"Either our king is no longer capable of transacting the business of state, or he is under the controul of cardinal Alberoni and the Italians. In the last case, we must deliver him from bondage; and in the first we must place the affairs of the monarchy in the hands of those who have the right to direct the helm when the king is incapable."*

The complete recovery of Philip, and the failure of these intrigues, only served to establish the power of the queen; and to inflame the personal and political animosity of Philip and the regent, as well as to furnish a plausible pretext for more direct interference in the affairs of France. The cardinal, also, experienced the most flattering proofs of the ascendancy of his royal patroness. He was rewarded with a liberal pension of 20,000 ducats per annum, and the rank of a grandee, and presented to the vacant bishopric of Malaga.

* Noailles, t. 3, p. 88.

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The noble retailer* of court anecdotes has recorded an adventure which happened at this period, and which will serve to shew the singular constitution of the spanish court, and the great unpopularity of the Italian government. During the illness of the king, no person was admitted into the royal apartment, except those whom the queen and Alberoni chose to permit. As the medical department is under the controul of the lord chamberlain, the consultations of the physicians ought to be held, and the medicines administered, in his presence. The duke of Escalona, then holding the important office, was a grandee respectable for his rank, age, talents, and virtues, who, as viceroy of Naples, and on many other occasions, had displayed his zealous attachment to the sovereign; but he was still more remarkable for his austere manners and punctilious character. As he evinced his intention to fulfil the duties of his charge, it was intimated to him by order of Alberoni, that he would do better not to intrude on the king's privacy; and content himself with proper inquiries at the door of the apartment.

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This intimation being only received with contempt and indignation, Alberoni, by the order of the queen, gave orders that the intrusive grandee should not be admitted. One afternoon, however, the duke presented himself. Having in vain demanded an entrance, he burst open the door in the face of the page in waiting, and after upbraiding him with his insolence, advanced into the royal bed-chamber. He observed the queen sitting at the head of the bed, the curtains of which were closely drawn, the cardinal standing by, and the attendants at a respectful distance. The duke, who, besides his advanced age, was crippled with the gout, slowly traversed the apartment, by the help of his cane. Being observed by the queen,

* The duke of St. Simon.

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she beckoned the cardinal, who sent one of the attendants, ordering him to retire. As the duke still continued to advance, the cardinal himself approached and told him, the king wished to be alone. "That is not true," exclaimed the indignant grandee, "I am not blind. You did not approach the head of the bed, nor did his majesty speak to you."

Alberoni continuing to urge him to retire, gently pressed him by the arm. This insult roused the choler of the lord chamberlain, who burst into reproaches against the insolence of the cardinal for preventing him from approaching the royal person, and performing the duties of his office. A struggle ensued; the duke, who was the weakest, sunk into a chair; but grappling with his antagonist, in a paroxysm of rage, struck him on the head and shoulders with his cane, calling him a little contemptible varlet, who deserved nothing but a drubbing, with various epithets, which the irritation of the moment suggested; and declaring that if not restrained by the respect due to the royal presence, he would kick him out of the room. The cardinal with difficulty disengaged himself; but the duke, when unable to reach him, still continued to abuse, and threaten him by his gestures, while the queen and attendants witnessed the singular scene in silent astonishment.

Soon after his return home, the duke received an order of banishment from Madrid, and the moment his disgrace was known, his house was filled with a crowd of all ranks, who hastened to testify their respect and regard. No other notice was however taken of this singular scene. As the cardinal was apprehensive of increasing the general odium by a more vigorous act of authority, the duke was recalled in a few months; but he indignantly rejected all overtures for a reconciliation, and never again spoke to the minister while in Spain. To add to the singularity of this adventure, the

king of Spain knew nothing of the squabble, nor the banishment and recal of the duke, till after the disgrace of Alberoni.* CH. XXVII. 1717.

* Memoirs de St. Simon, t. 7, p. 215, 220, who informs us he received the anecdote from the duke of Escalona himself.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1717—1718.

New efforts of France and England to promote an Accommodation—Mission of the Marquis de Nancré to Madrid, and cabals of the Regent with the disaffected Spaniards—England equips an Armament to check the Aggressions of Spain—Indignation of Philip—Reproachful Letters from Alberoni to Mr. Dodington—His Intrigues in France and England—Negotiations with Victor Amadeus—Invasion of Sicily—Arrival of the British Armament on the Spanish Coasts, and new attempts for an Accommodation—Conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance—Arrival of Earl Stanhope, and his Negotiations at Madrid—Destruction of the Spanish Fleet by Admiral Byng—Indignation of the Court—Fruitless offer of Gibraltar, as the recompence for the Accession of Philip to the Quadruple Alliance—Departure of Earl Stanhope—Manifestos of Spain relative to the Invasion of Sicily.

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As it soon became evident that the solemn promise given by Alberoni in the name of his sovereign to accommodate the disputes with the emperor on the basis of the preliminary propositions was merely intended to gain time, and amuse the allies, and that nothing less than the ruin, or at least the reduction, of the Austrian power in Italy would satisfy the court of Madrid; England spurned at the temporizing spirit of the dutch government, and the vacillating measures of the regent, and adopted the resolution to extort the consent of Philip, or join the emperor in offensive measures.

The regent, either to give more force, or rather the appearance of more force, to his representations, sent the marquis de Nancré to Madrid, as his embassador extraordinary, to second the instances of England. But this ostensible commission was merely a veil to cover the real design, which proves how seldom a cabinet is induced to contravene its fundamental principles of policy. While Nancré was instructed to establish a private understanding with Alberoni, and to avoid any communication with the disaffected nobles, or the slightest appearance which might give umbrage, St. Aignan, the regular embassador, was to direct a personal attack against the cardinal, to continue the cabals with the disaffected, and stimulate them to overthrow all foreign influence. Indeed, from the combined instructions given to the two embassadors, it is evident the purpose of the regent was to amuse all parties, to take advantage of the progress of events; and while he gratified his personal animosity against Alberoni, and deluded the british cabinet with an affectation of zeal for the re-establishment of tranquillity, to avoid measures which might occasion an absolute breach with Spain, or tend to reduce the power of the House of Bourbon in either of its branches.

This double intrigue did not escape the notice of Alberoni, who endeavoured to turn the machinations of the regent against himself. By a parade of his correspondence and communications, he sowed suspicions of his sincerity among the grandees; and he employed the same expedient in his intercourse with the british ministers, to inspire a jealousy of France, or to evade the force of their representations and remonstrances by adducing the more moderate language and sentiments of the regent. He even caused rumours to be circulated, that the princess Orsini and Orri were to be restored to power, by the support or the connivance of the

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french court. The effect which this artifice produced among the grandees may be estimated by the answer of the regent to their representations.

" You may," he wrote to the embassador, " inform them that this news is perfectly indifferent to me; and that I, in particular, can have no share in the measure. Having taken the resolution to liberate the Spaniards from the domination of foreigners, I should hardly be inclined to replace their government in the hands of a french woman, who is my personal enemy."*

The cardinal omitted no endeavour to work even on the hopes and fears of the regent himself. He declared to Nancré that the king was apprised of his intention to sign a treaty with the emperor and England, and intreated him to desist, or at least to suspend its execution. 'In this case,' he said, 'his majesty will regard his interests as his own; on the contrary, neither time nor services will ever appease his indignation; the regent must consider him as a personal and inveterate enemy.'†

The british ministers were at length wearied with these affected delays, and petty cabals. Convinced that a rupture could not be prevented by such contemptible machinations, they assumed a tone and aspect becoming a nation which possessed so great a share in the transactions of Europe. Without further regarding the hesitating conduct of the dutch, the equivocations of the regent, or the illusions of Alberoni; the king gave a public proof of his resolution to take a decisive part in the rising commotions. He appealed to the parliament on the alarming state of Europe, and the danger of a war, obtained large supplies of money, and equipped a fleet to sail to the Mediterranean, for the protection of the coasts of Italy. Its

* Noailles, t. 5, p. 86—93. † St. Simon, t. 8, p. 241.

destination was imparted to Monteleon, with the hope that the dread of encountering this powerful armament would make some impression on the court of Spain. These measures, however, only called forth resentment and reproaches; and Monteleon presented a vehement remonstrance against the equipment of the fleet in time of peace, which he declared would cause umbrage to the king his master, and affect the good intelligence between the two courts.* CH. XXVIII. 1717 | 1718.

Philip felt extreme indignation at this interference of the only power whose maritime force could check his enterprises in the Mediterranean. But no one was more deeply mortified than Alberoni, who calculated on the gratitude, if not the assistance of the british nation. Equally chagrined and indignant to see his machinations foiled by those whom he had fondly hoped to cajole, he wrote two reproachful letters † to Mr. Dodington, who had laid down his ministry, and returned to London, which are strikingly expressive of the irritation of his mind.

"The catholic king will take no resolution on the subject of the commercial treaty, until he sees the developement of the piece. You are a good witness of the sincerity of his intentions towards the king of England. You well know that he did not hesitate to sacrifice, by two new conventions, all the advantages which he had gained by the treaty of Utrecht; forgetting that by the means of England he had been despoiled of his revenues, provinces, and kingdoms; an injustice which will always cry for vengeance, as contrary to all laws divine April 5.

* Tindal, v. 19, p. 202.

† This and the following letter from Alberoni to Mr. Dodington have already been published, in the original French, in Seward's Anecdotes, v. 2, p. 262, from the Melcombe Papers, in the possession of H. P. Wyndham, Esq.

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and human. By so great a sacrifice, the catholic king thought he should bind the king of England to a grateful return, and the british nation to a closer union with Spain; or that on occasions, where neither of the two nations had any particular interest, the king of England would at least continue neuter.

"Nevertheless, with unspeakable chagrin I see it, neither of these cases will happen; and I shall be exposed to the just resentment of their catholic majesties. Every Gazette proves that your ministry is no longer English but German, and basely sold to the court of Vienna; and that through the cabals so common in your country, attempts are making to draw the nation itself into the snare. It is a strong proof of what I say, that having exhausted England of men and money, to acquire states and kingdoms for the archduke, they have recently supplied him with a large subsidy.

"The sentiments of esteem and friendship which I entertain for you, and which I shall always continue to entertain, oblige me to speak to you with sincerity."

April 16. "Mr. Patiño is arrived here, and has brought the list of duties, which is approved by the chiefs of all the different nations at Cadiz. It is in the hands of his majesty, but he will not sign it till he has seen the developement of the piece, as I have already informed you. I cannot believe that your nation will relinquish its advantages to concern itself in the affairs of a prince, with whom it has no interest, and from whom it can draw no advantage, against the king of Spain, from whom it has received so many marks of good will. I cannot think that so wise a people will place in the hands of the archduke, a kingdom of Sicily, to render him formidable to all Europe. Excuse me, Sir; but I cannot help saying that all the cabinets of Europe are lost to common sense, that policy has given place to the caprice of a few individuals, who without

rhyme or reason, (perhaps for their private interests) cut and pare states and kingdoms as if they were dutch cheeses."*

He had soon fresh motives for resentment in consequence of a personal attack, from a quarter, and on a subject, likely to produce a serious effect in Spain. The imperial minister at Rome laid a formal complaint against him, for entering into negotiations with the infidels, and supplying them with arms, stores, and money, to the detriment of a Christian prince, and the injury of the Christian faith. He concluded with supplicating the pope to withhold the bull for investing Alberoni with the archbishopric of Seville, to which he had been recently nominated.

The minister did not tamely acquiesce in the charge. He made a spirited reply, denying the facts alleged against him. But he at once avowed and justified his alliance with the Mahometans, as grounded on the acknowledged principles of human policy, and adduced the examples even of the popes themselves, who had united their arms with those of infidels to reduce the power of a public and dangerous enemy.† His arguments, however plausible, did not produce the desired effect. After accepting his resignation of the see of Malaga, the pope refused to invest him with that of Seville; and thus his very promotion terminated in an exclusion from all ecclesiastical preferment, in a country where he was scarcely less master than the sovereign himself.

Personal mortifications and public opposition served only to stimulate the spirit, and call forth the resources of Alberoni. He tampered with every power in Europe, which from prin-

* Lesquels sans rime et sans raison, et peut etre par des fins particulieres, coupent et rognent des etats et des royaumes comme s'ils etoient des fromages d'Hollande.

† Historical Register for 1718, p. 183—283.

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ciples, connections or situation, might contribute to embarrass his opponents. To shackle the efforts of the emperor, he opposed the attempts of the maritime powers and France to mediate a peace with the Turks. He opened a communication with Ragotski, the exiled prince of Transylvania, and offered him a subsidy sufficient to purchase the auxiliary aid of 30,000 Turks. In France he endeavoured to excite internal commotions, by fomenting the discontents against the regent, encouraged the protestants in the Cevennes to raise again the standard of revolt, and opened a communication with the discontented in Britanny.

He attempted to awaken the commercial jealousy of the dutch, and lured them with the hopes of securing the advantages which were to be wrested from England. In England, also, he endeavoured to give a new impulse to those feuds, which are the natural effects of a free government, and the struggles of contending parties. By means of his agents he published exaggerated complaints on the infractions of the constitution, the burthen of the taxes, and the usual topics of popular declamation. He did not forget also to touch on the delicate subject of commercial advantages. In England, as in Holland, he wrote circular letters to the merchants, expatiating on the losses of trade which must ensue from a rupture with Spain. He found zealous partisans in the opposition, which consisted not merely of the excluded tories, but numerous chiefs of the whigs, among whom are distinguished the names of Walpole, Townshend, Carteret, Methuen, and Pulteney.* Lastly, he entered into a direct and intimate connection with the jacobites, and raised their drooping hopes with the pro-

* Letters from Monteleon, Alberoni, and Secretary Craggs, Hist. Reg. for 1718, p. 300–393.——Tindal, v. 19.——Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 17.

mise of foreign support. And as he was now convinced that England had decidedly embraced the cause of the Emperor, he urged his sovereign to divert the armament destined for Sicily to the british isles, and lay the axe to the very root of the confederacy; but fortunately for our national tranquillity, Philip was too much ruled by his personal resentment, and too anxious for an establishment in Italy, to adopt the bold advice.

Although he despised the impotent resentment of the pontiff, he gratified his own personal vengeance, by dismissing the nuntio, recalling the spaniards from Rome, and suspending the usual ecclesiastical contributions.

But it was with Victor Amadeus, whose assistance or connivance was so essential in his designs against Italy, that this great master of political intrigue employed all his resources. Aware that a prince of so grasping a character must be indignant at the prospect of an exchange which was to satisfy the emperor at his expence, he lured him with the tender of a part of the Milanese and the duchy of Modena, instead of the barren island of Sardinia, which was the inadequate and uncertain compensation offered by the allies in return for Sicily. His offers were received, at least with a favourable attention, by a prince who was watching the progress of events to sell his services to the highest bidder. The wily monarch even publicly testified his determination to embrace the cause of Spain. "He had acquired Sicily," he said, "in the last war, and would preserve it, with the last drop of his blood; faithful to his engagements, he would never abandon the catholic king." Aware that he should ultimately be compelled to acquiesce in the proposed exchange, he resolved to throw on the emperor the principal burthen of defending his expected acquisition, and drew a considerable part of his troops from Sicily to parade them on the frontiers of the Milanese.

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He even sent a private agent to Madrid, who was charged with a series of propositions as the basis of an alliance with Spain. These were; a million of crowns before he took the field; a weekly subsidy of 7,000 for carrying on the war; the assistance of 15,000 spanish auxiliaries in Lombardy; and a diversion by the spaniards on the side of Naples. The contributions levied on the conquered countries were to be equally divided; the conquered places to be garrisoned by a force of half piedmontese and half spaniards, commanded by a piedmontese governor; and finally after the subjugation of Naples, 20,000 spaniards were to march into Lombardy, to complete the reduction of the Milanese, which was to be the price of the assistance given by the king of Sicily.*

While Europe was agitated by these cabals and negotiations, the spanish minister redoubled his efforts, to hasten the departure of the powerful armament, collected for the invasion of Sicily, which, from his intrigues with Victor Amadeus, and the secret connections formed with the natives, he hoped to find an easy conquest. The expedition, consisting of twenty three ships of the line, with transports carrying 30,000 veteran troops, and all the requisites for the field, departed from Barcelona on the 18th of June; and after touching at Cagliari, to take on board a part of the troops left in Sardinia, directed its course towards Sicily. On the 1st of July, the spaniards effected their landing near Cape Solanto, four leagues from Palermo, under the command of the marquis of Lede, who, besides the chief direction of the expedition, was appointed future viceroy of Sicily.

The great powers of Europe beheld with astonishment, Spain awakening from a lethargy of an hundred years, dis-

* Manifeste du Roi d'Espagne.——Rousset, t. 1, p. 234.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 317.

playing a vigor and enterprise worthy the brightest days of the monarchy, and threatening the renewal of the war, which had scarcely been terminated by the peace of Utrecht. Apprehension of the rising troubles gave new firmness to the determination of the british government, and fixed the wavering policy of the regent. A new alliance was speedily arranged between Stanhope and Dubois, the confidential ministers, in each of the two countries. Means were instantly taken to accelerate the conclusion of the treaty between the emperor and the turks; and a strong austrian force was transferred from the Hungarian frontier into Italy. To acquire a claim to the support of this alliance, the emperor announced his consent to accept the mediation of England for the arrangement of the long pending contest with Philip; and measures were taken to obtain the accession of the dutch. CH. XXVIII. 1717 | 1718.

This treaty, originally concluded by the emperor, France and England, and afterwards called the Quadruple Alliance, from the accession of the dutch, was founded on the same general principles as had been already proposed. The treaty of Utrecht was considered as the basis. But a formal engagement was introduced for the transfer of Sicily to the emperor, and the reversion of Tuscany and Parma was entailed on Don Carlos, and the other sons of the queen of Spain; and for the accomplishment of this condition, the strong places of both duchies were to be garrisoned by 6,000 Swiss in the pay of the mediating powers. To satisfy the honour of Philip, the emperor agreed to renounce the empty title of king of Spain. As an indemnification for the loss of Sicily, Victor Amadeus was to receive Sardinia; and the emperor not only confirmed the cessions made to the House of Savoy, in 1703; but acknowledged its right to the eventual succession of Spain, in case of the failure of issue to Philip. Lastly, the term of three Aug. 2.

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months was to be allowed for the accession of Philip and the king of Sicily, and in case of further delay, the whole force of the contracting parties was to be employed in extorting their acquiescence.

Before the formal signature, the terms of the treaty were communicated to the court of Madrid. On this occasion Alberoni inveighed bitterly against the two contracting powers, but more particularly against the duke of Orleans. "The regent," he said, "has, in the face of the world, declared himself the friend of a power which is the enemy of the king his uncle; and the time is probably arrived when he will be entangled in acts of hostility against his august relative. Marshal d'Uxelles, in signing this alliance to avoid a rupture, will see France in arms against the king of Spain. His catholic majesty, for his part, is resolved to wage eternal war, rather than consent to such an infamous proposal; and while he has life and strength will wreak his vengeance on those who presume to extort his acquiescence by force. Should Stanhope speak in the tone of a legislator, he will be ill received. The passport which he required is expedited. His propositions will be heard, but will not meet with the slightest attention, unless they differ entirely from the project; and he will be surprised to be informed that the king will not at present listen to any offer of Tuscany, but will reserve his rights for a proper time and place."*

In the midst of this paroxysm of disappointment and indignation, earl Stanhope repaired to Spain, and the british fleet under admiral Byng took its departure for the Mediterranean to give weight to the propositions of peace. Before, however, Stanhope had reached Madrid, the spaniards had effected their debarkation in Sicily; and the british admiral, appearing off

June 4.

* St. Simon, t. 8, p. 253.

Cape St. Vincent, dispatched a messenger with a formal declaration of his arrival and instructions to the envoy, Mr. Stanhope. CH. XXVIII. 1717 | 1718. June 20. July 1.

"You will please," he said, "to acquaint his catholic majesty with my arrival with the fleet in the Mediterranean, and that I am instructed in the king my master's name, to promote all measures which may contribute to compose the differences subsisting between the king of Spain and the emperor.

"Should his catholic majesty not please to accept the mediation of our master, but continue in the resolution of attacking the emperor's territories in Italy; in that case, I am commanded by the king my master, to maintain the neutrality of Italy, and defend the emperor's territories, by opposing all force that shall endeavour to attack him in that quarter."*

In an interview with the cardinal, the british envoy, after expatiating on the anxiety of France and England, to preserve the peace of Europe, produced this letter, to enforce his representations. Such a peremptory message could not fail to irritate the high spirited and impetuous minister, and he indignantly replied, "My master will encounter all perils, and rather be driven from Spain, than recal his troops, or consent to a suspension of arms. The Spaniards are not to be intimidated; and I am so confident of the bravery of our fleet, that if your admiral should think proper to attack it, I shall be in no pain for the result."

To this rhodomontade the envoy made no other reply than to present a list of the british fleet, and desire him to compare it with that of Spain. The mortifying coolness which accompanied the notice, roused the choler of the cardinal; he snatched the list, tore it to pieces, and trampled it under foot.

* Admiral Byng to Mr. Stanhope, June 20, O. S. 1718.——Political State for 1718, p. 248.

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To all further representations, he sullenly replied, "I will communicate your message to the king, and apprize you of his majesty's resolution in two days." But either from contempt, or for the sake of gaining time for the spanish fleet to take refuge at Malta, he delayed the performance of his promise for nine days, and then returned the admiral's letter, with a brief note, added in the form of a postscript:

"His catholic majesty has done me the honour to tell me that the chevalier Byng may execute the orders which he has received from the king his master. (Signed)

"Escorial, July 15. ALBERONI."*

Meanwhile, the spanish troops had commenced their operations in Sicily, with the fairest prospect of signal success. Three days after their landing, they advanced towards Palermo, and were joined by crowds of the nobles, who hailed the restoration of the spanish government. The piedmontese governor, leaving a detachment in the citadel, retired to Syracuse, the
July 13. city opened its gates, and, after a blockade of a few days, the citadel itself surrendered. The revolt instantly became general. A scanty force of 7,000 men, which was the amount of the piedmontese troops, was too weak to restrain a whole people, and make head against a superior enemy; and several of the smaller posts were reduced by the partisans of Spain them-
July 23. selves. After the reduction of Palermo, the fleet transported the infantry to Messina, while the cavalry approached the place by land. Here, as in other instances, the appearance of the victorious troops was the signal of revolt; the natives themselves drove the Piedmontese into the citadel, where they were instantly besieged, and welcomed the Spaniards with acclamations of joy.†

In this situation of affairs, Sicily would have proved an

* Tindal, v. 19, p. 202.

† St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 270 ——Historical Register, p. 390.

easy conquest, had not the british fleet appeared off the coast. The admiral anchored a few days in the bay of Naples, and, as the arrangements for the transfer of Sicily had been already completed, he agreed to cover the passage of 3,000 germans across the strait, to reinforce the garrison in the citadel of Messina. The approach of this powerful force greatly embarrassed the Spaniards, both in their naval and military operations: the naval commanders, after spending much time in deliberations, whether they should resist or retire, quitted their station before Messina, and bore away to the south. Having completed the embarkation of the german troops, admiral Byng drew towards the Faro, and in his passage sent a letter to the spanish commander, deprecating hostilities, and proposing a suspension of arms. His overture being rejected, and news arriving that the spanish fleet was in the strait, a short distance ahead, he sent back the germans to Reggio, made sail, and on the 11th of August came up with them, in the vicinity of Syracuse. Aug. 1.

The spanish admiral, Castanietta, though a brave and excellent seaman, was yet unequal to the direction of a numerous fleet, and his embarrassment was increased by the uncertainty of his situation. Though it is probable the minister intended that the fleet should retire to Malta in case of necessity; yet no positive orders appear to have been given. The admiral, without any rule for the direction of his conduct, did not deem himself authorised to become the aggressor, and was unwilling to quit the coasts of Sicily. Applying to Don Joseph Patiño, who superintended the expedition, he received instructions which rather increased than relieved his embarrassment. He well knew that his fleet was inferior to the english in force, discipline, and equipment; and, therefore, he could not but deprecate a conflict with an enemy who had made the sea their element.

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Thus hesitating and embarrassed, his movements gave advantage to a skilful and determined antagonist. On the first appearance of the english fleet, he had passed the strait to occupy a position near Messina, under the protection of batteries on shore. But on the advance of Byng into the bay of Naples, he weighed anchor, and stretched away to the south, to rejoin a division detached to keep open a retreat towards Malta or Sardinia. Even when the british ships were descried, he seems to have doubted whether they would commence the attack, and slowly continued his course, to avoid equally the appearance of alarm or defiance.

On the 11th, in the morning, the advance of Byng convinced him that it was too late to avoid a battle; but the baffling winds and contrary currents of this narrow sea occasioned the separation of his ships, and prevented him, if inclined, from disengaging himself from the british fleet, which was soon intermixed with his own. In this situation, admiral Muri, with six of the lighter ships and the gallies, quitted the main body, to draw towards the coast, and even the men of war could not take their places in the line, though towed.

Meanwhile, the british admiral detached a division to cut off Muri, and, by favour of a partial breeze, continuing his progress after the main body, an engagement began. The Spaniards, without order and union, were attacked almost singly by superior force, and successively compelled to yield; for, though they fought with desperation, this celebrated conflict was rather a running fight, than a regular action. The commander in chief, after a most obstinate resistance, and being dangerously wounded, was made prisoner, and the whole fleet either captured or destroyed, except four ships and six frigates, the division of admiral Cammock, who made his escape, and gained the harbour of St. Valetta. The division of

Muri was driven on shore near Aosta, and all the ships shared the fate of the rest. CH. XXVIII. 1717 | 1718.

After this destructive action, the british admiral, affecting to deprecate the imputation of having been the aggressor, sent one of his captains with a letter of excuse to the marquis of Lede, stating that the spaniards had commenced the battle, and urging that this accident ought not to be considered as a rupture between the two countries.*

Before the intelligence of this disastrous event reached Madrid, earl Stanhope arrived, and joined with the french plenipotentiary, the marquis de Nancré, in tendering the mediation of the neutral powers, and proposing the accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance, which was now on the point of being signed by France, England, and the emperor. At first, Alberoni condescended to employ his usual dissimulation, and amused them with the hope of bringing their negotiation to a pacific issue. But the news of the successful descent on Sicily, the enthusiasm which it excited in the capital, and the fortunate arrival of treasure from America, encouraged him to throw off the mask, and induced the court to assume its usual haughty tone.

The allies, however, omitted neither lures nor threats to divert Philip from further aggressions. So anxious was the king of England to prevent a general war, that he offered, first through the channel of the regent, and afterwards by the mouth of earl Stanhope, the restoration of Gibraltar, provided Philip would accede to the Quadruple Alliance without delay.† But with the brilliant hopes which the conquest of Sardinia, and the successful debarkation in Sicily, had inspired, even this darling

* Political State, v. 16, p. 56, 488.——St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 297—306.——Tindal, v. 19, p. 216.

† Dispatch from Lord Stanhope to Horace Walpole. Oct. 11, 1725.

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object was not regarded, and the offer was peremptorily rejected, as an inadequate compensation for the rights and pretensions which Philip fondly expected to realise.*

In two audiences which were granted to the embassadors, the king and queen expressed, with unusual energy, their dissatisfaction with the proffered treaty, as unjust in itself, and equally prejudicial to their interests, and offensive to their honour.

* The offer of Gibraltar, made through the regent, was enveloped with such mystery, that it has never been clearly traced. The assertion of that prince himself, which was never contradicted by the British court, leaves no room to doubt, that he was duly authorised by George the first to make the offer; but in what manner, and whether it was conditional or not, cannot now be ascertained, though the subsequent discussions on this subject furnish reason to suppose that it was coupled with some condition besides the immediate accession of Spain to the peace.

Duclos, however, has given an account of this arrangement, which carries improbability on its very face. He says, the object of Louville's secret mission to Madrid was to communicate this offer, and that measures were even settled for the clandestine surrender of the fortress. At the moment of signing the peace, Philip was to receive an order, under the royal sign manual, directing the governor of Gibraltar, to deliver up the place to a Spanish army, which was to approach and summon the garrison to surrender. In virtue of this order, the Spaniards were to be admitted without opposition, and the british garrison to withdraw to Tangier.

The bare relation of these circumstances proves how little foreigners are acquainted with the forms and mechanism of our government. Without laying stress on the circumstance that at the time of Louville's mission the intimate connection of France and England was not formed, and, allowing the offer to have been afterwards made, yet the royal signature, unless countersigned by the proper officer of state, would not have been obeyed by any military commander; and we are convinced that no minister would have been sufficiently rash to affix his name to so clandestine and informal a transfer. We have discussed this subject at large in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 34, and shall hereafter resume it in the present work. Duclos, t. 1, p. 276.—— Moore's Life of Alberoni, p. 104.

Their indignation was still further roused by a peremptory memorial, with which the communication was followed, allowing only three months for the acceptance of the Quadruple Alliance, and announcing that any additional delay would be followed by a declaration of war from France and the maritime powers. In answer to this threat, the cardinal was ordered to declare that his sovereign would never lay down his arms till Sardinia and Sicily were ceded to Spain; and till the emperor, besides gratifying the house of Savoy for the loss of Sicily, had engaged to maintain only a certain number of troops in Italy. CH. XXVIII. 1717 | 1718.

All hopes of an accommodation having vanished, earl Stanhope took his departure. But before he quitted the capital, some intelligence of the discomfiture of the fleet probably reached Alberoni; for in the final interview, he recurred to his former professions of amity, dwelt on his own pacific inclinations, and threw the blame of the rupture on the personal antipathy of the king against the emperor and the regent. With tears of vexation and disappointment, he declared that he was reluctantly forced into hostile measures, and sincere in his wishes to promote a speedy accommodation.

"Whether," observes lord Stanhope, "the cardinal deceives M. de Nancré and me, I cannot determine; but I will own to your lordship, that I think he was desirous to have had the suspension of arms, and that he will still endeavour to accommodate matters. He complains bitterly of the king's obstinacy, who is at present more governed by his personal animosity against the emperor and the regent, than by any reasons of state. He represents him, besides, as exceedingly jealous and mistrustful of all about him; insomuch that for a considerable time, no person has ever spoken to the king and queen asunder; nor does any other minister ever dare to speak but in the presence of the king, queen, and cardinal, who by what

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I can judge are every one jealous of each other. The cardinal shed tears when I parted with him; has promised to write to me, and to let slip no occasion which may offer of adjusting matters."*

Still anxious to preserve appearances with Victor Amadeus, the spanish minister did not, as on the preceding occasion, publish a justification of the attack on Sicily, nor represent it as a conquered country. On the contrary, he wrote a cajoling

July 25. letter to Victor Amadeus, apprising him of the disembarkation of the spanish troops, and the capture of Palermo; representing it, not as an act of aggression, but as a precautionary measure to prevent the island from being wrested from the rightful owner, by the very powers who had guarantied it at the peace of Utrecht; and professing to hold it in deposit till it could be safely restored to him.†

This application, however, did not produce the effect for which it was probably calculated. Victor Amadeus, either really offended by the attack, or expecting to gain more advantageous terms from the emperor than from Spain, appealed to France and England as guarantees of the peace of Utrecht. He added bitter complaints against the perfidy and injustice of Alberoni, who had amused him with feigned proffers of amity to obtain a more favourable opportunity for the invasion of his dominions.

This memorial at length drew from the spanish court a counter manifesto, retorting the charge of perfidy and duplicity on the court of Turin. The king now declared, that no longer considering Sicily as a deposit, he had determined to prevent its transfer to his bitter and implacable enemy, by incorporating it with the spanish monarchy, from which it had been dis-

* Bayonne, Sept. 2, 1718. Schaub Papers.

† Ortiz, t. 7, p. 336.

membered. The manifesto concludes with an attempt to throw the blame of the enterprise on the courts of Paris and London, by representing, that in their affected candour, they had, in the preceding May, divulged to the spanish minister the secret negotiation for the transfer of Sicily to the emperor. This communication alone, it was urged, reduced the king to the indispensable necessity of opposing force to force.*

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* Vie d'Alberoni, p. 420.——Manifeste de la Cour d'Espagne, sur l'entreprise de la Sicile in Rousset, t. 1, p. 234.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1718—1719.

Remonstrances of the Spanish court against the conduct of England—Cabals of Alberoni with the different powers of Europe—Arrangements with Sweden and Russia for an invasion of England—Conspiracy against the Regent of France detected—Papers and Manifestos published on the occasion—France declares War—Philip heads the army—Unsuccessful campaign—Capture of the frontier Fortresses, and destruction of the Docks and Arsenals—Death of Charles the Twelfth, and neutrality of Sweden and Russia—Fruitless Expedition to Scotland in favour of the Pretender—Unsuccessful attempt on Britanny—Misfortunes of the Spanish arms in Sicily—Accession of the Dutch to the Quadruple Alliance—Ineffectual manœuvres of Alberoni to divide the Allies.

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ALBERONI, however mortified and disappointed, was not discouraged by the fatal discomfiture of the fleet which he had employed such exertions to form; and which, in the energetic language of Spain, was described as sprung out of the earth.

Vehement complaints were instantly made to the british government against so flagrant a breach of that good faith for which the nation was honourably distinguished. In a letter, addressed to the secretary of state, but calculated for the public eye, the embassador, Monteleon, remonstrated

against this unprecedented outrage, in contradiction, as he stated, to the very declaration of the admiral himself, that he was commissioned only to defend the dominions of the emperor. He testified the indignation felt by the king and all true spaniards, at this hostile and unprovoked assault from a nation to whom they had shewn peculiar favour. He concluded with a declaration, calculated to work on the feelings of a generous people, that notwithstanding these unmerited aggressions, the king, his master, would punctually distribute the effects of the flota as soon as it arrived from America, that he would religiously observe the civil and commercial relations of the two countries, and would maintain the english in all the grants and advantages which they had hitherto enjoyed.

Lastly, the cardinal himself seconded and confirmed the instances of the embassador in a letter, which was intended as the public expression of the sentiments of his sovereign. In this piece, besides repeating and dwelling on the complaints made by Monteleon, he artfully introduced hints calculated to convey the impression that the admiral, with the connivance of the ministry, had been induced to swerve from the instructions prescribed to him, by the instances and bribes of the imperial viceroy count Daun. He even affected to find in his official account of the battle, expressions of remorse for his unjust aggression.*

It was not, however, by memorials and papers that the spanish minister manifested his resentment; but he employed all the resources of policy to confound and embarrass the allies, and in particular to turn the attack against France and England.

In no instance were his efforts more successful than in the

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 34.——Ortiz, t. 7, lib. 23. c. 6.——Tindal, v. 19, p. 386, 393.——Letters of Monteleon and Alberoni in Hist. Reg. for 1718.

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North. During the recent war, the king of Denmark had conquered Holstein, Sleswic, Bremen, and Verden; but unable to resist the attacks of Charles the twelfth, after his return from his turkish captivity, he ceded Bremen and Verden to George the first, as elector of Hanover, to purchase his accession to the confederacy formed against Sweden, and thus obtained the co-operation of a british squadron in the Baltic.

Charles the twelfth was highly provoked by this interference, and in return caballed with the jacobites in England, as well as with the exiles in France and Holland. His pride was still more deeply wounded by the consequent arrest of Goertz and Gyllenborg, his ministers in England and Holland, the disclosure of his intrigues with the discontented, and his plans for the invasion of England.*

Peter the great was equally dissatisfied with the british government, for counteracting his attempts to obtain dominions in the empire. He likewise testified his resentment by caballing with the jacobites, and the discontented party, though he affected to feel great abhorrence at the attempts of the british court to implicate him in the charges advanced against Charles the twelfth.

Alberoni profited by these circumstances to promote a reconciliation between these two rival monarchs, and turn their united force against a country which had equally offended both. He even sent the duke of Ormond into Russia, to negotiate a marriage between Anne, the daughter of Peter, and the son of the Pretender. This mission was not openly countenanced by Peter; but the interference of the spanish minister was attended with effect. Swedish and russian ministers met in the isle of Aland, and, under the mediation of an agent from the spanish court, signed the preliminary articles of an ac-

May, 1718.

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 252, 344.

commodation. By this arrangement, Charles was to yield to Russia the territories on the shore of the Baltic, and in return was to be assisted in the conquest of Norway, and the recovery of Bremen and Verden. Their united forces were finally to concur with those of Spain, in the invasion of the British Isles, in order to restore the exiled family.* CH. XXIX. 1718 | 1719.

In France the state of parties presented ample scope to the machinations of the spanish minister, and encouraged him to imitate the cabals which the regent had formed at Madrid, to overthrow his own authority. All the partisans and admirers of the old court were combined against the existing government, for its connection with England, and dereliction of the long established maxims of french policy. Marshal Villars presented a strong memorial against the recent alliance, recommending a reconciliation with Spain, and a junction of the bourbon crowns against the emperor. These representations were supported by the duke of Maine and Villeroy, in the council of state; and their arguments made such an impression on their colleagues, that the marshal d'Uxelles, head of the department of foreign affairs, would not affix his signature to the treaty till compelled by the personal authority of the duke of Orleans himself.† This party was supported by all the legitimated princes and princesses, not excepting even the wife of the regent, who were all indignant at being robbed of the rights and honours granted by the deceased monarch. Nor was this sentiment confined to personal or political opponents; St. Simon, his devoted friend, did not scruple to acknowledge the superior claims of Philip to the government. "If," said he, addressing the duke, "the king of Spain should enter France unarmed, and, throwing himself on the nation, demand the regency in

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 357.

† Mem. de Villars, t. 2, p. 383.——St. Simon, t. 10, p. 251.

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his own right; I confess, that, however attached to you, I should take my leave of you with tears, and acknowledge him as the true regent. If I, attached as I am to you, thus think and feel, what can you expect from the French in general?"* The parliaments also, degraded collectively and individually, ranged themselves under the banners of the discontented nobility, as the means of recovering their former power, and vindicating the rights of the nation.

The conduct of the duke of Orleans gave additional strength to the general odium. The dilapidated state of the finances, though in reality derived from the ambitious wars of Louis the fourteenth, was attributed by popular prejudice to the existing government, and the evil was aggravated by the ruinous system of finance, of which Law was the author, and the personal extravagance of the regent. Religious feuds were added to civil dissentions; the contending sects of jesuits and jansenists had been equally humbled; the jesuits in particular were irritated against the regent, for robbing their order of its influence at court, by the removal of le Tellier from his post of royal confessor, and the transfer of his office to the abbot Fleury. These united causes, joined to the shameful profligacy of the regent, and the still more shameful enormities of his favourite Dubois, rapidly obliterated the respect and affection which he had at first gained by his superior abilities and captivating deportment.

The malcontents soon found a head in the duchess of Maine, the spirited daughter of the prince of Condé. She opened a communication with the queen of Spain, through Cellamar, the spanish embassador, to whom the management of the whole intrigue was intrusted, and her faction was augmented by distinguished persons in every department of the church and

* St. Simon, t. 7, p. 148.

state, as well as by officers of rank in the army. The different leaders of this party were, as is usual, actuated by different views. Some wished only to restore the last regulations of Louis the fourteenth; some hoped to employ the aid of Philip for their own aggrandisement, or that of their body; some merely to gratify personal resentment or political rivalry. But the skilful hand of Alberoni reduced their clashing interests to one general principle. He united all classes, professions, and parties, in one common design to overthrow the government of the duke of Orleans, and transfer the regency to Philip, as the means of breaking the impolitic alliance with England and Austria, and facilitating his eventual succession to the crown, in case of the untimely death of the young monarch.

At once to abridge the resources of the regent, and to collect a powerful force of native frenchmen beyond the Pyrenees, the spanish government employed the most flattering encouragement to purchase the services of the disbanded officers, among whom, besides many of merit little inferior, we distinguish the name of the celebrated tactician Folard. By their connections and agency, levies of men were secretly made in the discontented provinces. A communication was also opened with a numerous party in Britanny, who were dissatisfied with the government, and were excited to revolt by the promise of military aid from Spain. Lastly, these designs were furthered by a powerful body among the jesuits, headed by the celebrated father la Tournemine, who maintained a direct and secret correspondence with the spanish court, through the channel of the confessor d'Aubenton.

So far, at length, was the conspiracy matured, that arrangements were made to seize the person of the regent, and convoke the states general to authorise the change of government.

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addresses were actually prepared by cardinal Polignac, and the literary dependents of the House of Maine, to be presented to the king, the parliaments, and the states, in the name of Philip.

With all the precautions which the most intelligent head could devise, so extensive a design would scarcely have escaped the vigilance of the french government; much less when Cellamar himself seemed almost to court detection. Besides openly receiving the discontented of all ranks, he held his nocturnal interviews with the duchess of Maine, with an affectation of mystery, which was rather calculated to excite than baffle curiosity; employing the carriage of the marquis of Pompadour, and being driven by the count of Laval, who officiated as coachman. Lastly, to complete his unaccountable indiscretion, he employed persons little known and of doubtful fidelity, to transcribe and compose his most important papers.

It is no wonder that the secret transpired by all these avenues to publicity. General information of the plot was transmitted to the regent by the french embassador at Madrid, the king of England, and by the subordinate agents of Cellamar. The government, however, betrayed no sign of suspicion or alarm, but suffered the conspirators to mature their arrangements, and to lay the train which, in the figurative language of the spanish minister, was "to spring the mine."* For greater security, these dangerous papers were intrusted to Don Vincente Portocarrero, nephew of Cellamar, whose rank and connections were expected to secure him from the risks of an ordinary courier. So great was the confidence which the apparent tranquillity of the government inspired, that neither cipher, nor any of the usual precautions, were employed to conceal their contents, or the names of the persons interested.

While, therefore, the court of Madrid anxiously expected

* Intercepted letter from Alberoni to Cellamar. Hist. Reg.

the arrival of this important messenger, they were confounded with the intelligence that their design was discovered. Don Vincente was arrested at Poitiers, his papers seized, and by the information which they contained, a clue was found to trace the agents and outline of the conspiracy. Cellamar received notice of the incident sufficiently early to destroy the most dangerous documents; but his person was put under arrest, and his papers examined. At the same time many of the chief conspirators were seized, particularly the duke and duchess of Maine, their sons the count of Eu and the prince of Dombes, cardinal Polignac, the duke of Richelieu, the marquis of Pompadour, and many persons of all ranks and orders, from whose papers and confessions additional information was drawn. These documents being submitted to the examination of a private council, the regent justified his conduct by publishing an account of the conspiracy, addressed in a circular letter to all the foreign ministers resident at the court, and accompanied with all the requisite proofs.*

The draughts of the intended letter to the king, and the addresses to the parliament of Paris, were likewise made public. These contained strong professions of attachment to the memory of Louis the fourteenth, bitter invectives against the person, government, and political connections of the regent, and a request for the convocation of the states general, the organ of the national voice, as the only proper expedient to deliver the king and his people from oppression; for the remedy of past and the prevention of future evils. But in the

* For the account of this mysterious conspiracy have been consulted and compared, Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 333—336.——St. Simon, t. 7, p. 137.——Richelieu, t. 3, ch. 10.——Memoirs de Mad. de Staal, ou Anecdotes de la Regence, t. 2, and 3. The authoress, then Mlle. de Launay, was maid of honour to the duchess of Maine, and one of her agents, and has given the most authentic narrative of the part taken by her mistress.

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proposed manifesto to the states, these accusations are more forcibly and amply urged. It contains laboured complaint against the cruelty and injustice of the Quadruple Alliance, and the unwarrantable conduct of the duke of Orleans, "*the mere depositary of the royal authority*," in daring to league with the natural enemies of the House of Bourbon, without consulting the nation or parliaments; without even referring to the mature deliberation of the council of regency.

The same general topics form the subject of all the papers; but in the memorial intended to be dictated to the states, the real views of Philip are more clearly developed.

"Sire, all the orders of the states throw themselves at your feet, and implore your assistance, in that situation to which the present government has reduced them. Your majesty is not ignorant of our misfortunes, though unacquainted with their extent. Our respect for the royal authority in whatever hands, and however exercised, leaves us no resource but in your support.

"This crown is the patrimony of your ancestors. He who now wears it, is bound to you by the strongest ties; the nation looks up to you *as the presumptive heir*, and hopes to find you animated by the same sentiments as your late grandfather, whose death we daily lament. With this view we lay before you our misfortunes, and implore your assistance."

After expatiating on the immoral conduct of the regent, his alliances with the enemies of the religion and of the monarchies of France and Spain, the want of public confidence, the disorders in the finances, and the countenance given to foreigners; after dwelling on the arbitrary and violent treatment of the parliaments, and the measures pursued against the natives of Britanny, the memorial proceeds:

"If your majesty should demand what remedy can be ap-

plied, we answer, It is in your hands. Although you wear a foreign diadem, *you are still a son of France. As uncle to a minor king, who can deny your power to convoke the states, for the re-establishment of order, and the arrangement of the guardianship and regency?*

" All France has perceived that in burying your own claims, you have consulted only the public tranquillity; and in this conduct all France acknowledges the heart of a true father of his country. Your majesty may be assured that if you *should appear with your houshold attendants only, all hearts would pant to meet you; and every citizen would be your guard. But if for greater security you enter the country with* 10,000 *men, and are opposed by the duke of Orleans with* 60,000, *you may be confident that the very troops on which he may rely, will be the most zealous in obeying your orders.* There is not a single officer, who does not lament, not a soldier, who does not feel, the perversity of the government; not a subject, who does not regard you as his deliverer. All will vie in acknowledging and admiring you as the grandson of that beloved sovereign, who still reigns in our hearts. What have you to fear from the people or nobles, to whom you come to give security? Your army is already in France, and you may expect to become as powerful here as Louis the fourteenth. At your discretion you will *be received either as administrator or regent, or as a prince who re-establishes with honour the testament of his august grandfather.*

" Thus, Sire, you will see the revival of that union so necessary for the safety of the two crowns, which renders them both unshaken; thus will you restore the tranquillity of a people who regard you as their father; thus will you prevent misfortunes to which we dare not turn our eyes.

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What reproaches will you not cast on yourself if the event* we so much dread should happen! What tears will you not shed for having disregarded the instances of an imploring nation!"

On the discovery of the plot, the king of Spain openly avowed the measures adopted against the regent, and recurred to the hostile preparations already commenced for supporting his pretensions. The french embassador at Madrid had been previously arrested on a slight pretence, and ignominiously sent out of the country. Troops from all quarters were drawn towards the frontier.

Dec. 25. Philip justified his conduct, in a manifesto containing the preceding topics of accusation; and after describing his hostile preparations as directed solely against the person and authority of the regent, concluded with an appeal calculated to operate on the honour and loyalty of the french nation. With a view to excite the public discontent this manifesto was circulated at Paris, and through every part of France.

The discovery of the plot, and the insulting language of these papers, compelled the regent to declare war; after he had resisted both the exhortations and examples of England and the emperor. The spanish manifesto was condemned by the parliament of Paris, as a treasonable publication. The declaration of war against Spain was accompanied with a manifesto detailing the causes of the rupture; tracing the motives which had occasioned the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance, and inveighing against the opposition of Spain to all endeavours for restoring the peace of Europe. As Philip had coupled his accusations against the regent, with professions of regard towards the king, the regent in return

Jan. 9, 1719.

* The eventual death of Louis the Fifteenth.

spared the person of the monarch to direct the public indignation against Alberoni. CH. XXIX. 1718 | 1719.

To this the spanish court replied by a counter-declaration, justifying its refusal to assent to the proffered conditions of accommodation. Feb. 29.

Among other arguments, it was urged; "The convention for the neutrality of Italy was null, because it had been repeatedly violated by the emperor; the intended cession of Sicily to the duke of Savoy was equally null, because the duke did not observe the conditions annexed to it. The acceptance of the Quadruple Alliance was proposed by the united powers, who affected to give the law to Europe, in such an absolute and imperious style, as seemed to deprive kings of the sovereign rights derived from God." Complaints were introduced against the ingratitude of England, after the advantageous terms of commerce obtained from Spain, and the perfidy of the british admiral, in attacking the spanish fleet without a declaration of war. To these were joined a vehement invective against the ambition of the House of Austria, and a new recapitulation of the hackneyed charges against the regent.

Notwithstanding the discovery of the conspiracy against the regent, the court of Spain was flattered by the general expression of the public sentiment in France; and particularly by the disposition manifested by all ranks in the army. Villars, the most distinguished general in the service, had not only refused to accept a command against a prince of the House of Bourbon, but had made an appeal to the regent and his council, deprecating a war, and recommending a reconciliation between two crowns so nearly connected by blood and interest.* Besides the officers actually engaged in the conspiracy, a large party in the army was actuated by similar sentiments,

* Memoires de Villars, t. 2, p. 383.

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and the provinces bordering on Spain teemed with malcontents.

Animated with new hopes by these appearances, which were exaggerated by the sanguine descriptions of his agents and partisans, Philip quitted Madrid at the commencement

April 26.

of spring, to head the army, which was to realise his design of resuming his birthright, and give the first impulse to that general revolution which he expected to effect, for the honour of the catholic religion and the interest of the House of Bourbon. He himself led the first division; the queen accompanied the second; the third was headed by Alberoni, who, like a Ximenes or a Richelieu, affected to blend the characters of the ecclesiastic and the warrior. It was not, however, on force alone, that Philip placed his reliance. He flattered himself that no french soldier would bear arms against the first prince of the royal blood, and he was so sanguine in this expectation that he appointed the different regiments, in which those, who should abandon the standard of the regent, were to be enrolled. With the same expectation he published an appeal to the french soldiery.

After expatiating on the reciprocal interests which ought to unite France and Spain, and reprobating the connection of the regent with England, as the means of disturbing this happy union, and reducing both nations to a disgraceful servitude, he exhorted the soldiery to repair to his standard, and aid his efforts to regenerate the nation. "If the french troops," he added, "will concur in this generous design, their young king, when he attains his majority, will acknowledge and gratefully reward the services of those who have co-operated for the security of his crown and life. By this necessary union, we shall respectively fulfil our duty. I that of my blood, and of the regency, which is *my right;* the french that of generous

and brave subjects, who have raised themselves above vain apprehensions, disguised under the mask of obedience, forcibly extorted by the *pretended regent*." He concluded by promising to preserve the battalions which should pass over to his standard entire, with all their officers, and to distinguish them with those honours and rewards, which they were entitled to expect both from the importance of their service, and from his royal word. So confident indeed was he of the impression which his declaration would make on the army, that he formed the design of advancing with only a small escort into the french ranks, and appealing to the loyalty and affection of the soldiery. His romantic project was however frustrated by Alberoni, who, by a false order, contrived to delay the march of the intended escort.

These sanguine expectations terminated in utter disappointment. Although Villars had refused the command, a general scarcely less beloved and respected was found in the marshal Berwick; and the army, however secretly disposed, was awed by the restraints of his rigid discipline, and readily obeyed the impulse of his master hand. The obedience of the soldiery inspired respect for the government, and occasioned equal obedience in the provinces. After treating the declaration of Philip with the usual marks of public dishonour, the regent employed the name of the king in justifying his own measures; and, again holding forth Alberoni as the object of public indignation, announced his resolution never to conclude peace, while so dangerous an enemy to the two countries was suffered to direct the spanish government.*

In the midst of this paper war hostilities actually com-

* The different Papers and Documents adverted to in the text, may be found in Rousset, t. 1. Hist. Reg. and Political State for 1718—1719, and other collections of public papers.

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menced. The french opened the campaign with a superiority which frustrated the hopes of Philip, and disconcerted the plans of the minister. As early as March, Berwick, with an army exceeding 30,000 men, penetrated through the Pyrenees, advanced into Biscay, destroyed the arsenal at Port Passage, with six ships of the line on the stocks, and the magazines of naval stores, and, before the commencement of May, invested Fuenterrabia. The spanish force, which, after the detachments for garrisons, did not exceed 15,000 men, was concentrated at Pampeluna; but too weak to attempt its relief. Philip, indeed, was anxious to vindicate the honour of his crown and arms, by an attack on the besieging army; but he was overruled by the remonstrances and intreaties of the minister. "Hitherto," said Alberoni, "I have passed for the author of the war, and the disturber of the peace of Europe: I have drawn on myself the odium of the whole world, and it was a sacrifice to which I cheerfully submitted, and shall submit. But I cannot see your majesty, at the head of a handful of men, attempt to succour Fuenterrabia, besieged by a more powerful army, advantageously posted. This is to encounter certain ruin; to expose yourself to a catastrophe the most terrible and unheard of. As I am blamed for every thing, it would give colour to the general accusation, that my mad schemes had no other end, and that no better result could have been expected from the counsels of a lunatic."*

Philip, after employing all the resources which his situation afforded, to prolong the operations of the siege, had the mortification to witness the surrender of Fuenterrabia. St. Antonio was taken at the same time, by the assistance of an English squadron, the magazines destroyed, and the unfinished ships burnt on the stocks. St. Sebastian was next invested, and

June 18.

* Storia del Cardinale Alberoni, P. 2, p. 117.

after a blockade of six weeks, reduced by a bombardment. To conclude the campaign in this quarter, the states of Biscay Alava and Guiposcoa were assembled, and offered to submit to the dominion of France on the condition of preserving their privileges; but to shew that the regent was not actuated by motives of aggrandisement or resentment against Philip, the proposal was declined.

As Pampeluna was too well fortified and garrisoned, to be attacked even in the presence of an inferior force, headed by a sovereign eager to avenge his honour, Berwick withdrew into France, and directed his march north of the Pyrenees, to penetrate into Catalonia; and Philip, leaving the army to follow his movements, returned mortified and indignant to Madrid. The french speedily took Urgel and invested Roses; but the operations of the siege in so difficult a country were greatly obstructed by the weather, and the presence of the spanish army. In consequence of these obstacles, the french, after an arduous attack, abandoned the enterprise, and, relinquishing the design of establishing their quarters beyond the Pyrenees, retired into Roussillon.* Aug. 31.

Unfavourable as this campaign had proved at home in comparison with the brilliant hopes with which it had commenced, the events abroad were still more afflicting. Charles the twelfth, on whose desperate courage Alberoni had relied for the invasion of England, had fallen a sacrifice to his own rashness before a petty fortress of Norway. With him fell the hopes of co-operation on the part of Sweden and Russia. Ulrica, his sister and successor, was anxious to restore peace to the country, exhausted by a long series of wars; and the ap- Nov. 30, 1718.

* Mem. de Berwick, t. 2, p. 196—322.——St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 353—402.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 344.

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pearance of a british squadron in the Baltic was sufficient to reduce Russia to a neutrality.

Undaunted, however, by reverses, Alberoni was but the more anxious to strike a blow, which might recal the forces of England for her own safety. He was encouraged by the declarations of the opposition, and their partisans, who re-echoed the language of the spanish manifestos, on the impolicy of a war with a natural ally of England, and inveighed against the attack of the fleet by Byng, as a breach of public law, and a dishonour to the good faith of the nation. Mistaking these clamours for the public voice, the spanish minister imagined that the first appearance of foreign support would be the signal for a new revolution, which would restore the exiled family to the throne. He, therefore, prepared at Cadiz a squadron of six ships of the line, with a force of 6,000 men, and arms for 30,000 more, under the pretence of reinforcing the army in Sicily. When the arrangements were complete, the Pretender was invited from Rome to give countenance to the design,

March 10, 1719.

and take advantage of events; and the expedition departed under the command of the exiled duke of Ormond, to effect a landing on the coasts of Scotland.

But the same fatality as in other instances attended an enterprize, which may be considered as the forlorn hope of the great, though unfortunate minister. The armament was dispersed off Cape Finisterre, by a storm of unusual violence. Of the whole fleet, only two frigates reached Kintail, their place of destination, having on board the earls Marshal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, some field officers, 300 men, and 2,000 stand of arms. If Alberoni had miscalculated on the effects of the public sentiment in France, where a numerous faction really existed, anxious for a change of government, he was still more wofully deceived in trusting to the

struggle of contending factions in England, and giving ear to the representations of Monteleon, that whigs and tories, as well as jacobites, would unanimously concur in transferring the throne to their exiled prince, and liberating their country from what was termed the irksome yoke of a german government. In supporting the cause of the Pretender, he touched the nerve, which vibrated through every member of the body politic. Contending parties forgot their mutual animosities to rally round the throne; while the jacobites, humbled and weakened by their recent discomfiture, were still further discouraged by the general burst of loyalty and attachment to the reigning family.

Favoured by these circumstances, the british government found little difficulty in baffling the meditated attack. Two thousand men were landed from Holland; 3,000 imperialists from the Netherlands; a strong fleet was detached to guard the scottish coast; an army rapidly assembled in the northern counties. The parliament zealously supported the king, and the regent offered an additional succour of 10,000 men. But the rebellion, if it may be so termed, was already crushed. A party of scarcely 2,000 highlanders, who had taken arms on the first appearance of a hostile force, were attacked by the royal troops stationed at Inverness, and driven to their mountains. The Spaniards surrendered, and the rebel chiefs retired to the western isles, from whence they escaped to the continent.*

For this aggression, the british government retaliated by an attack on the coasts of Spain. The squadron which had co-operated with the french army in Biscay, took Vigo, with its citadel, and Ponte Vedra, wasted the neighbouring country,

* Tindal, v. 19, p. 234, 253.——Periodical Publications, particularly Historical Register, and Political State.——St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 358.

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and destroyed the ships, docks, and arsenals; and then, stretching along the shore of Galicia, committed similar ravages at Rivadao. Naval armaments of considerable strength were also fitted out in the british ports, to carry the war into the american colonies, which were almost destitute of the means of resistance.

Still, however, bearing up against disappointment, Alberoni made vigorous exertions to collect and refit the armament scattered off Cape Finisterre, for an expedition to the coast of Britanny, which was to distract the efforts of the regent. But in this project, he was not more fortunate than in the intended descent on the coast of Scotland. Timidity or disaffection among the chiefs delayed its departure, and before it appeared off the french shore, an army of 20,000 men was collected by the government, which overawed the malcontents, and baffled all hopes of raising commotions.*

In Sicily also the Spaniards experienced the most mortifying reverse. Exulting in their signal success at the commencement of the campaign, they flattered themselves that the occupation of Messina and Palermo would be followed by the fall of Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo, the only fortresses still held by the enemy. But circumstances soon altered, with the change which took place in the political system of Europe.

Nov. 10, 1718.

Victor Amadeus at length acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, and in acknowledging the emperor as king of Sicily, ordered the governors of the places, still occupied by his troops, to receive austrian garrisons.

July, 1718.

The emperor also, released from the turkish war by the peace of Passarowitz, and the subsequent reduction of the hungarian malcontents, was enabled to detach an army into Italy, and under the protection of the british squadron, poured continual reinforcements into Sicily.

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 364.

On the other hand, the spanish government, exhausted by unsuccessful struggles and unexpected reverses, vainly endeavoured to keep up the army by succours and supplies in single ships, or light vessels, from the coasts and islands in the Mediterranean. The troops, hourly struggling with increasing disadvantages, maintained the hopeless contest with a firmness worthy of the national character; and several battles were fought, in which both parties displayed equal courage and skill. But every contest, and every victory, was fatal to an army which could not repair its losses; while, on the other hand, continual succours from the neighbouring shore, turned even defeat into an advantage. Accordingly, notwithstanding the affection of the people, and the most obstinate defence, the Spaniards were gradually driven from the open country, and at length blockaded in the fortified posts.*

An unsuccessful negotiation aggravated the embarrassments derived from unfortunate enterprises. Hitherto the Dutch had deferred acceding to the Quadruple Alliance, under various pretences, and their neutrality had been rewarded with an advantageous trade to Spain and the colonies, carried on under the connivance of the court. The attractions of this lucrative traffic had outweighed the pressing instances of France and England, and had been repaid by an indulgence equally favourable to the views of the spanish minister. In the rich magazines of the republic, he found an inexhaustible supply of naval and military stores and provisions; the ports of Amsterdam, and of Zealand, were daily crowded with vessels of all distinctions, laden with these valuable requisites for Spain and Sicily.

At length, the reverses of the spanish arms, and the sinking credit of Alberoni, diminished the number of his partisans in

* St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 329—416.——Ortiz, lib. 23, c. 7.

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Holland; the interest of England and France gained the ascendancy; though, to acquire a merit with Spain, the dutch government made the most pressing instances for the accommodation of the dispute. Alberoni adroitly profited by the overture to maintain a clandestine intercourse with the states, and offered to accept their mediation. With this view, he dispatched the marquis Scotti, agent of the duke of Parma, with instructions to Beretti Landi at the Hague, ordering him to take Paris in his way, and make a formal communication of the proposal to the regent.

This attempt to gain time, and to make the states the arbiters of the negotiation, wounded the pride of the french court. Without rejecting the overture, the regent demurred under the pretence of consulting the emperor and the king of England, and Scotti was detained at Paris, to become the instrument of a counter attack against his employer.

Meanwhile the spanish party daily declined in the states general. After a short demur on the part of Zealand and Utrecht, Holland acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, and the example was speedily followed by the other provinces, though the accession was still clogged with the reserve, that Spain should be allowed a further term of three months to accept the proffered conditions. Alberoni was now compelled to bend to circumstances. He transmitted to the states a plan which was to be made the basis of the pacification. The conditions were the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca by England; the restoration of the conquests recently made by France; the reversion of Tuscany and Parma for Don Carlos, as an hereditary succession, independent of the empire; the transfer of Sicily to the emperor with the right of reversion to Spain; the restoration of Castro and Ronciglione, wrested from the family of Farnese by the popes, and

the regulation of the spanish and west indian commerce, according to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht. A minister was at the same time dispatched with a corresponding proposal to the court of England.* But it was too late to avert by negotiation the danger to which force had been opposed in vain.

* Tindal, v. 19, p. 313.

CHAPTER XXX.

1719—1720.

Decline of Alberoni's Credit—Cabals and Machinations to obtain his Disgrace—Interference of the English and French Cabinets—He loses the favour of the Queen—His dismission and departure from Spain—Incidents of his Journey to the Genoese territories—Arrest and Liberation—Persecutions against him—His Apologies, and the Replies—Evasion—Reappearance and subsequent Adventures—Spirit of his Administration; and Improvements in Spain—His Person and Character—Close of his Life.

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PHILIP deeply regretted the disappointment of his lofty hopes, and the dishonour of his arms. During the campaign, he frequently testified his dissatisfaction with the minister; but his displeasure was more particularly excited by the opposition of Alberoni to his romantic design of risking his person and army to save Fuenterrabia. His indignation, however, was checked or soothed by the queen, and there was no reason to doubt that her support, with a change of fortune, or even the mere lapse of time, would have enabled this great minister to maintain his original ascendancy. It is no wonder then that the different powers united against Spain, profited by these reverses to accelerate the fall of a man, whose talents and resources experience had taught them to dread. On the

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first symptom of his declining credit, the british court made instances to obtain the assistance of the regent, in terms which shew the high importance attached to his removal.

Aug. 22, 1719.

" We shall act wrong," writes lord Stanhope to cardinal du Bois, " if we do not consolidate the peace by the removal of the minister, who has kindled the war. And as he will never consent to peace till he finds his ruin inevitable, if he continues the war, we must make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace. For as his unbounded ambition has been the sole cause of the war, which he undertook in defiance of the most solemn engagements, and in breach of the most solemn promises, if he is compelled to accept peace, he will only yield to necessity, with the resolution to seize the first opportunity of vengeance. It is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward, whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may flatter him with the hopes of better success. He is versed in all the negotiations, and in procuring all the connections, necessary for the accomplishment of his schemes; he will be careful to cultivate those connections, and in due time, he will employ them so much the more dangerously for your nation and ours, inasmuch as his past imprudencies will render him more circumspect, and his past ill success more ardent. He himself has warned us against the dangers of a deceitful peace; he is incapable of consenting to any other; he thinks it no reproach to do every thing he is capable of performing; and we ought to thank God, that he did not more exactly calculate his power and his undertakings. When he is reduced, let us not suffer him to recover. Let us exact from Philip his dismission from Spain. We cannot make any condition which will be more advantageous both for himself and people. Let us

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hold forth this example to Europe, as a means of intimidating every turbulent minister who breaks the most solemn treaties, and attacks the persons of princes in the most scandalous manner.

"When cardinal Alberoni is once driven from Spain, the natives will never consent to his again coming into administration; even their catholic majesties will have suffered too much from his pernicious counsels, ever to desire his return. In a word, any peace made by the cardinal will be only an armistice of uncertain duration; nor can we depend upon any treaty, till we make it with a spanish minister, whose system is directly opposite, as well in regard to France in particular, as to Europe in general."*

A plan was accordingly formed by the courts of England and France, to effect his downfall, the execution of which was left to the regent; because, to consummate skill in the arts of intrigue, he united the most effectual means for influencing the spanish court. He easily gained d'Aubenton, who was alienated from Alberoni, for endeavouring to supplant him by an italian adherent, father di Castro. The confessor accordingly indisposed Philip against the person and conduct of the minister. He depicted his plans as extravagant in themselves, and hostile to the interests of Spain, and expatiated on the disorder introduced into every department of the state, to keep the sovereign in dependence, and ignorant of the real situation of affairs. This attack was seconded by private representations from Platania and Caraccioli, two sicilian abbots of good family, high in the confidence of Philip; and finally, by memorials from Ripperda, who, after renouncing his religion and country to establish himself in Spain, had obtained too

* Lord Stanhope to Cardinal du Bois, Hanover, Aug. 22, 1719. Hardwicke Papers.

distinguished a portion of the royal favour, not to become the object of jealousy and displeasure to the minister.* CHAP. XXX. 1719 | 1720.

These united representations made a considerable impression on the mind of a sovereign peculiarly jealous of his authority. But the stroke which levelled the towering grandeur of Alberoni came from his protectress the queen. For the purpose of gaining this princess, lord Peterborough, under the pretext of a journey through Italy, opened a communication with the duke of Parma. It was not difficult to persuade a prince, whose situation exposed him to insult, who was alarmed by the progress of the imperialists, and had been mortified by the ostentation of his former subject. His agency was, therefore, employed to influence his niece, who still retained a warm affection towards her family and native country. The marquis of Scotti, Parmesan envoy, was accordingly sent back to Madrid, with ample instructions from his sovereign, the regent, and the king of England, and his zeal was quickened by the liberal present of fifty thousand crowns.†

But even the privileges of Scotti, as a confidential minister, would scarcely have sufficed to baffle the vigilance or avert the vengeance of his wily countryman, had not this complicated intrigue been favoured by an agent of more importance than celebrity. Laura Pescatori, originally the nurse of the queen, and now her *assa feta*, or first woman of the bed chamber, who, from the influence of early habits, possessed a great share in the affection, if not the confidence, of her royal mistress. This woman, a native of the same parish as *Alberoni*, and of parentage no less obscure, was imbued with that vanity which is frequently the companion of vulgar minds in sudden elevation. Her upstart pride was wounded by the

* Account of Ripperda, by the Sicilian abbots.

† Sir Luke Schaub's Dispatches.

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state affected by her equally ignoble countryman; and she avenged herself by singing and repeating to her royal mistress the numerous pasquinades which the fertile and satirical genius of the Spaniards daily produced against his administration. She thus unconsciously prepared the way for a more serious attack, and the power of ridicule had already associated the person and character of the minister with ideas of contempt, long before his abilities and services had ceased to inspire the respect which they deserved.*

By the intervention of Donna Laura, Scotti obtained a private interview with the queen, in which he developed the mischiefs resulting from the plans of Alberoni; and, in the name of the english and french governments, assured her of a more certain and substantial aggrandisement for herself and her family, than she could expect from his most successful efforts, if she would contribute to his dismission. However grateful for his services, and however sensible of his talents, she was too much discouraged by his ill success to resist the temptation, and joined her decisive voice to the cabals already directed against the falling minister.

The attack was conducted with perfect secrecy, and Alberoni experienced no apparent diminution of the royal
Dec. 4. favour; for, on the evening, the last of his political life, he transacted business with the king, and held a long conference with Scotti. But on the following morning, the king departed to the Pardo, and, as if to give greater publicity to his disgrace, instead of the usual letter of dismission, left a royal decree, to be transmitted to him by the marquis of Tolosa, one of the secretaries of state, announcing his removal from all political power, and enjoining him to quit Madrid in eight days, and the spanish dominions in three weeks.†

* Duclos, t. 2, p. 61. † St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 429.

Thunderstruck with the order, Alberoni demanded in vain an audience of the king, and at last was permitted to write. But the letter, if it ever reached its destination, produced no mitigation of his fate, for he was abruptly commanded to obey. He therefore employed the short interval of his stay in preparing for his departure, and rendering an account of his administration.

Before he withdrew from the political scene, he experienced a revulsion of the public sentiment, which has seldom occurred in the history of disgraced ministers. Detested as a foreigner and an upstart, and loaded with popular execration, while in power, the moment of disgrace became the signal of a triumph as flattering as it was unexpected. A chivalrous and high spirited nation overlooked his errors, his faults, and his misfortunes, in the recollection of his superior talents, and meritorious services: at his last levée, such a crowd of nobles, gentry, and clergy flocked to pay their final respects, and condole with him in his disgrace, as he had never witnessed even in the height of power. The king was alarmed and chagrined by this proof of public esteem, and ordered him to take his departure a day before the term originally prescribed.*

In obedience to the royal injunction, he departed on the 12th of December, taking the road to Barcelona, as the most direct and commodious for a passage into Italy. At Lerida, he was overtaken by a royal officer, who was deputed to search

* On an incident of this kind, we should have paid little attention to the assertions of Alberoni and his partisans, had we not found the fact tacitly admitted by his answerer, who imputes it to curiosity and compassion, and even suffers the remark to escape him, that all the Spaniards, then in Italy, spoke of the fallen minister with respect.——See his Apology, and the Answer, in Istoria del Card. Alberoni, pt. 2; and a translation in Hist. Reg. 1722, p. 209, & 298.

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for papers * missing from the secretary's office. Some of these documents were discovered among his baggage, and he himself tore to pieces a bill of exchange for 25,000 crowns in the officer's presence. He was permitted to continue his journey; but beyond Barcelona was attacked by a body of miquelets, who killed a servant and a soldier of his escort, and rifled his baggage, and he himself escaped with difficulty to Gerona on foot and in disguise. He traversed Languedoc and Provence, by permission of the french government, though closely watched, and attended by the chevalier de Massieu, who was commissioned by the regent to gain his confidence, and obtain such disclosures as were expected to be drawn from him, in the agitated state of his mind. The wily statesman, however, suspecting the snare, amused the spy with pretended secrets of no importance. But he scorned to conceal his sentiments on his unmerited disgrace, and threw on his sovereigns the blame of prosecuting the war. He even accused the king and queen of the basest ingratitude, depicted the monarch as an uxorious bigot, who, after one moment saying in a low tone, "I will be obeyed," finishes the next with obeying; and the queen as possessed with an

* The papers which Alberoni carried away, were principally such as were necessary for his own justification. Some of these were recovered, but the most important, as he himself asserts in his Apology, escaped the vigilance of the royal officers, or had been already sent out of the country with his baggage by the way of Alicante. Some authors have even asserted, that one of the papers recovered, was the will of Charles the second, with which Alberoni hoped to purchase the favour of the emperor. But the assertion rests on no authentic proof. Even St. Philippe doubts the fact; the Answer to his Apology does not advert to it; nor do we perceive, in the situation of affairs at that period, what utility the emperor could have drawn from such a document. ——St. Philippe, t. 3, p. 433.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 347.——Duclos, t. 2, p. 62.

evil spirit, and as a fire-brand, who, for her interested views, would kindle the flames of war throughout the whole civilized world.*

Embarking at Antibes, in a galley sent by the genoese government, he landed at Sestri di Levante, with the intention of proceeding to Rome. Here, however, he received a letter from cardinal Paolucci, papal secretary of state, forbidding him to enter the ecclesiastical territory, under pain of imprisonment, and soon aftewards another, threatening him with the censures of the church, if he presumed to receive the inauguration of his see of Malaga. Unable to obtain an asylum in the territories of the republic, he passed in a felucca from Sestri to Spezzia, and taking the route towards the Appenines, in a few days was lost to his persecutors and to the world.

If the circumstances of his fall were honourable to the minister himself, they were degrading to his sovereigns. Philip and the queen had scarcely dismissed him, before they imputed the whole blame of the war to his turbulent spirit. With equal want of dignity and generosity, they lamented his ascendancy, loaded him with unmerited accusations, and meanly joined in the persecution of a minister, whose principal crime was the zeal and fidelity with which he had laboured to realise their vast designs. In the second audience which they granted to the british embassador, they declared that Alberoni had invariably deceived them, and prostituted their royal names to

* We find many errors in the details of Duclos and St. Simon, which are truly French, and particularly the offer which they attribute to Alberoni to disclose to the regent his connections with the disaffected in France. The imputation carries with it its own refutation, as totally contrary to the character and principles of Alberoni. It is doubted by St. Philippe, who is not prejudiced in favour of the ex-minister, and is supported by no specific authority.

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others; that his impostures tended no less to the detriment of the public, than to that of individuals; that he employed a secretary who could imitate every hand; and had shewed them forged letters for the purpose of ruining in their opinion and removing those whom he suspected; that his suspicions usually fell on persons of character; and, that there was no crime of which he was not capable, even of poisoning and assassination. For these reasons they intreated the king of England to employ his interest with the regent and the emperor, for the purpose of prevailing on the pope to deprive him of the purple, and retain him in perpetual confinement.* These cruel accusations were the prelude to the most bitter persecutions. Spain even vied with the allied powers, in pursuing Alberoni with a virulence and vengeance of which recent periods have seldom shewn an example, in regard to a minister charged with no specific and heinous crime.

It is gratifying to contemplate the behaviour of extraordinary men in those trying situations which shake the firmest mind; and fortunately, the general interest attached to the character and habits of Alberoni, enables us to indulge this curiosity. In the struggle of contending passions, which followed his disgrace, the exiled minister sought consolation in a work, which is calculated to inspire contempt for the delusive vanities of a transitory world. A copy of *Thomas a Kempis de Imitatione Christi*, is preserved in the ducal library at Parma, with marginal remarks in his own hand, recording the ordinary events of his journey, and other occurrences, which shew it to have been his daily companion.† The bitterness of adversity was, however, no sooner past, than the deep rooted habits of the scholar and statesman again predominated. The anecdotes

* Dispatch from Sir Luke Schaub to Earl Stanhope, Madrid, Feb. 17, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.

† Poggiali.

preserved of his late conversations, prove that in the tranquil portion of his varied life, he again recurred to the cultivation of classic literature, and, over the pages of Tacitus and Livy, revived the memory of former greatness and past enterprises. CHAP. XXX. 1719 | 1720.

Alberoni has been too generally judged by the exaggerated axiom of a great and successful minister,* that misfortune is but another name for imprudence. While his friends have spared no endeavours to extenuate his faults, and blazon forth his merits, his enemies have represented him as a wild and sanguine projector, guided by no object, and impelled by no passion but an extravagant and restless ambition. Even historians have borrowed the prevailing tone of the times when he fell the victim of personal and political animosity; and the character of this truly great statesman has been transmitted to posterity in colours of unmerited obloquy.

Of his conduct in negotiation and war, let the reader judge from the authentic testimony of his rivals and contemporaries, collected in the preceding pages. That he was neither ignorant or neglectful of internal policy, nor ill-advised in his plans for its improvement, will appear from a brief review of the regulations which took their rise under his ministry, though his power was of too short a duration to give them consistency and effect.

We pass over his measures for raising supplies at the commencement of the war, as mere temporary expedients to meet an emergency which he could neither delay nor avert. But still more provident for the future than solicitous for the present, he extended his views to a gradual and permanent amelioration in the whole system of the spanish monarchy. He rooted out a contraband trade of great extent which was carried on under the privilege enjoyed by the people of Biscay

* Richelieu.

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of trafficking with the fabrics and productions of their own province free of duty. To lessen the introduction of foreign manufactures, which had hitherto filled the markets, to the detriment of those of Spain, he formed a new tariff of duties, abrogated many indulgencies, and established superintendants in the different ports to prevent abuses. He abolished one of the last remnants of the antient division into separate kingdoms, by removing most of the inland custom-houses to the frontier; and restoring to full liberty the interior communications and traffic. But private considerations appear to have prevented this change in the kingdom of Seville, where it was most wanted, as the great avenue of trade through Cadiz to the new world. At his suggestion, likewise, the municipal taxes in the kingdom of Valencia were abolished; the royal monopoly of strong liquors commuted for a duty on the inland consumption of fish, and a free scope given to the export of wines, which had hitherto languished from the expence of conveyance and want of a demand. New regulations were also established for one of the most profitable branches of the royal revenue, the tobacco trade from the Havannah. Arrangements were made to check the contraband traffic from the Canaries to America; finally a plan was formed to extend and improve the trade of the western shores of that continent by means of the Acapulco ship, without detriment to the fabrics of the mother country. It reflects no trifling honour on the firmness of the minister, to observe that many of these changes were introduced not merely in opposition to private interests and prejudices, but in some instances even to open rebellion.

Dec. 21, 1717.

In conjunction with measures calculated to create a demand, others were adopted to lay the foundation of future manufactures. Attempts were made to introduce a fabric of crystals; an office was set up for printing religious books hitherto drawn

1718.

from Antwerp; a manufactory of woollens was established under the royal patronage at Guadalaxara, and another of fine linens, imitating those of Holland. For these purposes numerous dutch families were drawn into Spain, and the necessary tools and utensils procured from England. To give proper encouragement to these infant establishments, the strictest injunctions were transmitted to the different intendants and governors, to encourage the use of the native manufactures and produce, to restrain luxury in apparel, as the source of dependance on foreign nations, and to remove vagabonds and idlers. Lastly, as soon as the fabric at Guadalaxara had attained consistency, a royal decree was issued that all the troops should in future be clothed with the manufacture of Spain. CHAP. XXX. 1719 | 1720. 1718. Oct. 20, 1719.

In conjunction with these arrangements, a plan was formed to ascertain the state, productions, and resources of the kingdom, as the foundation of further improvements: intelligent engineers were dispatched to survey the different provinces, with instructions which prove that no source of prosperity, however trifling, escaped the attention of the minister. July 4, 1718.

Looking to the immediate instruments of national greatness, and the security of national prosperity, the naval and military were no less important than the economical plans of Alberoni. He formed the design of rendering Cadiz one of the noblest ports of Europe, prepared to improve that of Ferrol; and in these, as well as in others of inferior importance, established docks, arsenals, fabrics of rigging, and magazines. Within the short and troubled period of his administration, fourteen men of war were launched in the ports of the peninsula, an equal number was nearly completed; and the project was formed for constructing ships at the Havannah, which from the seasoning of the climate would be better adapted to the navigation

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of the American seas than those of Europe. To furnish a constant supply of intelligent and able officers, a seminary was founded at Cadiz, intended for the reception of no less than five hundred pupils, who were to be instructed in the theory and practice of navigation, and the appropriate branches of the abstruse sciences. He sought and encouraged officers of merit in every department both of the navy and army.

Lastly, he revived the foundry of artillery and the native fabrics of small arms, which had fallen almost into total inactivity; and he succeeded in emancipating the country from its dangerous dependence on foreign powers, for the supply of the various articles of naval and military equipment.*

According to the description of contemporaries, Alberoni was of low stature, rather full than thin, plain in his features, and with a head too large in proportion to his height and size. But his look was peculiarly quick and piercing, and perfectly characteristic of his ardent and aspiring mind, though tempered with an expression of sweetness and dignity. His voice was flexible and melodious; and, when he endeavoured to conciliate or persuade, assumed a tone and accent, which gave irresistible force to his language. Though habituated to courts and camps; though accustomed to the intercourse of polished and lettered society; and though, on occasions which roused his lofty spirit, he assumed an air and tone of dignity becoming his high situation; yet he never wholly lost the original coarseness of his manner, derived from his mean birth and early connections.

In the endowments of his mind, nature appears to have

* The outline of these important plans has been traced from an examination and comparison of Uztariz's excellent Treatise on the Theory and Practice of commerce and maritime affairs, and Ulloa Restablecimiento de las Fabricas y Commercio Español, passim;—the different Apologies of Alberoni, and the respective Answers;—the Memoirs of St. Philippe and Ortiz, passim.

lavished the gifts, which she had withheld from his person. At once a scholar and a man of the world, he had equally profited by study and experience. Besides his classical acquirements, he possessed a vast fund of information in almost every branch of human knowledge, and his conversations and letters prove him scarcely less master of the french and spanish, than of his native language. With intense and indefatigable application, he united great strength of memory, quickness of comprehension, and grace of expression; and a fertility of resource which extorts our admiration. He possessed the talent of insinuation in the highest degree, and a natural air of sincerity, frankness, and candour which seldom failed of persuading when he wished to persuade, and of deceiving when it was his interest to deceive. He was irritable and impetuous; but he was so far master of passions highly dangerous to a negotiator, that in all his conversations which are exactly detailed by the french and english envoys, we never discover, amid the most vehement sallies, a single instance in which he was provoked to betray his purposes, or unveil his impenetrable secrecy, either by look or gesture. Temperate in his habits and mode of life, he made a boast which is uncontradicted by his adversaries, that amidst the various avocations of his high station he had strictly conformed to the decorum and duties of his ecclesiastical profession.

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Though gentle to inferiors, he was pertinacious and impatient of contradiction, proud and overbearing with his equals and superiors, and scarcely deigned to curb his haughty spirit even in the presence of his sovereigns. By the confession even of his friends, he possessed in a high degree that vindictive spirit which is attributed to his countrymen; and in a still higher, that dissimulation with which they are equally charged. His ambition was lofty and unbounded; but little scrupu-

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lous with regard to the means, provided he attained the end, he often debased the grandeur of his designs by the manner of their execution. In a word, he was one of those gigantic characters which form a compound of extraordinary qualities and extraordinary defects; born to rise in defiance of every obstacle; to change the fate of nations; and alike distinguished from the rest of mankind in success and adversity, power and disgrace.

The prejudices against Alberoni in England and France have been strong and lasting. Indeed, where public and private interests are so deeply involved, as in the examination of his ministry, it is scarcely possible for an individual to judge with impartiality; in estimating therefore the merits of a minister of Spain, it is necessary to assume the principles and prejudices of a spaniard. The indications of the public sentiment are too faint and transient in a country where the press labours under so many restrictions, to be traced with accuracy at this distance of time and place. Yet proofs are not wanting, that even when the degraded minister lay under the heaviest displeasure of the sovereign, numbers of all ranks and conditions concurred in acknowledging the services he had rendered to their country. Ortiz, the latest of their historians, has at length done public and ample justice to his memory, and does not hesitate to place him by the side of Richelieu and Mazarin.*

Philip, affecting a repugnance to lay his hands on the sacred purple, permitted Alberoni to withdraw from Spain; but to render the pope the instrument of his vengeance, he transmitted articles of accusation against him, supported with formal proofs and documents; and exerted the whole influence of the spanish crown to obtain his arrest, trial, and condemnation.

* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 315, 325, 348.

Accordingly, on his arrival in the genoese territories, the pope, by his minister cardinal Imperiali, obtained from the senate an order for his detention as a criminal against the holy catholic faith, and supported the charge by communicating the heads of accusation furnished by Spain. These were, CHAP. XXX. 1719 | 1720.

1. That he employed the money which he derived from the cruzadoes and other ecclesiastical taxes, in making war against catholic princes. 2. That he undertook a war against the emperor, at the moment when engaged in a contest with the turks, to the great detriment of Italy and Europe. 3. That for his own private interests he had prohibited the subjects of Spain from soliciting bulls for the benefices conferred by the pope.

After due deliberation, the senate of Genoa declined taking cognizance of these articles, as civil, not ecclesiastical charges; and therefore nobly refused to gratify the interested resentment which actuated the pope, the king of Spain, and the allied powers. They accordingly restored him to liberty, but unwilling to give umbrage to the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, they commanded him to retire from their territories.

During the few days in which Alberoni remained in the territories of the republic, he published various letters and documents in reply to the charges preferred against him. He threw the odium of the war, as well as the breach of promise to the pope, on the king of Spain, and developed the intrigues and ambitious designs of the queen. The first of these is dated Sestri, February 11, in answer to the prohibition of the pope forbidding him to enter the ecclesiastical territory; the second, from the same place, March 20, encloses his celebrated Apology. Another, without date, was accompanied by his

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letters to the king and the duke of Popoli; and a fourth, dated May 5, vindicating his administration.*

The bold truths contained in these spirited writings, gave additional offence to the court of Madrid; and more urgent remonstrances were made for his degradation. But this new attack was repelled by the members of the sacred college themselves, who united in opposing a precedent which was dangerous to their whole body; though a commission of four cardinals was delegated to judge the charges against him.

When enjoined to quit the genoese territories, Alberoni appealed to his sovereign, the duke of Parma, for asylum in his native land, and, receiving no answer, appears to have made a final and more successful application to some of the swiss states. Accordingly, after remaining some days at Sestri, he sailed to Spezzia, directed his course across the Appenines towards the Modenese, and disappeared on the fourth day of his journey.† His route and place of retreat are uncertain, till we receive a hint of his residence at Lucarno, one of the italian baillages. Here he was protected by the government; for his biographer observes, that attempts having been made to seize his person, the regency of Coire transferred him to a pleasant castle in the recesses of the Alps, and issued the strictest orders to secure him from surprise.‡

After remaining a year in this seclusion, the death of Clement the thirteenth opened to him more favourable prospects. On this occasion, the court of Madrid made a vigorous effort to exclude him from the conclave, on the plea that he

* Storia del Card. Alberoni, pt. 2, p. 128—146.

† From the marginal memorandums written by Alberoni in his copy of Thomas à Kempis, in Poggiali.

‡ Storia, p. 2, p. 146.

still lay under an accusation not disproved. But the interests of the sacred college concurred in his favour, and, besides a safe conduct for his journey, the regular citation for his appearance was affixed in the cathedral of Genoa, and the church of Sestri, where he had last resided before his disappearance. By the zeal of a noble genoese, the abbot Vielato, timely information was conveyed to him; and, quitting his retreat with the same mystery which had before baffled his persecutors, he emerged again into public notice at the house of a friend near Bologna. From hence he repaired to Rome, to assist at the election of a new pontiff.*

His reception in that city is thus described by a contemporary author. "It is impossible to express the extreme impatience of the Romans to behold the cardinal on his entry. But as the time of his arrival was not known, the natives, during six or eight following days, crowded to the gates, in order to obtain a sight of this extraordinary man. It would be no exaggeration to say, that, if we allow for the difference of the population, not a more numerous concourse of spectators attended the triumphal processions of the ancient emperors to the capital. There was scarcely a single person, from the highest to the lowest, who did not press forward to the gate. This prodigious concourse continued daily and hourly, till he made his appearance, and then it might have been supposed, that the Romans had forgotten their own affairs, to pay attention to the cardinal, who, merely in passing through in his carriage, charmed the whole city by his address, affability, and condescension. The people were not content with having seen him once, twice, or thrice, for his carriage had no sooner traversed one street, than they rushed in crowds to another through which he was to pass. In this manner he was accom-

* Poggiali.——St, Philippe, t. 4, p. 70.

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panied to his house with continued acclamations and applauses. In the conclave he experienced a far different reception. Many of the cardinals at first opposed his admission, on the ground that he had not passed through the ceremonies considered as requisite to entitle him to a vote, and the greater part refused to hold any communication with him."*

By degrees his insinuating manners and dignified conduct vanquished the prejudices against him, and he was permitted to take a share in the acts of the conclave. The new pope, Innocent the thirteenth, was prepossessed in his favour, but in compliance with the instances of Spain and France, he allowed the commission of cardinals to proceed in the trial of his cause.

1721. Alberoni not only defended himself before his judges with great spirit and truth, but published an apology for his conduct, more bold and argumentative than his preceding compositions, under the assumed title of a roman nobleman in a letter to his friend.† This masterly composition made such an impression, that the spanish party found it necessary to publish a reply, in which, amidst the bitterest invectives, the force of truth occasionally displays itself. These different documents bring to light many particulars otherwise unknown, relative to his life and administration.

Such was the effect of his defence, that the commission terminated its proceedings by condemning him to retire into a convent for three years, and the pope shortened this term to one. At length, his bitter persecutor, the duke of Orleans, being dead, and the indignation of the king and queen of Spain subsiding, Innocent absolved him from all censures, and formally invested him with the purple. On the death of In-

* Voyage Historique de l'Italie, t. 2, p. 436.

† Storia, P. 2, and Appendix.

[illegible], he contributed to the elevation of Benedict the thirteenth; and in return, the new pontiff consecrated him bishop of Malaga, and gratified him with the usual pension granted to cardinals.

The adversaries of Alberoni have asserted that he accumulated great property in Spain, which he spent at Rome in magnificent living. The accusation is contradicted by the testimony of cardinal Polignac, french embassador at Rome, who describes him as, not in distress, but far from the affluence which was invidiously imputed to him.

Polignac employed his interest to procure some compensation to the ex-minister, for the hostility he had experienced from the french government. He first obtained a present of 10,000 crowns, and afterwards a pension of 17,000 livres. He pays an honourable testimony to his disinterestedness and elevation of mind, and his magnanimity in forgetting his past treatment from Spain, and in rejecting all overtures from the emperor. Polignac even laboured to restore him to the favour of his former master. He endeavoured to procure for him the post of embassador from Spain at Rome, vacant by the death of cardinal Aquaviva, and afterwards employed the intervention of marshal Tessé, then on a public mission to Madrid, to obtain the salary of 14,000 crowns, annexed to that post, as some compensation for the loss of his pension on the bishopric of Malaga. These representations were supported by the interest of the pope himself.*

Such urgent applications in favour of Alberoni seem to have excited the apprehensions of the british cabinet, who dreaded the restoration of a minister whom they had irreconcilably offended, and employed all their influence to thwart the interest making in his behalf.

* Memoires du Cardinal Polignac, t. 2, p. 218, 468.

CHAP. XXX. 1719 | 1720. Jan. 25, 1725.

"His majesty," observes the duke of Newcastle to Horace Walpole, then minister at Paris, "commended your care in the hint you give relating to cardinal Alberoni, and would have you, if you find the least probability of his making any attempt that way, employ your best endeavours with the court of France to engage them to use their interest with Spain in disappointing his views, as well as those of cardinal Gualfieri. He would likewise have you send an account to Mr. Stanhope, that he may do all in his power to prevent his being employed by the court of Madrid. The duke of Parma was written to by the ministers here some time ago, on the report that Alberoni would be permitted to return to Spain. His highness answered in such terms as shew a perfect aversion on his part for the cardinal, and a persuasion that he is equally out of all manner of favour with the king of Spain, who has even rejected the present pope's repeated intercessions in Alberoni's behalf, that he might be permitted to resume his bishopric of Malaga, which he had been obliged to resign. However, too much precaution cannot be used in order to keep so dangerous a man out of any share of business, especially considering how odd an appearance it would have at this time."*

These instances, and the prejudices already existing against Alberoni, frustrated all his hopes of obtaining the slightest proof of returning favour from the court of Madrid. On the formal application of the british minister, the queen petulantly replied, "I shall be far from consenting to the restoration of a minister who did not allow me sufficient to provide common necessaries."†

In 1732, Alberoni was graciously received by the infant

* Duke of Newcastle to H. Walpole, Jan. 25, 1724-5. Walpole Papers.

† Mr. Keene's Dispatch.——This remark is itself an eulogium on the firm and œconomical spirit of the minister.

Don Carlos, who had just taken possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and was permitted to establish himself in his native city, where he founded and endowed a seminary, at a considerable expence.

During the campaign of 1746 in Italy, his seminary was occupied by the german troops, to favour their attacks on Placentia. He took refuge in the city, and his situation is thus described by a french officer, then in the combined bourbon army, who saw and conversed with him. " He inhabited a single apartment, of which the whole furniture consisted of a bed, a table, and four chairs. Not being able to procure wood, he had cut down an apricot tree, growing in the court yard of the house in which he lived, kindled a fire, and was cooking his scanty dinner with his own hands. He was then eighty, and extremely hearty for his age. His manner was easy and lively. He chiefly engrossed the whole conversation; talked with all the garrulity of old age, and with a spirit rendered more interesting by his communications. He spoke promiscuously the french, italian, or spanish languages, according to the transactions or persons forming the subject of his discourse. He expressed himself in these three languages with equal energy, and supported his reflections by occasional quotations from Tacitus, in the original tongue. The campaigns of Vendome, his own administration in Spain, the affairs of Europe at that period, were the favourite subjects of his conversation; and he was particularly fond of explaining his plan for the establishment of the pretender on the throne of Great Britain. The spanish troops, who defended Placentia, treated cardinal Alberoni with the profoundest veneration. They recollected, with transport, how much Spain owed to his administration, an administration distinguished for the jealousy which united the principal powers of Europe against a man rendered

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formidable by the strength of his genius, the extent of his schemes, and the depth of his views."*

Under the pontificate of Benedict the fourteenth, Alberoni was appointed vice legate of Romagna, and again signalised his restless spirit and fondness for intrigue by attempting to reduce under the see of Rome the petty republic of San Marino. But it was the fate of this singular man to be unfortunate in small as well as in great enterprises. He failed at the moment when he appeared secure of success, in consequence of a sudden burst of the popular enthusiasm for liberty, awakened by the bare word in the office of Mass. This last act of his ambition, which has been not unaptly called an heroic comic parody of his exploits in Spain, excited the indignation and contempt it deserved, and the disavowal of the pope overwhelmed him with confusion.

It was not, however, by petty intrigues, that Alberoni distinguished his vice-legation of Romagna. He cleansed the marshes in the vicinity of Ravenna, confined the torrents Ronco and Moncone, which annually overflowed their banks, and excavated a series of canals to carry off the superfluous waters into the Adriatic. "This great work, not unworthy of the antient Romans," adds the author from whom the account is taken, "formed and executed at the expence of the holy see, and completed under his superintendence, will remain to posterity an illustrious monument of the abilities and talents of cardinal Alberoni."†

* Grosely Observations sur l'Italie, t. 1, p. 183.

† Ibid. t. 1, p. 353.

In drawing up the whole account of the Administration and Character of Alberoni, we have consulted and compared, besides the general histories of St. Philippe, Desormeaux, and Ortiz, la Vie d'Alberoni, supposed to be written by Rousset,—Storia del Cardenale Alberoni, of which the first part is either the original or the translation of the French work, and the second, in addition to an

He survived his fall above thirty years, and died at Rome, in 1752, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

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account of his subsequent adventures, evidently written by a person who knew him, contains his Apologies, and the other curious Documents to which we have referred—an interesting sketch of his Life by Poggiali, in his Memorie Istoriche di Piacenza—the Memoires of Noailles, Polignac, and Villars—Documents and Papers in the Political State and Historical Registers—Correspondence of our Ministers and Envoys; and a late spirited sketch of the Life of Alberoni, by G. Moore, Esq.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1720—1723.

Philip reluctantly accedes to the Quadruple Alliance—Successful expedition against the Moors in Africa—Difficulties with regard to the fulfilment of the Quadruple Alliance—Alliance of Spain with England and France—Negotiations relative to the restoration of Gibraltar—Correspondence on that subject—Double marriages between the families of France and Spain—Increasing difficulties in the negotiation.

CH. XXXI. 1720 | 1723.

IN general, authors imagine that as Alberoni was the sole mover of the war, so he was the only obstacle to the peace, which followed after his dismission. It was, however, on the contrary, a matter of no small difficulty to vanquish the reluctance of Philip to accede to the Quadruple Alliance.* In reply to the first application of the states general, he brought forward demands scarcely less exorbitant than those dictated by Alberoni; and he persisted in these demands, though they renewed their instances, and pressed him to accede before

Jan. 4, 1720.

* Even St. Philippe, though prejudiced against Alberoni, cannot resist the proof drawn from the reluctance of Philip, but candidly observes: "The reluctance testified by the king in accepting the peace, shewed that Alberoni had not acted alone, and by his own will, in the past troubles; and that his master had taken his share with some degree of warmth." T. 4, p. 5.

the expiration of the second term of three months, declaring that any further delay would compel them to join the allies in commencing hostilities.

The application of the republic proving thus ineffectual, the british and french governments again resumed their negotiations. Sir Luke Schaub, the confidential secretary of earl Stanhope, was sent to Madrid, to co-operate with Scotti, while the regent employed the interference of d'Aubenton. Finally, the fear of losing the reversion of the Italian duchies induced the queen to take a share in these solicitations; and by her powerful influence, the reluctance of her husband was with difficulty vanquished. He accordingly announced his accession to the Quadruple Alliance by a royal decree, declaring that he gave peace to Europe at the expence of his own interests as well as of his own possessions and rights.* This act he transmitted to the duke of Orleans, in order to throw the negotiation into his hands, and demanded his assistance for the recovery of Gibraltar, if not Minorca, as a recompense doubly due, from the offer of the king of England, and from the opprobrium which he had incurred among his subjects by the sacrifice of his pretensions and dignity.

Jan. 26, 1720.

In acceding to the Quadruple Alliance, Philip renewed his renunciation of the french crown, and relinquished all claims to the dominions which had been dismembered from the spanish monarchy. He acquiesced also in the transfer of Sicily to the emperor, and of Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and promised to evacuate those islands within the term of six months. In return he was acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies. The eventual succession of Tuscany and Parma was entailed on the issue of the queen, on the condition that those duchies should never be united with

* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 354.

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the crown of Spain; and to secure the possession in failure of issue male to the reigning sovereigns, the fortresses were to be occupied by 6,000 swiss in the pay of the mediating powers. Lastly, the emperor and Philip were bound to a mutual guaranty of their respective possessions.

Delivered by this arrangement from his more immediate embarrassments in Europe, Philip, to make amends for his breach of promise to the pope, as well as to flatter his people, directed his attention to Barbary, that darling theatre of spanish enterprise. Ceuta, the Gibraltar of Africa, and one of the keys of the Mediterranean, had withstood desultory, but continual attacks from the Moors during a blockade of twenty-six years. For the greater part of that period, 100,000 lives had been sacrificed in vain; but the infidels having recently obtained the assistance of European engineers, their approaches were made with skill and regularity, and in a few weeks produced more effect than all the preceding attacks. To save so valuable a possession, and extend the spanish empire in Africa, Philip augmented the army raised for the prosecution of the italian war, and gave such activity to his preparations as revived the alarm of the European powers, who had just witnessed the energy which Spain derived from the vigorous hand of Alberoni. Remonstrances were made in vain from all quarters, till the preparations were perfectly matured, when Philip quieted the public apprehensions by announcing his design to vindicate the honour of his arms in Africa.

Towards the close of 1720, a powerful armament, prepared under the direction of Don Joseph Patiño, the active intendant of the marine, sailed from Cadiz, consisting of 16,000 veterans, under the command of the marquis of Lede. He landed in the beginning of November, and on the 15th in the

morning, marching against the infidels, forced their intrenched camp, took 33 pieces of artillery, and drove them towards Tetuan and Algiers. He repulsed them in two desperate attacks on the 9th and 21st of December, and advanced against Tetuan, with the intention of extending the spanish dominion along the coast as far as Tuniz.

The news of these victories equally gratified the nation and the monarch. Philip presented three standards taken from the infidels, to our lady of Atocha; and sent another to the pope as the grateful homage of the catholic king to the head of the church, and as an earnest of further success. He also for the first time attended the celebration of an *auto de fe*, at which in the commencement of his reign he had refused with horror to appear, and witnessed the barbarous ceremony of committing twelve Jews and Mahometans to the flames.

But either from the difficulty of the enterprise against Tetuan, or, what is still more probable, from the opposition of the british government, which was jealous lest the progress of the spaniards in Africa should straiten the transport of supplies to the garrison of Gibraltar, Philip recalled his victorious troops, and the marquis of Lede closed his operations with repairing the works, and reinforcing the garrison of Ceuta. March 21. In retaliation for this attack, the Moors prepared to pour their predatory hordes on the coast of Andalusia; but the armament being dispersed by a storm, Spain was happily delivered from the scourge of a new moorish invasion.*

After this short but successful display of spanish enterprise against the natural enemies of the nation, the views of Philip were again directed to the negotiation which he had already commenced with the European powers.

* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 44—53.——Ortiz, t. 7, lib. 23, c. 8.

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According to appearances the accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance completed the arrangements left imperfect at the peace of Utrecht. But the two sovereigns, for whose reconciliation it had been principally framed, were too much irritated against each other to relinquish their contrary claims without a further struggle; and it would be difficult to decide whether the emperor or Philip was most dissatisfied with the treaty which had been forced upon them.

Philip, however, performed his part of the agreement, though unwillingly, with good faith and punctuality. For within the July. stipulated term, he recalled his troops from Sicily, surrendered Sardinia to Victor Amadeus, and nominated the count of San Estevan and the marquis of Beretti Landi his plenipotentiaries at the intended congress of Cambray. The emperor, on the contrary, had no sooner secured Sicily, which was the price of his accession, than he endeavoured to prevent the transfer of Tuscany and Parma to a prince of the rival House of Bourbon. Without formally refusing his acquiescence, he encouraged other powers to start various claims and raise numerous obstacles to the intended cession. The duke of Parma disguised his reluctance to the nomination of a successor during his own life, under the pretence of an unwillingness to admit the imperial jurisdiction in his territories; the pope claimed Parma as a fief of the holy see; the great duke of Tuscany resented the transfer of his duchy to a spanish prince, as a violation of the rights of his sister the electress Palatine. Of all these objections the emperor availed himself with consummate address.

While the emperor was starting endless objections, and while his ministers were catching at every pretext for prevarication and delay, a new change took place in the disposition of

the other powers united by the Quadruple Alliance. Disputes arose between the emperor, England, and Holland, relative to the commerce of the Netherlands; while his reluctance to complete the peace, and his disputes with the king of England as elector of Hanover, extinguished that zeal with which the British cabinet had hitherto espoused his interests. The Bourbon courts united to turn this schism to their common advantage. Favoured by the interest of the regent, Philip gained the support of the maritime powers; and with a secrecy and celerity which confounded the court of Vienna, concluded an alliance with France and England, calculated to give effect to his pretensions. CH. XXXI. 1720 | 1723.

The prelude to this arrangement was a separate convention with England. All former treaties were renewed, particularly the two recent conventions, for the revocation of the explanatory articles in the treaty of Utrecht, and the establishment of the Asiento. The effects of individuals seized or confiscated in the late contest were to be mutually restored; and the king of England made a tacit concession to the punctilious spirit of the spanish court by engaging to give back the ships captured by Byng, and to pay the value of those which had been broken up or sold. June 13, 1721.

This treaty was the preliminary to the defensive alliance with France and England, signed on the same day. The contracting parties guarantied their respective dominions according to the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and London, confirmed the Quadruple Alliance, and bound themselves to give effect to the arrangements which should be made at Cambray for terminating the dispute between the emperor and the king of Spain. An article was also introduced for the protection of the duke of Parma in his rights and possessions; and the

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maintenance of his dignity. To this treaty the states general were invited to accede.

But it was easier to arrange this complicated scheme on paper, than to carry it into execution. The emperor, unwilling totally to relinquish the title of king of Spain, insisted that the renunciation of the dismembered provinces made by Philip, should be ratified by the cortes, an assembly which he was well aware no king of Spain would willingly convoke. On the other hand, Philip as strenuously insisted that the renunciation of the emperor should be confirmed by the germanic diet, whose interference was scarcely less offensive to the head of the empire. England and France interposed to vanquish these objections, and at length the mutual exchange of the ratifications took place at London.

Sept. 27, 1721.

This difficulty was scarcely obviated, before another arose from the formation of a commercial company at Ostend, to trade to the Indies, which had been recently established by the emperor, in resentment for the shackles imposed on him by the barrier treaty. Such a design being equally hostile to the interests and views of Philip, and to those of the maritime powers, all joined in opposing it as a direct infraction of the conditions on which the emperor had received the Netherlands.

Dec. 1722.

An additional obstacle to the conclusion of this long pending dispute was derived from the difficulty of satisfying the king of Spain, with regard to the means of securing the eventual succession of Tuscany and Parma; because he insisted on spanish, instead of swiss garrisons, and required a form of investiture which amounted to a virtual emancipation from all feudal dependance on the empire.*

* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 84, 94.——History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 8.——State Papers, and other documents, in Rousset and other collections. ——Koch's Traités de Paix, t. 2, p. 12, 16.

But the principal source of difficulty was the interminable discussion relative to Gibraltar and Minorca. Philip was too jealous of his honour to submit with patience to the establishment of a foreign dominion on his own shores, and displayed his anxiety to recover these possessions by calling them the *thorns in his feet.* During the negotiations between Spain and the emperor, under the administration of earl Stanhope, George the first had authorised the regent to offer the restoration of Gibraltar, provided Spain would accept the terms of accommodation then proposed. This offer was verbally renewed by earl Stanhope himself, in his mission to Madrid,* but in vain; and the hostilities which ensued naturally annulled the engagement. However, in the subsequent negotiations, the regent, without express authority from the british court, again tendered this tempting bait, to facilitate an accommodation, and with more effect than before. The Quadruple Alliance was concluded without any public reference to this subject; but, in announcing his accession, Philip demanded the expected recompense, as well in virtue of the promise made by the regent, as of his own private declaration, that he had accepted the treaty solely on that condition. 1718.

Accordingly the regent warmly seconded the demand of Philip at the court of England. From a desire to gratify him, or at least from an apprehension of impeding the negotiation at so critical a period, the king of England sounded the disposition of his ministry, who had recently received an accession of strength by the junction of Townshend, Walpole, and many of the seceding whigs. The proposal was supported by Stanhope; but the consent of his new colleagues to submit

* Letter from Mr. Stanhope to Mr. Walpole, Oct. 11, 1725. Walpole Papers.

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the question to the parliament, could not be obtained except on the condition of an equivalent. The attempt was made; and the bare insinuation created such general indignation and alarm, that representations were sent to convince the regent of its total impracticability.

Earl Stanhope, in a letter to sir Luke Schaub, gives an account of these transactions, which shews the embarrassment of the government.

March 28. 1720.

"We have made a motion in parliament relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, to pass a bill, for the purpose of leaving to the king the power of disposing of that fortress for the advantage of his subjects. You cannot imagine the ferment which the proposal produced. The public was roused with indignation, on the simple suspicion that, at the close of a successful war, so unjustly begun by cardinal Alberoni, we should cede that fortress. One circumstance greatly contributed to excite the general indignation, namely, a report insinuated by the opposition, that the king had entered into a formal engagement to restore Gibraltar, which was deemed a sufficient ground to attack the minister. Many libels have been published to alarm the nation, and to excite them rather to continue the war, than cede a fortress of such importance. We were accordingly compelled to yield to the torrent, and to adopt the wise resolution of withdrawing the motion; because, if it had been pressed, it would have produced a contrary effect to what is designed, and would perhaps have ended in a bill which might for ever have tied up the king's hands. Such being the real state of this business, you will endeavour to explain to the court of Madrid, that if the king of Spain should ever wish, at some future day, to treat concerning the cession of Gibraltar, the only method of succeeding would be to drop the subject at present. We are much concerned that France should have in-

terfered on this occasion; the extreme eagerness which she testified was of great detriment. Some letters and memorials on that subject seemed even to threaten a rupture. The alarm was indeed so strong, that people began to suspect France was meditating a change of system, and made Gibraltar a pretext to adopt other measures. The little alacrity she discovered in hastening the evacuations,* her profound silence in regard to her negotiation with Spain, and the extraordinary language held by some persons in high estimation here, seemed to confirm those opinions, and was the cause of my coming to Paris."†

Notwithstanding this unequivocal expression of the public sentiment, the importunities of the regent prevented the king of England from giving a decisive refusal. The subject was referred to the congress of Cambray, and in the mean time, new efforts were employed to gain the nation and parliament, by holding forth the prospect of acquiring Florida, or the spanish part of St. Domingo, as an equivalent, with the grant of additional commercial advantages. This proposal was even approved by the cabinet council, and a letter written by the king to Philip, announcing his willingness to cede Gibraltar on the condition of such an equivalent.

Philip, who had been buoyed up with the prospect of an unconditional restoration; who hoped to flatter the pride of the nation by this darling acquisition; and who was as unwilling to give the English a footing in America, as to tolerate them in Spain, contemptuously rejected the proposal, and insisted that the promise was absolute and positive. The necessity of conciliating him, and the dread of a closer union between

* Of Fuenterrabia and the other Spanish posts occupied by the French in the late contest.

† Earl Stanhope to Sir Luke Schaub. Paris, March 28, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.

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Spain and France, extorted from the king a letter calculated to flatter his hopes, without implying an additional obligation. "Since," he observes, "by the confidence your majesty expresses towards me, I may now look upon the treaties depending between us as re-established, and that, conformably thereunto, the acts necessary for the commerce of my subjects will have been delivered, I no longer hesitate to assure your majesty of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to your demand relating to the restitution of Gibraltar, promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this matter with the consent of my parliament.*"

Philip, mistaking, or affecting to mistake this offer as unconditional, accepted it, and acceded to the peace.†

This arrangement gave rise to a long and active correspondence. Among the numerous letters which passed on the occasion, we select one from Mr. Stanhope, british envoy at Madrid, to sir Luke Schaub, as exhibiting the nature of the question in the most distinct point of view, and as throwing considerable light on the character of Philip, the state of his ministry, and the principles of his government.

Jan. 18. "I believe you will not be surprised if the accounts I shall give you from hence of public affairs, should not be more pleasing than those you sent me from England, knowing so perfectly well as you do, the natural obstinacy of the king of Spain's temper, and the arguments he has always persisted in alleging

* Translation of a Letter from George I. to Philip V. St. James's, June 1, 1721. Walpole Papers.

† This part of the narrative is principally drawn from the diplomatic correspondence of Earl Stanhope, Mr. Stanhope, Sir Luke Schaub, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Sutton, British ministers or agents at Madrid, Paris, and London. Also from the Correspondence between the King of England, the Regent, and Du Bois. See also the Narrative of this negotiation, in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 34.

for the restitution of Gibraltar, which, though certainly of no force in themselves, nevertheless continue to have their weight with him. To this may be added, that, as he thinks himself obliged in honour not to desist, having often publicly assured the Spaniards that it should be given up, so his conscience also tells him, he ought to neglect nothing in his power to remove from his dominions such an heretical settlement.

" Not to take up too much of your time, I will, in as short a manner as I can, acquaint you with the steps I took upon the receipt of your letter of the 18th of November, which came to my hand but the 6th instant, with every thing that has passed here since that time.

" In the first place, I delivered your two letters to the marquis Scotti. He gave me the strongest assurances of doing his utmost, with the greatest sincerity, to bring the king of Spain to comply with what the king our master desired, which he, Scotti, acknowledged to be so just in itself, and advantageous, and even so necessary for Spain, that, notwithstanding the invincible obstinacy of the king hitherto, he had still very great hopes of success. In short, he said so much to encourage me, that, had I known him or the king less, I should not have been in any pain for the event.

" Upon leaving M. Scotti, I went to the marquis de Grimaldo, to whom, in a very long conference, I represented in the best manner I was able, the justice of what I was charged with. At last, he told me that it was not necessary to use many arguments to convince him of the reasonableness of what the king our master demands in relation to Gibraltar. He assured me, in the greatest confidence, that he was of the same opinion with me upon that head; and that the difficulties encountered here, were not owing to him, or any other of the ministers, but proceeded solely from the king himself, whom he had never

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seen, since he had the honour to serve him, so immoveable upon any point, or have any thing so much at heart as he has the restitution of Gibraltar. He therefore could do nothing more than state what I had said to him, without taking upon him to persuade the king to alter his resolution, but desired I would ask an audience, wherein I might represent the reasons I had to offer with a greater liberty and force than it was fitting for him to do. Some hours after he sent me word the king would see me the next morning at the Palace.

"Accordingly I went thither, and had the honour of an audience of the king alone, for three quarters of an hour. I shall not trouble you with the account of what I represented, which would be only to repeat the substance of your own letter, and my former instructions. The king in answer began by expressing how sensible he was of the proofs the king our master had given him of his regard and friendship, by the orders sent to commodore Stewart, and the offer of still more ships to serve against the Moors, which he said he would gladly accept, if he found he had occasion for them. On his part he would take every opportunity of shewing his gratitude; and desired me to assure his majesty, that he wished for nothing more earnestly than to live always in the most intimate friendship with him. For that purpose he was willing and desirous to enter into the strictest alliances, which he looked upon as not only advantageous to both their dominions, but even necessary for the safety of Europe; otherwise he was persuaded the emperor would make himself master of all Italy this year. He afterwards demanded upon what terms the king our master would enter upon a treaty with him? I answered, nothing more was demanded from his majesty at present, but the confirmation of all the treaties subsisting at the time of the rupture, and which were actually confirmed by the Quadruple Alliance,

and by the treaty of armistice, and that for what related to Gibraltar and the equivalent, they should be reserved till a more favourable opportunity.

As to the first part, the king made no objection, but as to the last, he repeated all the arguments you have heard him make use of for the immediate restitution, and particularly his acceding to the Quadruple Alliance upon that account, as a condition *sine qua non*, which he at the same time declared to the regent, and had his positive assurances, that it would be complied with. And as to the parliament, he said, if it was reasonable to believe, that they would have consented to part with that place two years ago, to prevent a war, he did not understand why the same arguments should not still prevail upon them. That if they would not now hear of parting with Gibraltar for the sake of peace, and the restoring of their commerce, he could not imagine they would be ever prevailed upon to do it when those reasons should subsist no longer. I endeavoured to shew the impossibility of complying with what he demanded, from the present situation of affairs in England, and temper of the parliament, and to show that to press it now, was to lose it for ever. At last the king said he would consider upon what I had represented to him, and order Grimaldo to give me his determination upon it in writing, in two or three days.

Whilst the answer was depending, I saw both Scotti and Grimaldo every day, and was always flattered by the first, and not altogether discouraged by the latter. At length, I received the inclosed paper from Grimaldo. Before you read it, I desire to premise to you that the expressions in it are different from what they ought to be, in relation to the former pretended promise of Gibraltar, and also to his majesty's present dispositions to restore it for an equivalent, whenever it shall

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be practicable, of which equivalent no mention is therein made. This matter I have explained to the ministers here, who readily agreed with me, that it ought to have been otherwise expressed. I must also tell you that the several demands at the latter end are not supposed to be insisted on by way of treaty; but only to explain what the king of Spain would wish his majesty to comply with. You will readily believe, that I could not look upon this answer otherwise than as a fresh declaration of the king of Spain's persisting obstinately in his former resolution, though Scotti and Grimaldo endeavoured to represent it to me as a very great condescension. But it was easy to prove to them that the very same difficulties which tied up the king's hands from giving Gibraltar at present, equally subsisted to his engaging absolutely to the doing of it a year hence; that the alternative of annulling the asiento was nothing, it being even more impossible to be contracted for, as being already disposed of by parliament to the South Sea Company.

"As to the several things requested in the same paper, I would not enter so much upon them till the first point should be settled, and contented myself with saying in general, that the king, our master, was desirous to give his catholic majesty all imaginable proofs of his friendship, in whatever was not contrary to the treaties already entered into, but it could not be expected he would act in violation of them. I assure you, Sir, that since this answer, I have neglected nothing in my power to obtain a more agreeable one, by applying to all the ministers here, Scotti, Grimaldo, the confessor, and Don Andres de Pez,* who all assure me they desire the same thing, and say that they find two obstacles, which render the king so positive upon this point: the having so often publicly declared

* President of the council of Indies.

to the spaniards, that Gibraltar should be restored, and the fixed opinion he holds that the parliament of England will be brought to consent for the sake of their commerce, provided they think him immovable in his resolution. They all assure me they will do their utmost to accommodate this affair, and particularly the confessor, who the other day promised me to speak to the king upon it. But having lately received a letter from Grimaldo, wherein he tells me that the king is still unalterable, I thought it proper to send back the courier with the state of the matter as it now stands, and in case of any alteration, design immediately to dispatch another. It is very unfortunate that our hands are tied as to Gibraltar, so as not to take advantage of this immoderate desire the king of Spain has to obtain it; for were it otherwise, notwithstanding the pretended promise of it, I am fully persuaded we might yet sell it for double its worth in advantages to our commerce.

"I now come to that part of your letter wherein you say it was to be wished that the court of Spain could be induced to give up to us la Florida, or that part of Hispaniola they still are in possession of, as an equivalent for Gibraltar. In answer to which I shall plainly confess to you, that from the best lights it has been possible for me to get of the dispositions of the people in general here, and particularly of those in power, such a proposition will meet with infinite, if not insurmountable difficulties. The confidence and intimacy with which I have always lived with Don Andres de Pez, occasion my foreseeing those difficulties plainer than I otherwise should have done. For during all the time that I have known him, he has seemed to have nothing more zealously at heart, than to drive the french from their settlements on the Mississippi, upon this general principle that the suffering of any foreigners to establish themselves in any part of the spanish West Indies would

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sooner or later occasion the loss of the whole to Spain. And as you will have seen by my former letters that by this late change in the ministry, the affairs of the Indies are wholly in his hands, (he being president and secretary of state for the Indies and the Marine,) nothing can be hoped for in opposition to his sentiments. Though he most certainly is extremely well disposed to favour his majesty's subjects in their commerce, and to cultivate a good correspondence between the two nations; yet in a point of this consequence, and so contrary to all his maxims, I doubt we cannot flatter ourselves much from his good intentions. I have already talked to him two or three times upon this subject, not as to a minister, but upon that familiar footing, which we have used to converse together, and always found him as immoveable upon that head as the king of Spain is upon Gibraltar. He is not only convinced that it is impossible ever to persuade the spaniards to approve of such a proposal, but would endeavour to prove to me, that we do not know what we ask in demanding either of those places. He assures me upon his own knowledge, that they would be a charge and no ways profitable, being barren and scarce productive, even to subsist the inhabitants, and that we should soon be as tired of them as we were of Tangier; and for the same reasons, as entailing a continual war upon the nation, with the indians and spaniards settled there. That therefore we could propose no other advantages by them, but the hopes of penetrating by their means toward the mines, or carrying on a clandestine trade, either of which is a reason strong enough to hinder the spaniards from ever coming into such a project.

"It is certainly very necessary to proceed with the caution you intimate to me in addressing Scotti, so as not to give any jealousy to Grimaldo, and I can assure you that Scotti

himself is as careful and fearful upon that head as we can possibly be. However, after keeping your public letter two or three days by him, in order to let Grimaldo be the first to open the matter to the king, he ventured to produce it to both their majesties, who extremely approved the manner of your writing, though not the matter you write about. Scotti's present situation is something different from what it was when you left us. Although he sees the king and queen as much and as often as ever he did, and with the same privilege of entering at all hours, without being sent for, I am however fully persuaded that he seldom takes upon him the office of a minister, so as to propose matters from himself, directly, by way of advice; but that as occasions offer in conversation, he is still able to do great service. The intimacy I have with him will not let me judge otherwise; for though there hardly ever passes a day that we are not together some hours, we never once parted without his requesting me with great earnestness not to intimate to any person that we ever talk of public affairs, but more especially to Grimaldo and the confessor, whereas the first never mentions Scotti's name to me."*

We spare the reader any further documents, however interesting, on this important subject; and particularly as we shall afterwards frequently recur to it, as one of the principal causes of our perpetual disputes with Spain.

* William Stanhope to sir Luke Schaub, Madrid, Jan. 18, 1721. Hardwicke Papers

CHAPTER XXXII.

1721—1723.

Reconciliation of Philip with the Regent Duke of Orleans—Double Marriages between the two Branches of the House of Bourbon—New Difficulties in arranging the accommodation with the Emperor—Opening of the Congress of Cambray—Habits and monotonous Life of Philip and his Queen—State of the Court and Administration after the removal of Alberoni—Temporary Favour of Scotti, d'Aubenton, Tolosa, and Mirabal—Rise and Character of Grimaldo.

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IN the midst of these transactions, a more intimate connection took place between France and Spain, by an arrangement between Philip and the regent, which favoured the views of both, and suspended their political rivalry. The regent appreciating the strength of the party attached to the antient maxims of state, adopted the only expedient proper to weaken their opposition, by entering into a family alliance with Philip. On the other hand, the king of Spain concurred in the design as the means of re-establishing the union between the two bourbon crowns, without awakening the jealousy of England.

It is equally uncertain and immaterial, where or how the proposal originated; but, about the time of Philip's accession to the Quadruple Alliance, negotiations were commenced for

a marriage between Louis, prince of Asturias, the eldest son of Philip by his first wife, and Louisa Isabella, a daughter of the regent; and between Louis the fifteenth, and the infanta, Mary Anne, a daughter of Elizabeth Farnese. The arrangement was concluded by the agency of the duke of St. Simon, the confidential friend of the regent, who was deputed for the purpose to Madrid. As the infanta was only in her fifth year, the consummation of her marriage was so distant and uncertain an event, as to flatter the views both of Philip and the regent on the crown; and if the match should really take place, the ambition of the catholic sovereigns would still be gratified by the elevation of their daughter to the throne of France.*

The marriage of Don Louis with Louisa Isabella of Orleans, allayed the personal animosity which had aggravated the disputes between the two nations. But it is a singular instance of the spiritual bondage to which Philip was reduced, to observe that the regent was compelled to purchase the approbation and support of d'Aubenton,† by gratifying him with the reappointment of a jesuit confessor to the king, in the room of the venerable abbot Fleury, and with the reception of the Bull *Unigenitus* in France, which gave his order the victory over their rivals the jansenists.‡

* Villars, who divined the views of the Regent, paid him this ironical compliment. "Permit me to hail you, Sire, as the most adroit Prince on earth. Richelieu and Mazarin, those great politicians, never conceived so grand a design. The Prince of Asturias being fourteen, and mademoiselle de Montpensier, ten on the 10th of Dec. 1721, promise a far more numerous issue, than we may expect from the infanta." Mem. de Villars, t. 2, p. 544.

† Memoires de Noailles, t. 5, p. 126.

St. Simon and Duclos affect to deny the interference of the Confessor, by asserting that the King of Spain never made the proposal, because it did not

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The king and queen themselves conducted the infanta to Burgos, where they waited to receive the future princess of Asturias. Bull-feasts, and every species of public rejoicing, announced the satisfaction of the sovereigns; but the match was far from being equally grateful to a nation, who, priding themselves on the purity of their blood, were averse to see a natural descendent of Louis the fourteenth selected to share their throne.*

Encouraged, if not urged, by the counsels of the regent, Philip endeavoured to lure the cupidity of the maritime powers, while he continually raised his demands on the emperor. Not satisfied with the renunciation of the title of king of Spain, he now required the cession of all the dependent titles and honours, and particularly the grand mastership of the golden fleece, with the treasure and archives of the order. He also insisted that an immediate arrangement should be concluded for placing spanish, instead of swiss garrisons, in the fortresses of Tuscany and Parma, and that the pretensions of the duke of Parma should not be judged at a diet of the empire, but at a congress of all the european powers. As if in actual possession, he demanded an arrangement of the boundaries between the Milanese and the Parmesan, and the transfer of certain towns, which facilitated the trade of Tuscany, from the adherents of the House of Austria to his own dependents. To counterbalance the imperial authority, he also insisted that the states of Mantua, Mirandola, Montferrat, and Sabionetta, with other imperial fiefs, should be restored to their original proprietors, and Italy replaced in the same situation as before the war of the succession.

pass through the hands of St. Simon, then French embassador at Madrid; but the fact was, that d'Aubenton, finding St. Simon unwilling to charge himself with the proposition, obtained the aequiescence of the Regent, by the agency of his favourite du Bois. St. Simon, t. 8, c. 4.——Duclos, t. 2, p. 186, 192.

* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 92

These extravagant demands, however, were not relished by the maritime powers, and therefore were peremptorily rejected by the emperor. On his part, he likewise embarrassed the negotiation by requiring the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction for the entail of his hereditary dominions on his own daughters, in preference to those of his deceased brother Joseph, or any other pretenders, to his succession, as a recompence for fulfilling the conditions of the Quadruple Alliance.

When so many jarring pretensions existed, and when the slightest movement on one hand was sufficient to awaken alarms on the other, the progress towards a reconciliation was frequently suspended, and the difficulty was also increased by the discordant interests of the mediating powers themselves. The accommodation between France and Spain, however imperfect, had produced an immediate return towards the former system of policy. The regent, as anxious to gratify Philip as to humble the House of Austria, supported many of his demands, though contrary to the stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance, and strenuously opposed the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. On the other hand, the king of England overlooked many causes of personal dissatisfaction with the emperor, favoured his designs for the establishment of his succession, and was chiefly solicitous to obtain from him the investiture of Bremen and Verden, and the abolition of the Ostend company.

Such discordant views naturally produced endless chicanes and delays. Although the plenipotentiaries of the different powers had all appeared at Cambray in the middle of the year 1722, the congress was not formally opened till 1724, and the interval was spent in questions of ceremonial, and in obtaining from the emperor letters of investiture, for the italian duchies, according to the form required by Spain. At this

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juncture, however, all negotiations were again suspended by the sudden abdication of Philip.*

St. Simon, whose post of family embassador entitled him to the privilege of a frequent intercourse with the sovereigns, and whose fondness for anecdote renders his pages peculiarly rich in those minute, but often important, circumstances, which escape the cursory observer, has recorded the invariable detail of the daily occurrences in the life of Philip and his queen, at this particular period. As the personal habits and dispositions of sovereigns so essentially influence the fate of nations more particularly in governments approximating to a despotic form, we present the description of St. Simon to the reader, as a picture unique in its kind, and as furnishing one clue to the many singular changes, and extraordinary events, which mark the reign of Philip.

"At nine in the morning the *assa feta*, or first woman of the bed chamber, drew aside the curtains, followed by a french valet, who carried a restorative cordial, composed of broth, milk, wine, two yolks of eggs, sugar, cinnamon, and cloves. While the king was drinking this cordial, the *assa feta* brought the queen some tapestry, or other work; and, having placed upon the bed some of the papers which lay on the chairs, retired with the valet. Their majesties then said their morning prayers. The prime minister, when there was one, or the secretary of state, then made his appearance, and transacted the necessary business; while the queen's employment did not prevent her from giving her opinion. The minister retiring, the *assa feta* brought the king his night gown and slippers, and his majesty passed into his dressing room, where he was assisted by three french valets, and two spanish noblemen of his

* St. Philippe, t. 4, passim.——Rousset, t. 2, passim.——History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 8.

household. Being quickly dressed, he passed a quarter of an hour alone with his confessor, and then repaired to the queen's toilette. CH. XXXII. 1721 | 1723.

"On the king's retiring to his dressing room, the queen rose from bed, attended only by the *assa feta*, and these were almost the only few minutes in the four and twenty hours which she could call her own, and converse on confidential business unknown to the king. Hence the consequence and power of the *assa feta*, who was always a person in the highest confidence; and the importance of these precious moments when the queen could receive or return any message or letter. But as this time seldom exceeded half a quarter of an hour, without giving umbrage to the king, it is easy to imagine with what apprehensions letters or messages were received and returned, or with what precipitation the political conference was closed. The queen then repaired to her toilette, which was attended by the king, accompanied by two or three principal officers of his household, the infants, and their governors.

"At the conclusion of the toilette, their majesties repaired to the drawing room, to receive foreign ministers, and those grandees, who requested a private audience. When any one was introduced, the queen affected to retire to the other end of the apartment; but the persons who came to be presented, well aware that the king related to her every thing which passed, and that she would be offended if a secret was attempted to be kept from her, always intreated her majesty to approach, or spoke sufficiently loud to be heard, if she persisted in keeping aloof. In all cases, however, Philip never gave an answer to any business of importance without having first consulted the queen in private, or without asking her opinion at the time of audience.

"After the audience, the king and queen heard mass, and

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sat down to dinner at twelve, where no one was admitted but those who had been present at her majesty's toilette. The king and queen had each their particular dishes. The queen, who loved eating, a great many; the king few, and these always the same; such as soup, fowls, boiled pigeons, and a roast loin of veal; neither fruit, sallad, nor cheese, and rarely any pastry. He never confined himself to maigre, but was particularly fond of eggs, as well raw as dressed in different ways. They both drank champaigne. After dinner they said their prayers, saw the minister, if he had any particular business to transact, mounted in a carriage together to take the diversion of shooting, which, though the only amusement of the king, was no less dull and melancholy than the rest of his life. A number of peasants, forming a large circle, forced the game into a particular spot, while the king and queen, stationed in an avenue, shot promiscuously at stags, wild boars, hares, and foxes, as they were driven along before them. In returning from shooting, they took a collation; the king, biscuits or bread, with wine and water; the queen, pastry, fruits, and cheese. Then they received the infants, and infantas, for about a quarter of an hour, and afterwards transacted business with the minister or secretary of state.

"This was the time in which the queen confessed once a week. She retired with the confessor into a cabinet adjoining, and if the king thought the confession too long, he would open the door and call her. The minister entering, they again said their prayers, or read some book of devotion till supper, which was exactly the same as the dinner. After supper, conversation or prayers *tête à tête* till they retired to rest.

"Once a week, when a public audience was given, and at Madrid always when the council of Castile was assembled, the queen was able to receive any person of confidence unknown

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to the king; and it was in these conferences, and by means of the *ossa ficta*, that she deliberated on the dismission and appointment of prime ministers, and on the best means of obtaining the king's compliance with any political business to which he appeared averse."*

Such being the invariable habits and disposition of the sovereign, it is easy to conceive the confusion and imbecility derived from the rupture of the master spring which had given energy to every department of government, and of the sudden relapse from a state of the utmost activity, to an almost total stagnation of business.

The king, in imitation of Louis the fourteenth, affected to be his own minister, and to conduct the business of state according to the antient forms of the national administration. But after a temporary struggle with a load to which his strength was unequal, he gradually sunk into his habitual melancholy, and, without delivering the reins to a more able hand, evaded the avocations of the kingly office, by secluding himself within the apartments of the palace.

The queen, whose agency was now doubly necessary to sway the indecisive mind of her husband, was alarmed by the odium which was attached to the italian government, and declining, or affecting to decline business openly, interfered only in matters which regarded her own personal interests, or those of her family.

This species of interregnum, however, opened a field to various competitors for political power.

The marquis Scotti succeeded for a short period to the favour of the minister, in whose disgrace he was the principal agent. But though enjoying all the advantages of his countryman, in the privilege of an intimate and familiar intercourse

* St. Simon, t. 4, p. 183—201.

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with the sovereigns, he wanted talents and spirit to seize the helm of state; and, after figuring a few months in the sunshine of royal favour, sunk into his native insignificance, owing the remnant of his remaining credit to the support of his obscure protectress, Laura Piscatori.*

Father d'Aubenton, whose spirit of intrigue was not damped by age, and who was neither deficient in talents or address, soon overbalanced the weight of Scotti. Being hourly necessary to administer spiritual consolation to the desponding mind of Philip, he at one period attained so great a portion of influence, that he is not without reason designated as the real prime minister. But his career was terminated by that hand which arrests all human ambition. He died (for the death of such a man forms an epoch in the History of Spain) on the 7th of August 1724, in the house of the jesuits at Madrid, whither he had been transported in his last moments. His place, though not his loss, was supplied by father Bermudez, a spanish jesuit, who was far his inferior both in talents and experience, and who wanted that authority which long habit no less than his ghostly office had given him over the mind of the monarch.†

Don Michael Fernandez Duran, marquis of Tolosa, who was introduced into office by Alberoni, had acquired considerable credit during his administration, and had the good fortune or dexterity to avoid being involved in his disgrace. The privileges of his office as secretary of war and the marine, gave him frequent access to the royal presence; but his rising influence drew on him the common attacks of all the pretenders to court favour. The jealousy which Philip fostered against all the dependents of Alberoni was called into action, and

* Mr. Stanhope's Dispatch in the preceding chapter.

† St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 127.

Tolosa, under the accusation of being implicated in a fraudulent contract for supplying the African army with provisions, was deprived of his offices. He soon fell a victim to the chagrin occasioned by his disgrace.* CH. XXXII. 1721 | 1723.

Another person who to an ostensible place in the administration united a share of the royal confidence, was Don Andres de Pez, president of the council of Indies. He was distinguished for his probity; but having grown grey in the routine of business, he was deeply imbued with the prejudices of his country and his station.† On the disgrace of Tolosa, he received the secretaryship of the marine; but did not long survive to enjoy this accession of power.

The marquis of Castellar, who succeeded Tolosa in the secretaryship of war, and his brother Don Joseph Patiño, the able intendant of the marine, were both men of distinguished talents and secretly favoured by the queen. At this juncture however, their credit was of too recent a date, to enable them to emerge from a subordinate station.

The other members of administration were little more than cyphers, and the antient forms of the government, which had been first superseded by the policy of Orri and Alberoni, had been gradually suffered to moulder away by the indolence or jealousy of the monarch himself. Of the council of state, which once united the persons most distinguished for rank, merits, or services, in the whole compass of the monarchy, only three members remained; the presidency of the council of orders was left vacant by the recent death of the marquis of Bedmar; and after the death of Don Andres de Pez, no nomination was made to the ministries of war and the marine, or the presidency of the Indies. The marquis of Campo Florido,

* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 60.

† Mr. Dodington and Mr. Stanhope's Dispatches.

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head of the finances, was reduced to a mere cypher by his declining health, and the marquis of Mirabel, president of Castile possessed more personal than official authority.*

The person for whom accident rather than design had thus opened the way to the highest place in the administration, was the marquis of Grimaldo, a native of Biscay, who from his early years had been trained to the business of state. Originally a clerk under Orri, he gained the favour of his employer as well as that of the princess Orsini, and in 1704, he first emerged to notice as secretary of the Indies and war. Pleasing in his manners, diligent in the transaction of business, and uniting a dexterous flexibility of character with the exterior of candour and sincerity, he speedily acquired the esteem of Philip, who was flattered by the appearance of deference to his opinion, and affection to his person. Grimaldo, however, employed his favour so discreetly, that after the return of the princess to power, he did not incur her jealousy; and amidst all the subsequent revolutions still continued attached to the court. By the arrangements of Orri, he was confined to the department of foreign affairs; but his gratitude and devotion still preserved the esteem of his early patron. As he continued to gain additional favour with the king, the disgrace of Orri opened the way for his further advancement; and after the second marriage, he added to his original office, the important post of private secretary to the new queen. He gained great merit by the prudence with which he settled the contest with the inquisition; and though he suffered a temporary eclipse under Alberoni, yet he was never excluded from office, nor lost the royal favour. On the disgrace of Alberoni, he found rivals in Scotti and d'Aubenton; but his own prudence and diligence, joined to the death of his most dangerous competitor,

* St. Philippe, t. 4, passim.

soon left him the entire ascendancy. He was, however, far better adapted for a subordinate than a superior station, and ill calculated to receive the reins of government from the vigorous hand of Alberoni. He was greatly deficient in information, firmness of character, and vigour of intellect, and in addition to these radical defects, was already labouring under the disadvantages and infirmities of advanced age.

At this juncture, he was appointed a counsellor of state, and as secretary for foreign affairs, being almost the sole organ of the royal will, he was regarded as the prime minister in functions, though not in name. His honours were not, however, without some alloy. Though hitherto favoured by the queen, he soon incurred that jealousy which she invariably conceived against all who appeared to acquire an ascendancy over the mind of the king. His manifest devotion to England exposed him to all the hostilities of the french partisans, and in particular he found a formidable rival in his brother secretary, the marquis of Castelar. Conscious of his own deficiency, sinking under the weight of business, which daily accumulated, unable to draw assistance from the dilapidated remnant of the national administration, or to rouse the attention of the monarch, he endeavoured to lessen the heavy responsibility of his situation by recommending the admission of the prince of Asturias into the cabinet council. His suggestion was too popular to be rejected, and the prince justified the recommendation by displaying an intelligence and capacity above his age. But, after a short period, the expedient was rendered abortive, by the arts of the queen, and the restlessness of the king himself, who, by hurrying from residence to residence, while the prince remained at the Escorial, virtually excluded him from any real share in the current affairs.

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Such was the state of the king and government, when a new and singular revolution took place in the ever changeable court of Madrid.*

* St. Philippe, t. 1, 2 and 3, passim.—t. 4, p. 60—112.——Dodington's and Stanhope's Dispatches.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 368.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1724.

Construction of the royal residence of St. Ildefonso—Abdication of Philip—Acts and formalities on the occasion—Conjectures relative to the causes of this extraordinary event.

FROM different causes, Philip seems to have long meditated the abdication of his crown; and like a second Dioclesian selected a splendid retreat,* in which he might enjoy the power and advantages, without the trammels of royalty. This retreat was his favourite village of Balsain, where he had expended no less than six millions in the construction of the palace of St. Ildefonso, which in memory of the magnificent pile raised by Louis the fourteenth, he called his little Versailles.

* The abdication and retreat of Philip have been absurdly compared to those of his predecessor Charles the fifth; but without the least degree of resemblance except in the mere fact of abdication. Charles did not relinquish the reins of government till after a long, active, and glorious reign; and when he retired he adopted the life of an anchorite, banishing public affairs even from his thoughts. But Philip descended from the throne in the prime of life, maintained the state of a monarch even in his retreat; took an active share in political affairs, and besides looking forward to a more splendid crown than he had quitted, never abandoned the reins of government.

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It lies on the north of the ridge of mountains which crosses the center of Spain, and on the opposite side of which stands the more proud but gloomy pile of the Escorial, built by Philip the second, in the midst of barren heights, and exposed in summer to all the ardour of the most sultry climate in Europe. To this residence, St. Ildefonso, the favourite retreat of Philip, forms a grateful and striking contrast. Situated in the deepest recess of a narrow valley, accessible only to the north wind; it affords in the midst of the autumnal heats, a cool and delicious retreat, surrounded by all the freshness and fragrance of spring; while the southern declivity of the mountains is scorched with intense heat, and presents nothing but a cheerless, brown, and arid surface.

The time was now arrived when Philip deemed it proper to carry this long meditated design into execution. His purpose was however kept a profound secret to all except the queen, the prince, Grimaldo, the marquis of Valoure, chief of his french houshold, and the confessor. As if even to baffle suspicion, an audience granted to the british envoy, in consequence of the death of the duke regent, was marked with an affectation of cheerfulness. "In this audience," says Mr. Stanhope, "which the princess of Rubec told me was one of the longest she ever remembered their catholic majesties to have given, the queen appeared with her usual gaiety. She asked me several questions, and after repeating that as women were naturally curious, I must not be surprised, in a matter which so much concerned her, at her being desirous to know what I thought would be the event of the investitures so long promised;* and whether the emperor would be brought without force to execute his engagements relating to her son; it being what she could hardly persuade herself to believe.

* The investiture of the Italian duchies to her son Don Carlos.

During this conversation the king was silent, but upon her talking of the gardens of St. Ildefonso, he asked if I had seen those at Versailles and Marli, comparing some of the water works there with those at St. Ildefonso. This I mention as being a thing unusual with the king to enter voluntarily into any kind of conversation, and I confess that I could not discover any thing else new in him."* CH. XXXIII. 1724.

After imparting the design to the prince in an audience, Philip announced it by a message to the council of Castile.

"Having," he observed, "these four years reflected with due and mature consideration on the miseries of this life; and on the infirmities, wars, and troubles with which God has visited me during the twenty-three years of my reign; seeing also that my son the infant Don Louis is of competent age, married, and endowed with discretion, judgment, and talents, sufficient for governing this monarchy justly and wisely, I have determined to retire wholly from the government, renouncing all my states, kingdoms, and lordships in favour of the said Don Louis, in order to lead at St. Ildefonso a private life with the queen, who has offered to accompany me with pleasure, that, freed from all other cares, I may serve God, meditate on a future life, and devote myself to the important work of my salvation. I impart this to the council, that it may take the requisite measures on the occasion, and that all may be apprised of my intentions." Jan. 10.

This communication was accompanied with a list of the new ministry, and the chiefs of the royal household; and the names of twelve persons who were to be honoured with the golden fleece.

On the same day the act of abdication was formally passed before the council in a long and laboured decree. As if

* Mr. Stanhope to Lord Carteret, Jan. 16, 1724, NS.

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desirous to give his parting wishes the force as well as the formality of law, Philip, after a preamble, announcing his abdication nearly in the terms of the message already quoted, apostrophises his son, and under the shape of advice, details the maxims of his government, and traces the arrangements which he was expected to sanction.

Should Louis die without issue, he intailed the crown on his other sons in succession, and appointed a council of regency, in case the future sovereign should be called to the throne a minor. He inculcated respect towards the church, and the inquisition as the bulwark of the faith, and urged him to consult the welfare and remedy the grievances of his subjects. He coupled these admonitions with a pressing recommendation of the queen and her children, adverted to the establishments reserved for himself and the minor branches of his family, and concluded with an injunction to fulfil the testament which the queen and himself had recently executed.

Jan. 14. This act being recorded in the council, was conveyed by Grimaldo to the Escorial, and read by the new sovereign in the presence of his whole court.

Jan. 15. The following day Louis announced his acceptance of the crown in an answer which is a mere echo of the decree of abdication, and evidently dictated by a dependent of the court of St. Ildefonso. After expressing his veneration and astonishment, at the piety and self denial which had prompted the retirement of his father, he pledges himself to sanction his arrangements and to follow his advice, and does not omit a solemn promise to respect the queen as his mother, and regard her children as his brothers. He concludes with expressing a wish to imitate the example of his father in retirement. "God grant," he says, "that after treading awhile in your steps, I may have the same opinion of the vain greatness of this world;

and that being sensibly affected with its nothingness, I may likewise imitate you in your retreat, and prefer great and solid happiness to transitory and perishing honours." CH. XXXIII. 1724.

Although Louis accepted the crown, and the council of Castile had recorded the abdication, yet many formalities were requisite to render it valid. The council of Castile proposed to assemble the cortes, and obtain their consent. But many objections occurred to this measure. Philip justly apprehended that an assembly once so powerful might profit by the occasion to resume its lost authority; he was not without his fears that the cortes might even refuse their assent; and at all events, he considered that a ratification so public and solemn would for ever preclude him from resuming his dignity; a resumption which he was evidently unwilling to render impracticable. After much deliberation he adopted the usual expedient employed to obviate the necessity of appealing to the representatives of the nation collectively. Circular letters were written to obtain the consent of the towns possessing the right of chusing deputies; and the approbation of the other branches of the state was considered as virtually given by the acquiescence of the prelates and nobles residing at the court.

After these formalities the new sovereign was proclaimed in the capital with the accustomed ceremony; and Philip having pronounced a solemn vow never to resume the crown, established himself in his chosen retreat.

The household and ministry were transferred in a body to the new monarch, except Grimaldo and M. de Valoure, who still continued to fill the offices of secretary and high-chamberlain to Philip; Donna Laura, and five other female attendants attached to the queen; and an establishment of menial servants amounting to about sixty persons. And as Philip relinquished his favourite diversion of the chace,

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the stables and equipages were proportionably curtailed. He refused a guard, and was with difficulty persuaded to suffer a small detachment to be stationed at Balsain, in case of accidents. For his own privy purse, he reserved a yearly pension amounting to £. 120,000 to be continued to the queen after his decease; 20,000 to each of the three infants, and 10,000 to each of the infantas, with a certain sum for the completion of the buildings at St. Ildefonso.*

Numerous conjectures have been formed relative to the causes of this extraordinary event, but doubtless the principal motives were derived from that singular mixture of superstition and self interest, of indolence and ambition, which composed the character of Philip. He had adopted the notion that the bequest of Charles the second, which placed him on the spanish throne, was illegal, and he was equally convinced that his own renunciation of the french crown was no less invalid: to this was added a rooted predilection for his native country, which gained strength by time. From one or all of these motives, he had more than once formed the design of quitting the spanish throne. In his melancholy moods, during the war of the succession, he had even taken the resolution to resign in favour of his competitor the archduke, but had been overruled by his beloved queen, and the confessor Robinet. The complicated arrangements, after the peace of Utrecht, and the tumult of business during the brilliant administration of Alberoni, had left him neither time nor inclination to meditate on retirement; but in the sudden stagnation of affairs, which succeeded, his hypochondriac malady returned, and with it the darling idea of abdication. Of this disposition, the duke of Orleans endeavoured to take advantage, as the means of hastening the accession of his son in law, and reducing the influ-

* Act of Abdication in St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 272.

ence of Philip in France, but the attempt was frustrated by the representations of the queen and d'Aubenton. CH. XXXIII. 1724.

Still, however, this latent inclination returned whenever a prospect was opened of succeeding to the throne of France, and at this moment it acquired new strength from the death of the duke of Orleans, the only guarantee of the future marriage between the infanta and Louis the fifteenth, and the only dangerous rival to his views on the crown. At this particular juncture, also, the repeated maladies,* and apparently declining health of the young king, gave ample scope for the operation of these combined motives of religion and interest, inclination and ambition; and their effect was augmented by the pressing representations of the duke of Bourbon, who, in the favour of Philip, hoped to secure a counterpoise to the rival House of Orleans.

Philip, therefore, looked forward with hope and confidence to the prospect of ascending the throne of his ancestors. He endeavoured at once to satisfy the scruples of his conscience, and obviate the opposition of other powers, by transferring Spain beforehand to one of his sons by the former marriage, and, at the proper time, by renewing the engagements for preventing the union of the two crowns on one head.

Whatever might have been the disposition of the queen at former periods, it is probable that she did not now contemplate with indifference the near prospect of succeeding to the crown of France, of entailing so splendid a succession on her own family, and of quitting a country, for which she fostered a rooted dislike, and where she was equally detested. She, therefore, at least tacitly approved, if she did not strengthen the resolution of her husband, to quit for a short period the duties

* In February, Louis the XVth was in a state of imminent danger, and saved by bleeding in the foot.

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of royalty, as the prelude to the resumption of them on a more splendid theatre.

The conduct of the two sovereigns corroborates these arguments. So anxiously did they turn their views towards this new establishment, that secret and incessant communications were maintained with the duke of Bourbon, and the spanish party. Couriers were stationed on the road between the two capitals; the necessary preparations for a journey to France were already made at St. Ildefonso; even the jewels and money of the queen were packed up; and every precaution was taken to profit by the news of the young king's death, which their sanguine hopes led them hourly to expect.*

Indeed, Philip had scarcely resigned the crown, before he meditated a visit to France, under the pretence of restoring his health, though with the evident purpose to mature his plans on the spot, and encourage his adherents by his presence. The design was probably favoured by the duke of Bourbon; but the bare report sufficed to awaken the alarms of the british government, which was tremblingly alive to every incident affecting the renunciations of the two crowns. An earnest remonstrance was accordingly made to the french cabinet, and the cautious Fleury quieted their apprehensions, not only by a solemn promise to maintain the existing engagements, but by obtaining from the young king himself a declaration that he would not permit the journey of the abdicated monarch.†

Were any additional proof necessary, it might suffice to remark, that religious motives, and love of retirement alone, did not influence the mind of Philip; for, had that been the case, he would not have clung with such pertinacity to the authority

* Memoires de St. Simon, t. 7, p. 205.——Memoires de Richelieu, t. 3, p. 356.

† Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. 8.

which he affected to relinquish; he would not have abridged the resources of the new sovereign by lavishing his parting favours on the dependents of the court; he would not have established an administration, calculated to throw the whole power of the government into his own hands; nor in the existing necessities of the state would he have deposited a large sum of money at Segovia, except for the purpose of being employed on some momentous emergency.

There is little doubt also that the design was concerted with the duke of Bourbon and the chiefs of his party in France; for marshal Tessé, one of the most zealous advocates for the regular order of succession, was nominated minister to Spain after the death of the duke of Orleans; and notwithstanding his advanced age, proceeded on his mission and appeared at St. Ildefonso immediately after the abdication.* His journey in such circumstances could have no other object than to preserve a direct communication with Philip, to instigate him to maintain his authority over the government of his son, and to mature the requisite preparations in conjunction with the duke of Bourbon, for facilitating his eventual succession to the crown of France.

* Stanhope's Dispatches.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1724—1725.

Accession and Character of Louis—Account of his Queen—Their matrimonial Infelicity—Her Caprice and Indiscretion—Temporary Disgrace—Project for obtaining a Divorce—Embarrassments of the new Government—Characters and Situation of his Ministers—Predominant Influence of the Court of St. Ildefonso—Plans of the Queen Dowager for the establishment of her Son, Don Carlos—Incipient Schism between the two Courts—Attacks against the Authority of Philip—Illness and Death of Louis—Philip resumes the Crown, in contradiction to his Vow, and in opposition to a part of the Ministry—Situation of the widowed Queen.

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THE new reign was so short, and the new monarch possessed so scanty a share of authority, that the name of Louis scarcely appears in the annals of authentic history, beyond the boundaries of Spain.

Louis, eldest son of Philip by Maria Louisa of Savoy, was in the seventeenth year of his age, when he was raised to the throne, by the abdication of his father, with as little experience as power. By birth, habit, and inclination, attached to the customs and manners of Spain, he was welcomed by his subjects with universal applause. His entry into the capital bore the air of a triumph; and when, according to antient custom, his accession was announced by the acclamation, "Castile,

Castile, for king Louis," the united voice of exulting crowds spontaneously hailed him with the epithet of the *well beloved.* Not deficient in abilities, if they had been properly called forth and directed, he was not averse to science; and possessed a taste for the polite and liberal arts. He was elegant in person; in address and manner strikingly contrasted with the cold, stiff, and reserved deportment of his father; he excelled in personal accomplishments, and tempered the spanish gravity with the captivating affability of the bourbon family. CH. XXXIV. 1724 | 1725.

So sudden an elevation, at so early an age, gave scope to the thoughtlessness of youthful levity. He was at first inattentive to business, and so careless of public respect, that he often sallied forth at midnight in disguise, to scour the streets of the capital, or to strip the royal gardens of their fruit, that he might, the following morning, be gratified with the frivolous pleasure of witnessing the vexation of the gardeners.* But the first ebullitions of youth rapidly subsided. He respected the remonstrances of his father, who urged that such irregularities would dishonour his crown, and diminish the respect and affection of his people. This docility afforded a presage, that when he had attained the age of reflection, and his understanding was matured by experience, he would not disappoint the predilection with which he was regarded by the nation.

Louis was married to Elizabeth, third daughter of the regent duke of Orleans, before she had attained the age of twelve, no less contrary to his own inclinations, than to those of the spanish nation. She united, indeed, elegance of manners and vivacity of temper, with great personal accomplishments, and was endowed with qualities which might have rendered her the delight of her husband, and the ornament of 1722.

* Mr. Stanhope's Dispatch to Lord Carteret, April 15, 1724. Harrington Papers.

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his throne; had not an unprincipled education, and the scenes of a vicious court, corrupted her morals, and depraved her heart. Although so young when she quitted France, she had been brought up in the profligate school of her father. Misled by the dissolute conduct of her two elder sisters the duchess of Berry and Mademoiselle de Valois, she was insensible to the comforts, and indifferent to the duties of domestic life; regardless of the dignity of her character and station; and wanting only opportunities to imitate the licentiousness which she had witnessed at Paris.

Even at the moment of her arrival at Madrid, she gave proofs of an unaccommodating and capricious temper by secluding herself in her apartment, under pretence of indisposition, and not only declining to testify any respect towards the queen, but repulsing her attentions with disdain. She refused to appear at a ball given in honour of her marriage, and behaved to her husband with studied indifference.* Time, the representations of her attendants, and the commands of Philip, so far overruled her wayward fancies, that she preserved decorum in public, and treated her husband with attention and respect. But the abdication of Philip had no sooner released her from restraint than her caprices returned with redoubled force. She again gave way to her contempt for her consort, ridiculed that etiquette which had been sanctioned by ages, and scandalised a grave court and punctilious nation, by her indiscreet if not licentious behaviour.

With the hope of subduing or restraining her spirit, king Louis at the instigation of his father was induced to mortify her by some public mark of disgrace. He conveyed the order in a letter to her camerara-mayor, the countess of Altamira.

* See St. Simon's curious account of her capricious behaviour, and the kind but unavailing attentions of the queen. T. 8, lib. 5, c. 5.

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"The disorderly conduct of the queen being highly prejudicial to her health, and no less degrading to her royal dignity, I have endeavoured to prevent it by remonstrances; and in my anxiety for her amendment, I even prevailed on my pious father to admonish her with great severity. But perceiving no change, I am resolved she shall not sleep this night at the palace in the city; and I hereby require you, and the persons whom I have selected for the purpose, to employ every requisite care for her accommodation and precious health."* July 2.

Accordingly, as she returned to the Buen Retiro, from an evening excursion in the Prado, her coach was stopped at the gate, and ordered to proceed to the Alcazar, or old palace, in the city. Demanding the reason, she was told "such is the king's pleasure." She burst into a transport of rage, repeatedly exclaiming "to Buen Retiro!" but the mayor domo who was charged with the order interfered, she was conveyed by force, and confined to her apartment with a few select attendants, under a strong guard. Her arrest was then announced in a circular letter to the foreign ministers.

After a strict confinement of six days she was visited by marshal Tessé the french embassador, whose age and character, it was hoped, would make some impression on her volatile mind, when depressed by disgrace and confinement. In this interview, she frankly acknowledged that half the imputations against her were true, but as strenuously maintained that the other half were false. Without attempting to deny her follies and irregularities, she made the most solemn asseverations that nothing criminal could be imputed to her. She expressed contrition for her past misconduct, promised future amendment, and entreated the forgiveness of her husband.

* Stanhope's Dispatch.

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The young king was satisfied with this reparation, and after dismissing seventeen female attendants who had abetted her imprudence, permitted her to return to the Buen Retiro. He went out to meet her in the terrace near the Puente verde; and as she alighted and attempted to kiss his hand, prevented her by the salutation of peace. He received her into his own carriage, and seemed anxious to make amends for the publicity of her disgrace by marks equally public of his returning affection.

Notwithstanding this apparent reconciliation, the mutual dislike of the royal couple was undiminished. The king's aversion to his consort was so deeply rooted that he never consummated his marriage; and Philip, himself so scrupulous in his moral conduct, felt for the domestic afflictions of his son. After requesting with tears his forgiveness for promoting so ill assorted an union, and for bestowing on him a wife, whom he so justly disliked, he declared that his conscience perpetually reproached him for the temptations to which he had thus given cause.

Philip and the queen affected to believe that their daughter in law was insane, and secretly determined to obtain a divorce. As Tessé did not oppose the design, and as the duke of Bourbon was desirous at once to mortify the rival House of Orleans, and to raise his own sister to the throne of Spain, arrangements were made for sounding the sentiments of the pope. In the interim, Louis was directed to preserve the exterior of complacency towards his consort, as well from a regard to decorum, as to prevent suspicions.*

* The account of the misunderstanding between Louis and his queen, of her arrest and imprisonment, and the subsequent design to obtain a divorce, is taken from Mr. Stanhope's dispatches to lord Carteret, April 15, and to the duke of Newcastle; July 26, and August 10, 1724. As he received his intel-

While the young monarch was thus afflicted with domestic troubles, his public situation was scarcely more enviable; for he supported all the weight, without the authority, of the crown which had been prematurely placed on his head. Having been generally excluded from a share in the administration of affairs, and little versed either in the details of internal government, or the management of foreign transactions, his youth and inexperience rendered him utterly incapable of directing the state machine. Indeed the administration appointed, and the forms prescribed by the abdicated king, proved that he still held the real authority; and that the orders which were to convulse or pacify Europe, emanated not from the cabinet of the ostensible sovereign, but from that of St. Ildefonso.

After the formalities of the abdication, Philip and his queen retired to St. Ildefonso, with their minister and favourite, Grimaldo. The new administration was nominally vested in a junta or cabinet council, composed of seven members; but no precaution was omitted to select such as were either devoted to Philip, the adherents of the queen and Grimaldo, or persons of too little talents and weight to act without a superior direction.

The marquis of Mirabal, after representing his sovereign in Holland, though with little diplomatic ability, had filled for a considerable period the high office of president of Castile, of which he had formerly been auditor. He was a man of good

ligence from Tessé himself, as well as from members of the royal houshold, there can be no doubt of its authenticity. St. Philippe has given a circumstantial narrative of this event; but he has intermixed many anecdotes and rumours, not sufficiently proved, which are corrected by Stanhope's relation. T. 4, p. 187, 192.—See also Memoires de St. Simon, t. 8, ch. 5,—de Richelieu, t. 3, ch. 30,—de Tessé, t. 2, ch. 14.——Ortiz, lib. 23, c. 9.

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sense, experience and application; and since the dismission of Alberoni had acquired a considerable share in the government, through his friendship with d'Aubenton and Grimaldo. From the countenance and support which he received from the abdicated monarch, as well as from the consideration annexed to his employment, he was considered as the leading member of the administration; and at the commencement of the new reign assumed a degree of superiority which excited the discontent of his colleagues. In other respects he fostered the aversion of a true spaniard towards France, and regarded England as the natural ally of his country.

The archbishop of Toledo, the son of a blacksmith at Gibraltar, was scarcely less mean in political talents than in extraction, though of irreproachable morals. His zeal for the bourbon cause, and his services in Catalonia during the war of the succession, raised him from a canonry to a bishopric. Finally, for his elevation to the primacy, he was indebted to the intrigues of the jesuits, who were anxious to place at the head of the spanish church, a prelate subservient to the views and interest of their order.

The bishop of Pampeluna, who held the post of grand inquisitor, was distinguished only for his knowledge of the canon law; ignorant of the world, and a novice in the management of public affairs.

Don Michael de Guerra had profited by the advantages of foreign travel and employment. He had successively filled the offices of chancellor of Milan, minister in France, and for a short time that of president of Castile and the finances. He was, however, according to the observation of Mr. Stanhope, rather a cunning than an able man, though possessing considerable knowledge of the laws of Spain. Being attacked with a fit of the palsy which rendered his speech scarcely intelligible,

he had for a time retired from business. The effects of this attack, joined to the infirmities of advanced age, precluded him from a constant attendance in the cabinet council; but being the brother of the queen's confessor, he was naturally considered as under her peculiar controul.

The marquis of Valero, president of the Indies, was a man of ordinary capacity. He had recently filled the viceroyalty of Mexico, and returning to Spain loaded with the riches of the Indies, obtained patronage at court by his splendid presents to the royal family; and by announcing a resolution to nominate the reigning monarch, then prince of Asturias, as his heir.

The count of San Estevan del Puerto, lord high-chamberlain, was the same nobleman who has been frequently distinguished in the preceding pages among the partisans of the House of Bourbon. His nomination was a mere form, because he was now absent at the congress of Cambray as one of the plenipotentiaries of Spain.

The most remarkable, and indeed the most efficient member of this motley cabinet, next to Mirabal, was the marquis of Lede, president of the council of war, a native of Flanders, and distinguished for his military talents. He was diligent, active, and perspicuous in business, patient of contradiction, yet firm to his purpose; and, unlike his spanish associates, devoting himself with zeal and alacrity to the duties of his employment. He was a man of great probity and prudence, and from gratitude for past favours was considered as devoted to the old court. Professedly adverse to the House of Austria, he was favourably inclined towards France without being an enemy to England.*

The most remarkable members of the administration who did not hold a place in the cabinet, were the two brothers, the

* Mr. Stanhope to lord Carteret, March 23, 1724.

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marquis of Castellar, and Don Joseph Patino, both devoted to France, and secretly hostile to Grimaldo; and Don Ferdinand Verdes de Montenegro, head of the finances, who owed his appointment to the influence of Mirabal.

The acting chiefs of the different departments were the same persons as under the former government, and either attached to Philip or his ministers; but the connecting link between the old and new cabinets, was Don Baptista Orendayn, who was appointed both secretary for foreign affairs, and secretary of the junta. This minister, afterwards better known under the title of the marquis de la Paz, had risen from the menial office of page to Grimaldo, to that of his under secretary, and from thence was suddenly transferred to the post which he now held, occupying in reality the same situation under another name. Deficient in talents and dignity for his new employment, his principal merit was the plodding drudgery of a mere clerk, and the absolute devotion which he had hitherto shewn to his benefactor.

The secretary for the marine and Indies, was Don Antonio Sopeña, of whom we can trace nothing but the name and appointment.

From the inefficient characters of some members of the new administration, and the dependence of others on the old court, together with the youth, docility, and inexperience of Louis, it is evident that the government was still directed by the same hands, and that the management of affairs was vested in Grimaldo, who, from long exercise in office, and from the confidence reposed in him by the abdicated sovereign, was alone capable of continuing the negotiations of the congress at Cambray, and arranging the complicated disputes between Spain, Austria, and the other powers of Europe. He in reality was as much prime minister, as before the change of government,

and, by his daily instructions and communications, directed all the operations of Orendayn. Nor did he affect to conceal his power; for, in the first visit of Tessé to St. Ildefonso, he triumphantly observed, "king Philip is not dead, nor am I."*

If, indeed, any proof were wanting of the real principles and prime mover of the government, it might be found in the measures pursued with regard to the establishment of Don Carlos. Too impatient to wait for the tardy proceedings of a congress, and the chances of an eventual succession, the queen formed the resolution of sending her son into Italy, as presumptive heir to Parma and Tuscany. This proposal was combated by every member of the new cabinet; but their opposition was disregarded, and measures adopted to carry it into execution, with the connivance of France and the maritime powers.

This new scheme, like almost every plan of this restless and aspiring woman, introduced a new actor on the political theatre, the marquis of Monteleon. He had long distinguished himself in the diplomatic line, and was greatly trusted in the secret policy of his court. Deputed as envoy to England, during the negotiations for the peace of Utrecht, he appears to have been gained by the tory ministry of queen Anne, and, on the accession of George the first, still adhering to their party, he became so obnoxious to the whigs, that, as we have already observed, Mr. Stanhope extorted from Alberoni the promise of his recal. Being, however, too useful an agent to be lightly sacrificed, he continued in his post till dismissed by the government, in consequence of the rupture. After a short retreat to the Hague, he returned to London, with the title of embassador, on the accession of Spain to the quadruple alliance, and dexterously conforming himself to circumstances,

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, p. 352.

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gained the favour of the ministry, to whom he was before so obnoxious.

Monteleon appeared at Madrid at the moment of the abdication. With that quick and accurate discernment, which is the fruit of long experience in political intrigues, he discovered that the new government was a mere shadow, and that the real power was still vested in the cabinet of St. Ildefonso. Sanguine, adroit, and aspiring, he devoted himself to the court which afforded the fairest prospect of advancement. He acquired the powerful interest of Donna Laura, by submitting to an unequal match between his eldest son and her daughter. He flattered the views of Philip on the throne of France; he applied with equal success to the ruling passion of the queen, and by dint of officious interference, and a parade of his influence in England, wrought himself into a commission, at this time of the most important kind, that of agent for negotiating the measures to promote the accession of Don Carlos to the italian duchies. His conversations with Mr. Stanhope on this and other subjects throw a new light on the situation of the two courts, which were now beginning their course of political rivalry.

April 15, 1724.

"In his conduct here," writes the minister, "Monteleon not only publicly professes, but in all his actions shews an entire attachment to the court of St. Ildefonso, and industriously avoids even the appearance of having any dependence on the court or ministers of Madrid, of both which he gave a convincing proof a few days after his arrival. The young queen gave a dinner to the ladies of her court at the Retiro, to which the two daughters of Donna Laura, sole favourite of king Philip's queen, were invited, (one of whom was lately married to Monteleon's son) and going to sit down at her table with the rest of the ladies in the same employment, namely, Señoras

de Honor, were ordered to remove to another, by the queen herself, aloud, on pretence of their having been *cameristas*, or women of the bed chamber, to the former queen. On being told of this circumstance, he answered publicly, he was glad of it, and wanted only two or three more such affronts to his family, to make his fortune. For his devoted attachment to the court of St. Ildefonso, he has several reasons. He is persuaded that the whole authority of the government is still lodged there; he looks upon his interests as secure, by the great credit of Donna Laura with the queen; he considers the young king and cabinet as mere cyphers; and every one of the latter as so exceedingly jealous of him, that if they had any authority, they would employ it against him. He has few personal friends; but his superior capacity and experience makes him universally esteemed; and, though he industriously preserves his resolution of accepting no employment whatever in Spain, no one, in any of the higher posts, thinks himself secure, while the destination of Monteleon remains undetermined. CH. XXXIV. 1724 | 1725.

"He has informed me, that, during his abode at St. Ildefonso, where he remained three weeks, and was received in the most gracious manner, he had daily audiences of their catholic majesties. In all these, his chief view was to convince them how advantageous and even necessary it was, for the good of their affairs, and those of the rest of Europe, that the strictest union should be maintained between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain; as being that upon which the assurance of Don Carlos's succession to Tuscany chiefly, if not entirely, depended. He even insinuated that the friendship of England, for which he pledged himself, might be of the greatest use to them, in case an opportunity should present itself of executing, in favour of one of the infants, their pretensions to the crown of France. * * * * * * * * *

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"These reasonings, he assured me, his catholic majesty heard with great seeming satisfaction and approbation, particularly those relating to the succession of France. King Philip, whenever that matter was touched upon, constantly replied, he saw clearly, and was convinced of the great advantage which our master's friendship might be to him, as well as to the passage of the infant Don Carlos into Italy, and the security of his person and succession there. He says, he presented a plan at St. Ildefonso, which was drawn up there by king Philip's order, setting forth the steps necessary to be taken for these purposes."

The substance of this plan, after some partial changes suggested by the queen, was, that Don Carlos should be sent to Italy, with the approbation of France and England, and declared and acknowledged successor to Tuscany and Parma, on conditions calculated to gratify the reigning sovereign, and his sister, the electress palatine. The design was approved by Grimaldo; and, though opposed by Mirabal, to whom it was communicated, in order to obtain the sanction of the new government, his objections were disregarded.

* * * * * * * *

"I have nothing," continues Mr. Stanhope, "to add in relation to Monteleon, but that he is in daily expectation of seeing his project approved, and, in consequence, of receiving orders to set out for Italy, taking London and Paris in his way. In all events, he seems determined not to accept of any employment here for the present; and, as a proof of this, he assures me, that it depended on himself only to have been already declared first minister, king Philip having several times proposed and even pressed it to him. His reason for not accepting that employment, is the almost impossibility he foresees of continuing in it long, in the present situation of affairs here,

without drawing upon himself the displeasure of one of the two kings; that of the father, in case he governs not himself expressly in every thing by the orders he shall receive from St. Ildefonso: as in so doing, he must in a little time expect that of the son, whom, he is persuaded, will by degrees withdraw himself from the dependence and submission he at present acquiesces under. Marshal Tessé has confirmed to me what Monteleon says as to his having been offered the place of first minister, and both of them seem persuaded, that in a very short time that place will be filled, it being impossible for matters to continue long in the confusion they are at present in, from the want of a visible authority. The persons most likely to be appointed for that employment, are the president of Castile, and the marquis of Grimaldo, but more especially the latter, in case king Philip consents to part with him."

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The suggestions of Monteleon being adopted, the title of Grand Prince was given to the infant. The insinuating statesman was selected to carry his own project into execution, with a salary of 5,000 pistoles, and the credentials of embassador extraordinary to the princes of Italy, and the courts of France and England, for arranging the affairs of Don Carlos.

July 28

While, however, the queen dowager was ardently pursuing her own designs with indifference and even contempt towards the government of the young king, a schism was already commencing between the two courts.

Notwithstanding all the sagacity which had been employed in forming the new administration, it was not in the power of art to change the constitution of human nature. The junta had scarcely tasted the sweets of ostensible authority, before they aspired to substantial power, and were eager to shake off the yoke imposed by their patrons of St. Ildefonso. Two parties were speedily formed in this heterogeneous council, one for

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Louis, the other for Philip. But the distinction was little more than a name; for, though some affected to wear the appearance of attachment to the former sovereign, all naturally turned their eyes from the setting to the rising sun. In general, the courtiers were gradually relaxing in their attentions to the abdicated monarch; and the nation was as favourably disposed towards a spanish king and spanish cabinet, as disgusted with the italian government of their parmesan queen. Finally, the whole court anxiously watched for the moment when Louis should display the slightest inclination to throw off his dependence, and omitted neither intrigue or artifice to encourage him to assume a degree of authority becoming his station.

Fortunately for Philip, Louis himself did not shew the least regard or application to business, and placed his sole confidence in the count of Altamira, his camerero mayor, who himself without spirit or ambition, was not calculated to give umbrage to the jealous cabinet of St. Ildefonso.

The government was thus without any visible chief; and in many instances foreign ministers found it necessary to make similar applications to both courts, to avoid giving umbrage to either. No person of consideration or abilities was yet, however, found to assume a part, which might ultimately draw down the displeasure of both monarchs; and the members of the junta, at once to exculpate themselves, and to acquire popularity, publicly declared that they were mere cyphers. "It is better," they said, "that the world should see we are without power, than blame us for misconduct and negligence." The whole system of government naturally became the object of universal contempt, and even Tessé himself asserted, that this farce, *of king and no king*, could not long subsist.*

In spite of the docile character of Louis, means were at

* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, ch. 14.

length found to turn his agency against the court of St. Ildefonso. With a view to supersede the authority of the abdicated monarch, the junta, by a new arrangement of business, attempted to limit the controul exercised over their deliberations by Orendayn and Grimaldo. Reviving the custom which prevailed under the later sovereigns of the austrian dynasty, they divided among themselves the transactions with foreign powers, each taking a peculiar and distinct department, and making his report to the whole body. They thus excluded the secretary of state from all public share in foreign affairs, and reduced him to the situation of a mere reporter of their deliberations.* This measure appeared a death blow to the authority of Philip; when the news was communicated at Versailles, marshal Villars could not refrain from exclaiming, "Adieu, court of St. Ildefonso; you will be lucky to be assured of a regular supply of your daily meals!"† CH. XXXIV. 1724 | 1725.

All the address of Grimaldo, and all the art of the queen, were called forth to parry the effects of this dangerous blow. An order was obtained from Louis, empowering Orendayn to receive from each member separately the report of his particular department, and lay it before the king for the regular dispatch of business. The collective force of the junta was thus broken, and the secretary of state, by becoming the direct channel of communication with the sovereign, was enabled to turn the reports according to his own views, and to regulate his conduct by the mandates which emanated from the oracle of St. Ildefonso.

Though foiled, the governing party in the junta were not dis-

* Mr. Stanhope to Lord Carteret, Madrid, March 23, 1724.

† "Adieu, la cour de St. Ildefonse. Elle sera heureuse si son diner et son souper sont bien assurés." Mem. de Villars, t. 3, p. 123.——Mr. Walpole to Lord Townshend, Paris, April 1, 1724. Walpole Papers.

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couraged. Clothing their opposition with the plausible pretext of the public weal, they expatiated on the dilapidated state of the revenue, and the inadequacy of the receipt to the current expences. They, therefore, proposed to curtail the establishments of the two infants, and obtained a royal order reducing them to such an allowance as was barely sufficient for their maintenance. A warm remonstrance, however, from St. Ildefonso, inducing the docile monarch to retract, he not only continued the salaries assigned to his brothers, but even took on himself the additional charge of their equipages and tables.

A new and more decisive attack was then planned against the abdicated sovereign himself. Recurring as before to the dilapidated state of the finances, the leading members of the junta exaggerated the sums which Philip had appropriated before his retreat, and the existing expences of his establishment; and recommended a reduction of his pension. Although this proposal was adroitly clothed with the same plausible pretence, it shocked the feelings of the young monarch. He not only refused to authorise such an insult, but even communicated the attempt to his father.

In matters less directly clashing with his filial feelings, Louis was more easily swayed. He granted several pensions, and filled various places in the council, with persons not agreeable to the old court. Accordingly Mirabal was instructed to watch over his conduct, and hints were given him to moderate his bounty, and revoke his appointments.*

Thus urged on one hand by the intrigues of those who were aiming at power, and restrained on the other by respect which time and habit must gradually diminish, the period could not have been far distant, when Louis would be tempted to unite the real to the nominal authority; when either the son

* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 266.

must have descended from the throne, or the father have changed his nominal for a real renunciation of power, if not his retreat for imprisonment. Fortunately, however, for the tranquillity of Spain and the safety of Philip, such a dangerous crisis was prevented by the death of Louis. CH. XXXIV. 1724 | 1725.

He was seized on the 19th of August with a malignant small pox, which being unskilfully treated, hurried him to the grave in twelve days, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the eighth month of his nominal reign. During his illness the court of St. Ildefonso remained in a mixed state of agitation, anxiety, and alarm. But he was no sooner pronounced in danger, than Philip determined to resume the crown. With this view he caused an instrument to be prepared for the young king's signature, constituting him his heir, and empowering him to make his will. This document was presented to Louis, the evening before his death, and signed by him though then in a state of delirium; and, however informal, became the authority on which Philip founded the first measures adopted after the decease of his son. Aug. 31.

On that event, the marquis of Mirabal, president of the council of Castile and chief of the regency, announced the intelligence to Philip, and requested his instant presence in the capital. He accordingly quitted his retreat, gave audience to Mirabal, who met him at Campillo, entered Madrid with all the ensigns of royalty, transacted business with the secretary of state, and issued the necessary orders.

Philip was induced to believe, from the representations of Tessé and his attendants, that the nation unanimously looked forward to his resumption of the crown as the greatest blessing, and that his right was indisputable. But so solemn a renunciation, sanctified by a deliberate vow, registered by the council of Castile, and ratified by the highest civil authorities, could

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not be set aside with as little formality as the mere transfer of a crown from one prince to another; and therefore Philip thought proper to demand the advice of the council of Castile.

It is difficult to ascertain the nature of the opposition raised in that body to his wishes; but it is clear that there was a strong party even in his own houshold and court, and in the nation, adverse to his resumption of the crown in his own right. Indeed the leading members did not scruple to acknowledge to Mr. Stanhope, that they were *individually* against the resumption, from a conviction of Philip's incapacity, and the queen's ambition. Of this party, one of the most zealous was the marquis of Mirabal himself, who under the pretext of attachment to Philip exerted all the influence of his high office to prevent the resumption; and under the guise of advice, presented the objections to the measure, both political and religious, in the strongest light. His views were furthered by the confessor Bermudez, who, either from conviction, or interest, dwelt on these objections as insuperable, and represented the resumption as a sin of the deepest dye. From the same motives, Mirabal deferred convening the council till the fourth day after the death of Louis; and though he could not prevent his colleagues from concurring in a request to Philip to reascend the vacant throne; yet in their *consulta* or report, all the objections are again studiously detailed, and presented in the most forcible language.

This artful report, strengthened by the reflections of the confessor, made the deepest impression on a superstitious mind: Philip instantly dismissed his guards, saying, "I am not worthy of such marks of sovereign power till my conscience is perfectly satisfied." He therefore submitted the report of the council of Castile to a junta of divines, who as-

sembled in the convent of the jesuits. This body, probably swayed by the confessor, declared against the resumption, and suggested as an alternative, that Philip should assume the government as regent for his son Ferdinand, the next in order of succession. Philip, who had anticipated a more favourable answer, was mortified with the decision. In the first emotions of anger and disappointment he declared that he would accept neither the crown nor the regency, and gave orders for his immediate return to St. Ildefonso.

The queen was still more enraged than Philip, because she was incited by every motive of self-interest, inclination, and ambition, to replace him on the throne. She had felt from recent experience, that the mere expected reversion was but an imperfect compensation for the actual possession of a crown. She had learnt to dread the mischiefs attending a divided government; she foresaw that a cabinet council at Madrid would not long submit to be directed by a mandate from St. Ildefonso; she perceived that the elevation of another stepson, and the continuance of a ministry purely spanish, would prove fatal to her plans for the aggrandisement of her own children.

She therefore omitted no endeavour to vanquish the real or affected reluctance of Philip, and to counteract the machinations of those who, under the semblance of zeal and affection for his conscience and honour, were labouring to obstruct his return to authority. She reproached Bermudez, to whom she principally attributed the scruples of Philip, accused him of perfidy, called him, in the presence of the king a traitor, another Judas; and declared, that if at the point of death, she would rather depart without the blessing of the sacraments, than receive them at the hands of such a wretch. She encouraged the petulance of her favourite Donna Laura, to whom age,

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situation, and long habit, had given the privilege of speaking with freedom and familiarity. This woman, no less violent than her mistress, apostrophised Philip: "Are you not ashamed to submit to the controul of this wicked wretch, to abandon your country to the dangers of a minority, to intrust the government to a junta who will annihilate the royal authority!" The queen, affecting to interfere, with the remark "You will kill the king!" the indignant beldame rejoined, "Let him die! It is only the loss of one man; but if he abandons the government, his people, his children, and his monarchy, are all lost!"*

Perceiving that all her remonstrances, supported by the representations of Grimaldo, were not sufficient to outweigh the arguments of the confessor and the decision of the divines; the queen had recourse to Tessé, whose long attachment and advanced age gave him great influence over the mind of Philip. The marshal not only employed the trite argument against the validity of renunciations and oaths, when placed in competition with the public weal; but declared that the french government would no longer treat with Philip except as king of Spain; and that if his fatal resolution was maintained, he would himself withdraw from a court where he could render no further service.

The queen found other resources to counteract the machinations of her opponents, and even turned against them that authority which they had employed with such mortifying success. She induced Philip to refer the decision of the divines to the council of Castile, and drew from the council a strong censure against it, accompanied with a new request to resume the crown. She gave additional weight to this advice by procuring another decision from divines of different prin-

* Memoires de Villars, t. 3, p. 143, 4.——de Tessé, t. 2, p. 366.

ciples. She did not hesitate to call to her assistance the highest authority in the church. Having summoned the papal nuntio from his sick apartment, where he had been long confined, she excited him, by every motive which her fertile genius could suggest, to join in removing the scruples of the king. The nuntio was more flexible than a spanish confessor, backed by spanish divines. He obtained an audience of Philip, and detailed all the arguments which could be drawn from a concern for the welfare of his family and the glory of the catholic religion. These producing some effect, he added, "The pope* had made a vow never to accept the papacy; but he thought himself bound in conscience to break a hasty engagement for the sake of the public good. His holiness, I am convinced, would approve a similar conduct in your majesty, did time permit me to appeal to his opinion. I am satisfied he would even enjoin your majesty to acquiesce in the general wish. Convinced, as I am, of the necessity and justice of the case, I make myself answerable before God for the breach of your majesty's renunciation and vows."†

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So impressive a discourse, delivered by so high an authority, swayed a monarch who was desirous of being convinced. Philip industriously published the arguments of the nuntio, and, on the 6th of September, issued a decree to the council of Castile; declaring that, as natural lord and proprietor of the crown, he again took into his hands the reins of government, and sacrificed his own happiness for the advantage of his subjects. To save appearances, he reserved to himself the

* Benedict XIII, recently chosen on the death of Innocent XIII, March 13, 1724.

† Dispatch of Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, Sept. 9, 1724.

The reader will find the two Consultas of the Council of Castile, and the Report of the Junta of Divines, in St. Philippe, t. 4, appendix.

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power of resigning in favour of his son Don Ferdinand, when he came of age, provided it should not be productive of too great inconveniences. He concluded by promising to summon the cortes to acknowledge Don Ferdinand prince of Asturias, and tender him the accustomed homage as successor to the crown.*

The queen expressed the most immoderate joy at her success. She was not only gratified with recovering a crown, the value of which was enhanced to a mind like hers by a temporary deprivation, but she thus gained a considerable advantage in favour of her own views, as well as those of her husband on the throne of France. She gave a new instance of the nullity of the most solemn engagements when put in competition with personal inclination or political interest; and accustomed the powers of Europe to regard with indifference the breach of vows and renunciations.

The death of Louis saved his queen from the humiliation of a divorce. She regained the favour of the king and nation by her affectionate attentions to her husband; though she had never had the disorder which hurried him to the grave. She caught the infection; but the strength of her constitution, and more skilful treatment, saved her life. For a short time, she continued in Spain with the accustomed appointments of a widowed queen; and Tessé even proposed a marriage between her and Don Ferdinand. But she was disgusted with the restraints of spanish etiquette; and by the agency of her mother, the duchess of Orleans, obtained from Philip and Louis the fifteenth permission to return to France. Her departure was hastened by the subsequent disputes between the two courts.

* Ortiz, lib. 33, c. 9, 10.——Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 4.—de Tessé. ——Villars.

For a time she resided in the palace of Luxemburg, and maintained a splendid establishment by means of the annual pension which was remitted to her from Spain. But her gallantries occasioned public scandal, and she was obliged to dismiss a part of her household. As she filled the vacant places without regard to the privileges and remonstrances of the prince of Rubec, who retained the title of her mayor domo, he complained to the court of Madrid, and obtained an order enjoining her to accept the persons whom he should nominate. The high spirited princess resenting this attempt to controul her in the choice of her own household, dismissed the mayor domo. The court of Madrid accordingly with-held the payment of her pension, and she retired into the nunnery of the Carmelites, where she occupied the same apartments to which her sister, the duchess of Berri, repaired, in her temporary transitions from licentious amours to acts of penance and contrition. Here she continued, depending on the occasional bounties of the spanish court, and compensating for her former irregularities by a life of retirement and devotion, and died in 1742, of a dropsy.

* Memoires de Richelieu, t. 3, p. 259.——Tessé, t. 2, p. 370.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 379.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1725.

Acknowledgment of Don Ferdinand as Prince of Asturias—Cabals on the expected changes in the government—Removal of the Junta—Disgrace of Mirabal and Lede—Diminution of the credit of Grimaldo and rise of Orendayn—Change of policy in Spain—Overtures to the Emperor—Account of Ripperda—His plans of political œconomy—Negotiations at Vienna—Dismission of the infanta from France, and marriage of Louis the Fifteenth with Maria Letzinski—Indignation of the King and Queen—Their ineffectual overtures to England—Conclusion of an alliance with the court of Vienna.

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PHILIP having resumed the crown as if no renunciation had been made, with the tacit consent of the nation, convened the third branch of the cortes, in the church of St. Geronimo del Prado, and in the same manner and form as on the nomination of Don Louis procured their acknowledgement of Don Ferdinand as his successor.*

Nov. 25. Immediately after the public resumption of the crown, Philip, with his queen and minister, retired to St. Ildefonso, and remained in perfect seclusion for forty days, to avoid the in-

* Desormeaux, t. 5, p. 391, 393.——St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 201.——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 281.

fection of the small pox, of which the young queen had sickened. In this interval of suspense, an active struggle took place among the different candidates for power, as well as between the contending partisans of France and England.

Grimaldo, as nearest to the royal person, first felt the effects of this political rivalry. He was again attacked by Tessé and the french party, who accused him of receiving bribes from England, and of partiality to the maritime powers. Even the queen seems to have transferred her confidence to Orendayn, who, according to the usual custom of court dependants, betrayed the confidence of his benefactor, and endeavoured to supplant him. Long habit, together with the sense which Philip entertained of his merit, diligence, and usefulness, prevented the disgrace of Grimaldo; but these representations did not fail to produce a considerable diminution of his influence.

After the expiration of the forty days, Philip returned to the Escurial to receive the homage of his court, and regulate the arrangements in the administration which the late intrigues and changes had rendered necessary. His displeasure was first shewn against all who had evinced too zealous an attachment to the late sovereign, or too much anxiety to prevent his own resumption. Among these the most distinguished was Mirabal.

Mr. Keene, at this time resident at Madrid as agent of the South Sea Company, describes this revolution with the exactness of an eye witness. "Two days before the king came to Madrid, he ordered Montenegro to be removed from his place of secretary and intendant of the finances ;* and sent to Ciudad

Jan. 26, 1725.

* St. Philippe has disclosed the real cause of his disgrace, which was his obeying the orders of Louis, in preference to the arrangements of Philip, prior to his abdication. T. 4, p. 206.

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Rodrigo, to be kept in a convent belonging to the knights of Alcantara, under pretext of mal-administration. His disgrace foreboded that of the president of Castile, who had raised him, and placed him in that profitable post. Orendayn was appointed by Grimaldo to dispatch the treasury in his place, to keep him employed, and as content as he was able."

"Two days after, the president of Castile, who had so long enjoyed the king's good graces, and had as much influence over him as any of his ministers, was notified to resign his office; but was made a counsellor of state, and a pension of a thousand ducats assigned to him, to comfort a fallen minister. He had of late observed some decay in his interest, and intended only to offer to lay down his employ, and at the same time to have made a recapitulation of his services, the better to move his majesty, and refix himself. But his enemies had notice of his design, and persuaded the king to send his quietus, before he could have an opportunity of an audience, which as president of Castile he has a right to every Friday.

"A courier was immediately dispatched to the bishop of Siguenza to succeed him. He was formerly chancellor of Milan; then auditor of the Rota; has lived the greater part of his time in Italy, and in his own see since he came to Spain; so that he is free from the brigues or dependencies of this court, and has not as yet listed himself into any party, nor been employed in any other negotiation than what directly regards the execution of his office.

"I have been the more particular on the president's fall, because it shews the present reigning interest in Spain, which is the queen's. She seems resolved to revenge herself on all those who were tepid, or appeared to be so, in persuading the king to re-accept the crown; and to take the wise precaution

to remove them, lest he should relapse into the same reveries. Marshal Tessé is made use of to lessen their esteem with the king, and to employ his emissaries to throw dirt on them in public before they design to give the stroke. This is the game he is now playing with Grimaldo, and has filled the town with stories of pensions from England, &c. So that I am apprehensive we shall shortly see they will have some effect on the king's suspicious temper, or else cost the marquis so much pains and trouble to support himself, that as he is pretty well advanced in years, he will sooner chuse to yield to them and retire.

"I have observed Orendayn's circle at court to be full as numerous as Grimaldo's. He, it seems, has made a merit of having refused some offers from the English in king Louis's reign, and is at present the favourite of the french, and the hope of the jacobites. The marshal would, as I am credibly informed, have lately presented him with a ring, which he refused to accept till he had the queen's commands for so doing, and wore it at their ceremonies."*

The next sacrifice was the marquis of Lede. When he presented himself to kiss the hand of his sovereign, Philip reproached him with his ingratitude, by sternly observing, "From you, Sir, I never expected such behaviour." The humbled courtier retired in confusion, and soon fell a victim to chagrin and disappointed ambition.†

Philip continued the other ministers, reinstated Grimaldo in the offices of secretary for foreign affairs and the Indies, and honoured him with the golden fleece. But Orendayn was appointed secretary of the finances, with the superintendance of

* Mr. Keene to Mr. Horace Walpole, Madrid, Jan. 26, 1725. Walpole Papers.

† St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 167.

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the general affairs of state, whenever Grimaldo was prevented from fulfilling his duty by his age and frequent infirmities. This was in effect preparing Orendayn for the reversion of the most important office in the administration.

Philip had no sooner restored order in his domestic government, than he turned his attention to foreign affairs; and resumed the complicated negotiation which was scarcely commenced at the moment of his abdication. The congress of Cambray had indeed continued its sittings during the short reign of Louis; but the business was principally confined to matters of etiquette and to entertainments, without unravelling a single thread of the gordian knot. However, the discussions soon degenerated into the former cavils and disputes; and the attention of the congress was less occupied with the subjects referred to its decision by the articles of the quadruple alliance, than with the abolition of the Ostend company, and the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction promulgated by Charles the sixth.

Meanwhile, the darling negotiation of the queen had been indirectly carried on by the agency of Monteleon. But his sanguine imagination had built too confidently on the support of the mediating powers. France, England, and Holland positively refused to co-operate in the forcible admission of the spanish prince in Italy; and at the moment when the revolution in the government opened the fairest career to his active and enterprising genius, he was detained at Paris on an irksome and unprofitable mission.

At length the impatience of Elizabeth Farnese terminated this farce of negotiation. Vexed with the jealousies of the mediating powers, indignant at the lukewarmness of France, from whom she had anticipated a cordial support; above all, mortified and chagrined to find the offer of Gibraltar a mere

illusion, and foiled in her plans for the immediate establishment of her son, she turned to the emperor himself, not merely to escape from the labyrinth in which she was entangled, but with the hope of drawing from him more essential advantages for the establishment of her children, than she could expect from the lukewarm mediation of France and England.

The emperor was speedily apprised of this change of sentiment, and was impelled by similar motives to free himself from the irksome mediation of France and the maritime powers, from the latter of whom he was alienated by the endless disputes relative to the commerce and government of the Netherlands. He first employed the intervention of the pope to sound the disposition of the spanish court; and, when assured that his overtures would be favourably received, he made a direct application to the queen, and flattered her ruling passion for the aggrandisement of her family.*

The agent of this new and singular operation in policy was a counter-part of Alberoni, without his superior talents as a statesman, whose sudden rise and rapid disgrace form a memorable epoch in the reign of Philip.

John William, baron, and afterwards duke, of Ripperda, was descended from a noble family, originally Spanish, which had settled in the Netherlands while dependent on the spanish crown. He was born in the lordship of Groningen, about 1665,† and is said to have received his education in the jesuits' college at Cologne. After distinguishing himself as a classical scholar, he embraced the military profession, and at the close of the war of the succession had attained the rank of colonel. In the intervals of military duty, he acquired an

* House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 8.

† In the short period of his ministry, Montgon says, he was about sixty.

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extensive knowledge of modern languages; and deeming the theory of trade and manufactures the most effectual instrument of promotion in a commercial country, he successfully applied himself to the study of those branches of political œconomy.

At this period, he increased his fortune by espousing a rich heiress of Holland, and became one of the representatives of his province in the states general. He brought himself into notice during the congress of Utrecht, and in consequence of his commercial knowledge, was deputed as envoy to Madrid, to terminate the complicated disputes between Spain and the dutch republic. In this capacity he rendered essential service to the english ministers, and was rewarded with valuable presents. He at the same time devoted himself to the service of the emperor, to whom he became known by an acquaintance with prince Eugene, and was recompensed with an annual pension. His insinuating address, his knowledge of manufactures and commerce, his fertile genius, and acquaintance with languages, particularly the spanish, had early attracted the notice of Alberoni, then labouring for his own rise. Ripperda acquired the favour and confidence of so discerning a statesman, by supplying him with projects of political œconomy, and was consequently employed in affairs of the most delicate nature, particularly in those branches which had been the object of his study and meditation.

With these qualifications and advantages, Ripperda was at once the spy and agent of the imperial and british courts, and a servant of Spain, while he remained the ostensible representative of the dutch republic. Extravagant in his style of living, he was little scrupulous in acquiring money, and was bold and artful enough to obtain 14,000 pistoles from the british court, by employing the name of Alberoni himself, as reward for the

signature of the commercial treaty.* His deceptions were not, however, immediately detected, or were overlooked in consideration of his talents and services; for he continued to rise in the esteem and confidence of Alberoni, and assisted in accelerating his nomination as minister.†

The elevation of his patron, and the splendid hopes inspired by the fortune of foreigners in Spain, induced Ripperda to lay down his ministry, and naturalise himself in a country which may be called the Paradise of adventurers. His distinguished talents and aspiring character began to awaken the jealousy of Alberoni, who urged his religion as an insuperable obstacle to his being employed in the service of the catholic king. But such objections were too trifling to baffle an enterprising and little scrupulous politician; and he compassed his design with the art of a consummate courtier. He found means to represent to the king, that the great virtues of his majesty had made an edifying impression on his heart, and that he was irresistibly moved to embrace a religion which would at once secure his own salvation, and enable him to devote himself to the service of so great, so pious, and so beneficent a monarch. The duty of nature, he said, obliged him to secure a competence for the support of himself and his family; but he trusted in the generosity of the king to make him some compensation for the sacrifice of his friends and country. He hinted that his studies had qualified him to superintend the manufactory at Guadalaxara, which had been established at his own suggestion.

* Mr. Dodington mentions the payment of this sum to Ripperda, on the behalf of Alberoni, and Mr. Stanhope afterwards discovered that it was converted to his own use.

† Account of Ripperda by the Sicilian Abbots, from whom we learn that he suggested to Alberoni the proper moment for assuming the administration, by the influence of the queen.

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His representations were attended with effect. His solemn abjuration was received; and he was immediately appointed superintendant, with a grant of lands, and a house which formerly belonged to the admiral of Castile.

Well acquainted with the proper sources of court favour, Ripperda, by the emperor's influence, obtained recommendations from the duke of Parma to the queen, and carefully copied the successful example of Alberoni. The rapid improvement of the manufactory under his auspices, and the skilful use which he made of his familiar intercourse with the king and queen, redoubled the jealousy of the minister, who was alarmed to see this adroit and enterprising foreigner tread so closely in his own footsteps, and he was removed from his superintendancy. He, however, dissembled his resentment, affected ignorance of the quarter from whence the blow was struck, and redoubled his attentions to Alberoni. But at the same time, he entered into connections with Grimaldo and d'Aubenton, and by those secret channels of communication which he well knew how to command, continued to present to the king plans and memorials adverse to the system, and exposing the errors of the minister.

These representations, and the verification of many of his predictions, made a due impression, and gained him the reputation of a man of singular foresight and intelligence. Accordingly, on the disgrace of Alberoni, he was not only restored to his former station with additional honour, but made superintendent general of all the manufactures in Spain, and took up his residence at Segovia, where he lived in a style of great magnificence. Being now a widower, he increased his connections in Spain, by espousing a castilian lady of noble family.

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He continued to support his credit by new plans and suggestions for the improvement of trade, and the increase of

the revenue, and ingratiated himself with the queen, by recommending an intimate connection with the emperor as the most effectual expedient for aggrandising her family, and for marrying her son Don Carlos to one of the archduchesses. He now aspired to a share in the administration, and was on the point of succeeding, when he was foiled by the united influence of d'Aubenton and Grimaldo, who, after employing him to overthrow Alberoni, became jealous of his superiority, and represented the danger of confiding the reins of government to a new convert. Ripperda therefore turned his attacks against Grimaldo, and in a series of memorials exaggerated his errors, and detailed the mischiefs flowing from his impolitic devotion to the english court, at a time when England was peculiarly obnoxious. The death of d'Aubenton removing his most powerful enemy, he was on the point of triumphing over the opposition of Grimaldo, when the retreat of Philip suddenly overclouded his brilliant prospects.

During the temporary seclusion of Philip, he improved the good opinion of the queen, and became her secret and confidential adviser. With the return of the king to the government, he emerged suddenly into new favour; and from his connections with the imperial court, was selected to negotiate that union with the House of Austria, which he had himself originally suggested and uniformly recommended.

Ripperda was furnished with authority and instructions to conclude a peace with the emperor, to negotiate a marriage between Don Ferdinand and the youngest archduchess, if he could secure the Netherlands and italian territories as her dowry, and to obtain the reversion of Tuscany and Parma for Don Carlos. These were the conditions which were probably settled with Philip, while he was charged with private orders from the queen to arrange a marriage between

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the eldest archduchess and Don Carlos, whose intended union with mademoiselle de Beaujolois, fourth daughter of the duke of Orleans, was in consequence to be annulled.

Before his departure, our political adventurer made a bold and adroit attempt to secure the post of prime minister on his return. He presented an extensive and splendid plan for the renovation of the spanish monarchy. He developed the means of improving the american trade, creating a powerful marine, and augmenting the public revenue; and interspersed his suggestions with invectives against the peculation of preceding ministers, and the incroachments of foreign nations on the spanish trade and territory.

It may not, perhaps, be unpleasing to the reader, to present the outline of a project which was intended to form the ground work of his own administration, and evidently suggested many beneficial improvements of succeeding ministers.

To eradicate the contraband trade to the West Indies, he proposed to establish a number of small light squadrons, amounting in the whole to eight ships of the line, ten frigates, and twelve gallies, so stationed as to range the whole coast of Southern America. To these were to be added a land force of 5,000 foot, and 1,000 horse, the object of which was to expel the english from their possessions and encroachments. To defray the expence, the militia duty, which was become useless, was to be commuted for a particular tax on each province, and an additional contribution of 5 per cent. was to be levied on all employments and pensions in those countries. The deficiency was to be supplied by appropriating the revenues of vacant sees and benefices.

This was to serve as the foundation to a new and efficient system of commerce, which was divided under three heads, the asiento of negroes, contraband, and the trade from Spain, by Cadiz, to the Indies.

If the asiento could not be wrested from the English without a war, they were to be harassed till they should voluntarily relinquish it as vexatious and unprofitable. For this purpose, their passports were to be delayed, that they might not reach the West Indies till after the arrival of the flota and galleons, and after the periodical fairs. Private orders were to be given to all principal officers not to consume foreign, particularly english, manufactures, to lessen their estimation among the people, and, under the pretence of search, to exercise every species of vexation. The south sea company was also to be deprived of every indulgence not specifically included in the peace of Utrecht; to have no warehouses on the north sea; to be prohibited from selling, except at the fairs, where they would incur a certain loss; and all natives who should lend their names to the English, were to be punished with death. The acquiescence of England was anticipated; because, on the slightest complaint, Spain would be provided with a naval and military force to subjugate her colonies.

With regard to the second branch, or contraband, the king was to revive his antient and exclusive right of trading to the american colonies, that, under the pretext of smuggling, a constant cause might be adduced for seizing all foreign ships in the indian seas, even on their passage. But, while the utmost rigour was to be used towards the English, as the nation most benefited by this lucrative traffic, the dutch were to be adroitly lured with indulgences, to prevent the two maritime and trading nations from uniting in defence of their common interest. Thus, it was urged, the colonies of other countries, in this part of the western world, no longer enriched by the stream of treasure which continually flows from the adjacent continent, would speedily be abandoned as an useless charge, or yield to the first attack of the spanish arms.

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The regulations for the trade from Spain, tended to annihilate the commerce of the English and all other nations considered as not friendly. Returns were to be made of the goods sent to America; and measures adopted that such articles as could not be furnished by the mother country, should be drawn from friendly nations, though without a public prohibition of english commodities. To supply the deficiency, foreign manufacturers were to be invited to settle in Spain. By a perseverance in these and similar measures, the downfall of the english commerce was predicted in less than two years.

Ripperda proposed to send with each flota twelve royal ships loaded, and twelve galleons; and to keep two galleons constantly at Cadiz, and two at Buenos Ayres to serve in subsequent voyages. The expence of this armament would, it was calculated, be defrayed by the freight; because the merchants would naturally give the preference to king's ships well manned. This regulation would furnish a considerable force, with skilful mariners and able officers accustomed to the Indian seas. In case of a war, these flotas and galleons united, would immediately form a fleet of twenty four ships of war, and might speedily be joined by an additional force of fifty sail of the line.

He laboured also to shew the high importance of the Philippine Isles in a commercial view; and urged that an advantageous trade might be opened through this channel between Spain and the East. In support of his arguments, he added, that when he was permitted to examine the books of the dutch East India Company, he found accounts of great presents to the spanish ministers, for permission to trade with these islands, and export the silver brought from Mexico. He therefore proposed the formation of a spanish company trading to the Philippines. The ships of this company were to sail

from Cadiz to the South Sea, to distribute a part of their lading in Chili in exchange for silver and other native productions, and from thence proceed to the Philippines. This merchandise being disposed of in the ports of China, Siam, and the adjacent regions, to purchase spices and other eastern commodities, they were again to direct their course to Chili, and exchange their cargoes for silver, to be brought back to Spain. Thus he calculated that Spain would speedily appropriate the commerce both of their own territories and their own Indies, to the exclusion of interlopers, and even obtain a considerable share in the rich trade of the east. ca. xxxv. 1725.

As the means for securing this extensive maritime commerce, a well fortified dock yard and arsenal were to be formed at Ferrol, as the station for the squadrons destined to cruise in the summer, to protect the american fleets, and watch the English. This project, besides ensuring the execution of the preceding plans, would keep the british nation in constant alarm, inflame the popular discontents; and, by the augmentation it must necessarily occasion in the public burdens, would contribute, with the decrease of trade, to the downfall of a power on the ruins of which alone Spain could hope to restore the edifice of her antient grandeur.

In addition to the plans for the improvement of the indian commerce, a factory was to be established at Ferrol, to trade to the northern countries, and establish fisheries. This, it was calculated, would maintain 20,000 families of mariners, and deprive the english of above a million of crowns, which they annually drew from Spain.

He also proposed to issue orders excluding foreign articles of wool, silk, &c. in proportion as such manufactures should be naturalised; and the king and court were to set the example in the consumption of home fabrics.

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As the means of giving energy and movement to this extensive system, he suggested the plan of a bank at Madrid, which was to allow five per cent. interest on all deposits of money. To form its fund, he proposed to transfer to it the treasure called St. Justus, for the relief of widows and orphans; and all the property of ecclesiastical establishments, intended for the purchase of additional revenues.

By the combined operation of all these causes, he confidently predicted such an augmentation of the national industry, population, and revenue, as would enable the king to maintain an army of 130,000 men, with a fleet of an hundred ships and frigates, and would furnish an annual surplus amounting to 2,000,000 crowns.*

Such plausible and magnificent plans, proposed by a man whose predictions had been so often verified, joined to a keen sense of resentment against England and France, captivated the romantic imagination of Philip. He promised the sanguine projector, that on his return from his mission he should be raised to the supreme direction of affairs; and empowered to effect that regeneration which he had so skilfully planned for his adopted country.

With this assurance, Ripperda departed from Madrid, and after a rapid and secret journey, arrived at Vienna *incognito* in November. To evade the prying eyes of the foreign ministers, and of those who were interested to thwart his design, he took up his residence in the suburbs under the name of baron

* These notices relative to the early life and plans of Ripperda, are principally taken from interesting documents communicated to the british court by the Sicilian abbots.

Account of the Rise and Plans of Ripperda, and the means of preventing their ill effects. Account of the means by which Ripperda ingratiated himself with their catholic majesties. MSS. in the Walpole Papers, translated from the original spanish, and communicated to Mr. Walpole at Paris, Oct. 1, 1727.

Pfaffenburg, and held his conferences nightly with count Sinzendorff, the imperial chancellor. He continued this secret agency, unnoticed by all the vigilance of political jealousy, above three months, and, before any certain knowledge could be gained of his person or object, had nearly fulfilled his mission. He seems even to have been lured by the imperial court, with the hope of a marriage between the eldest archduchess Maria Theresa and Don Carlos.

When thus far matured, the design encountered the strongest opposition from the empress, from the archduchess herself, who was attached to the duke of Loraine, and the ministers, who were devoted to the antient system of austrian policy. But the agent of Spain, supplied with immense sums, did not spare his largesses. Even the emperor himself did not blush to encourage this venal traffic by his own example. Of all the austrian ministers, Eugene alone maintained his integrity, and every obstacle seemed to be gradually diminishing under the powerful influence of money.*

At this juncture an unexpected incident swept away the remaining objections of the spanish court, and precipitated the conclusion of this singular and mysterious negotiation.

The duke of Bourbon, as prime minister of France, was actuated by different principles, both political and personal, from those which had induced the regent duke of Orleans to re-unite the spanish and french branches of the bourbon family. Personally obnoxious to the House of Orleans, he was anxious to prevent its eventual succession, in case of the death of the

* According to Mr. Stanhope's Dispatches, the sums distributed by Ripperda in the interval from July to Sept. 1725, amounted to no less than 570,000 pistoles. Mr. Stanhope to Lord Townshend, Nov. 2, 1725. Also St. Saphorin's Notices sur la Cour de Vienne; and Dispatches to the british court, while their agent at Vienna. Walpole Papers.

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young king. Hence he formed the design of dissolving the compact of marriage which had been concluded for Louis the fifteenth; because the youth of the intended bride delayed for several years the hope of a direct successor. He long deliberated in what manner to take so delicate a step; and under various pretences, deferred the ceremony of betrothing, which was to have been performed when the infanta had attained her seventh year.

In the midst of his hesitation a dangerous illness of the young king alarmed the nation with the prospect of a disputed succession.* Of this sentiment the duke of Bourbon promptly availed himself. After various attempts to discover a princess of proper rank and mature age, he selected Maria, the daughter of Stanislaus Letzinski, titular king of Poland. This point being settled, he obtained the consent of the young king; and to prevent any opposition from the court of Madrid, it was decided to send back the infanta without previous notice, but with an apology urging the necessity of the case.

However secret this design was kept, either political jealousy, or private intimations awakened the suspicions of the spanish court; the importunities of the queen not only extorted repeated and solemn disavowals, but a promise that the ceremony of betrothing should speedily take place. The plan being matured, Tessé was recalled, and the communication of the unwelcome intelligence was intrusted to an humbler agent, the abbot de Livry, who was detached from his embassy of Portugal, as a minister well qualified by sedateness of temper and acquaintance with the court of Madrid for so delicate a commission. He reached Madrid, ignorant of the real motive of his appointment, and was overwhelmed with concern and terror at the communication of the orders

* St. Simon, t. 8, p. 198.——Richelieu, t. 4, ch. 6.

with which he was charged. He was directed to demand an audience, and deliver the letters of excuse from the king and the duke of Bourbon, without any previous hint of their contents, that a pretext might not be found to refuse receiving them. But his mind was too deeply agitated to fulfil the injunction. When presented, he fell on his knees, burst into tears, and betrayed his errand by a confused apology.* The effect was such as might have been expected from sovereigns so ardent in their temper, and so affectionately attached to their children. The letters were indignantly rejected, and the queen, tearing a picture of Louis the fifteenth from her bracelet, trampled it under foot, exclaiming, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" But recollecting the relationship of her husband, she turned to him, and added, "except your majesty."† The minister, confounded and dispirited, was dismissed from the royal presence with ignominy and contempt.

In the first struggle of contending passions, the secret was not divulged, though the unusual agitation of the sovereigns, and the despondency of Livry himself, created suspicion. At length, when the intelligence arrived from Paris, and could no longer be concealed, their smothered resentment burst forth with redoubled fury. The minister and every french consul were ordered to depart without delay. Philip declared that all the blood of Spain could not sufficiently avenge the insult, and announced his resolution never to be reconciled to France till the duke of Bourbon had repaired to Madrid, and solicited for pardon on his knees. The indignation of the monarch spread rapidly among a nation peculiarly delicate on points of personal honour; for it required all the vigilance of the govern-

* Memoires de Montgon, t. 1, p. 16.——Stanhope's and Keene's Dispatches.

† Account of Ripperda, by the Sicilian Abbots.

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ment to prevent a general massacre of the french in the capital. All public connection was broken off betwen the two courts; and before the arrival of the infanta, the widow of Louis and mademoiselle de Beaujolois were sent back to France.*

In the first burst of resentment, the violence of the queen extorted from Philip a decree for the departure of every frenchman, without exception. On reflection, however, he became sensible of the injustice and even impracticability of this order, and adopted a whimsical expedient to pacify his imperious consort. Calling his valets, he made them open his wardrobes, and prepare his trunks as if for a journey. The queen entering amidst the bustle, demanded the cause of such preparations. "Is it not decreed," asked Philip, "that all the French should leave Spain? I am a Frenchman, and therefore am preparing for my journey." This ludicrous expedient was more effectual than serious remonstrances; the queen smiled, and the order was countermanded.†

Philip and the queen immediately sent for the english embassador, Mr. Stanhope. They recapitulated all the irritating circumstances of the indignity they had suffered, and inveighed against the duke of Bourbon, for aggravating the outrage by his duplicity. Though in the presence of a public minister, the queen could not restrain her natural impetuosity. "This one-eyed scoundrel,"‡ she exclaimed, "has sent back my daughter because the king would not create the husband of his harlot a grandee of Spain!" Philip, with more decorum, added, "I am resolved to separate myself for ever from France, which,

* Account of Ripperda, by the two Sicilian abbots.——St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 216—223.——Ortiz, t. 7, lib. 23, c. 10.

† From Burgoing, to whom the anecdote was communicated by one of the valets de chambre. T. 2, p. 116—Note.

‡ Alluding to the duke of Bourbon, who was blind of an eye.

instead of weakening, will, I trust, strengthen the bands of amity between Spain and England. I will place my whole friendship and confidence in your sovereign, and will command my plenipotentiaries at Cambray to reject the interposition of France, and submit the arrangement of my disputes with the emperor to the sole mediation of Great Britain."

Too impatient, however, to wait for a reply to the overture, Philip ordered Ripperda to abandon all the contested points which had retarded his negotiation. He entered also into a treaty for a double marriage with the family of Portugal, to unite Don Ferdinand with the infanta Barbara, and the intended queen of France with the prince of Brazil; while the queen dispatched a pressing injunction to Ripperda to conclude the match between Don Carlos and the eldest archduchess.

George the first declining the overture, and not only refusing to dissolve his connection with France, but urging the necessity of her support to defend Spain against the emperor, Philip turned his resentment against England. He reiterated his commands to Ripperda to hasten an accommodation; and broke up the congress of Cambray by recalling his plenipotentiaries.

The emperor was equally hostile to France and equally dissatisfied with England. The disputes therefore between two rival sovereigns, who for so many years had agitated Europe with their wars and intrigues, were terminated in a few conferences; and an alliance suddenly took place between these two inveterate and personal enemies, for the advancement of their mutual interest, and the gratification of their common resentment."* April, 1725.

* Letters from St. Saphorin, minister at Vienna to the british court; from Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, March 10 and 20, 1725. Mr. Keene, March 18, 1725.——Memoires de Montgon, t. 1, passim.——History of the House of Austria.——Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1726.

Substance of the three Treaties concluded by Ripperda at Vienna—His departure and arrival in Spain—His indiscreet and violent Conversations—Honourable reception at Madrid—Entrusted with the sole Administration of Affairs.

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THE impatience of the spanish court was soon gratified; for within six weeks after the dismission of the infanta, all Europe was alarmed with the disclosure of a treaty between Spain and the emperor, which had been concluded at Vienna on the 30th of April.

This engagement confirmed in general all the articles of the Quadruple Alliance. Both sovereigns renewed their former renunciations, but agreed to bear the titles which they had respectively assumed during their lives. The emperor confirmed the eventual investiture of the italian duchies; while Philip abandoned all ulterior pretensions to the territories dismembered from Spain, at the peace of Utrecht, as well as his protection of the italian states, and relinquished his title to the reversion of Sicily for that of Sardinia. But the most important article was the guaranty of the succession established in Spain, by the emperor, and the counter guaranty of the pragmatic sanction by Philip. On the 1st of May, the emperor, in the name of

the germanic body, signed a new treaty, approving the arrangements for the succession of Parma and Tuscany; and on the 20th of July it received the confirmation of the diet.

Another treaty was signed on the 1st of May, relative to commercial arrangements. The king of Spain sanctioned the company of Ostend, agreed to protect the subjects of the emperor in their trade to the East Indies, granted them free ingress and egress in all his ports, allowed them the same commercial privileges as were enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and, to gratify the states of the empire, extended to the Hans Towns the same advantages. To give additional effect to this arrangement, and enable the manufacturers and merchants of the Netherlands and the hereditary countries to maintain a successful competition with those of England and Holland, a design was formed to establish a new list of duties in their favour, by which their contributions were diminished one half.*

A secret treaty was signed at the same time, which, though according to the diplomatic phrase, called a treaty of defence, was in reality an offensive alliance. It contained a new guaranty of their respective dominions, a specification of the contingent to be furnished by each, in case of an attack, and an engagement to support each other if necessary with their whole force. The emperor pledged his good offices to obtain the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca, and private and ulterior engagements were evidently arranged, if not actually signed, against the possessions and tranquillity of Great Britain.†

* Account of Ripperda, by the Sicilian abbots.

† From the mystery attending this transaction, much discussion has arisen on the subject of these secret articles. We have already dilated too amply on this subject in another work, to bring it again before the reader in the present. It is,

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In announcing these treaties to the court of Madrid, Ripperda conveyed the most solemn assurances on the part of the emperor, that he would bestow his eldest daughter in marriage on Don Carlos, assist in the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca

therefore, sufficient to observe, that, according to all the proofs which the case admits, and which we think sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced mind, these secret engagements comprised the forcible recovery of Gibraltar, and the restoration of the exiled family, should England refuse to comply with the demands of the Vienna allies. We barely recapitulate a part of these engagements, as communicated by the Sicilian abbots, of whose accurate information, and favour with Philip, we have adduced many proofs in this work; and, if more were necessary, more may be found in the testimony of Montgon, at this time himself high in the royal confidence. Montgon, t. 3, p. 64, t. 5, p. 108. 137.

"Art. 5. Their cesarean and catholic majesties, foreseeing that the king of England will oppose the execution of such designs, as well in regard to his particular interests, as not to lose his umpireship in Europe, for which reason he will undoubtedly engage the English nation, and unite the Dutch and other princes in his league, they oblige themselves to seek all methods to restore the Pretender to the throne of Great Britain, to which end, the catholic king was to make use of the pretence of the restitution of Gibraltar, which he was to demand immediately, as soon as the peace of Vienna was published." Memoirs of Lord Walpole, c. 14.

We cannot, however, omit to introduce a curious anecdote, communicated by Count Rottembourg to Mr. Walpole, which carries with it all the evidence that the tacit avowal of Philip and his queen themselves can afford.

"Count Rottembourg mentioned a very remarkable thing. In speaking of me to their catholic majesties, he told them, I had wrote Mr. Keene word in one of my private letters, that I had such an opinion of their veracity, that if it was possible to ask them the question, and they would declare there was no other treaty between the emperor and Spain, than that which was public, I would freely own that all the measures taken by England were wrong and unjustifiable. Having said this to their catholic majesties, they made him no manner of answer; and, observing their countenances, the queen looked upon the ground, and the king coloured extremely. But her catholic majesty having recovered herself, said to the king, Sir, you never did make any treaty against England. The king, however, continued silent, and said nothing." Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle, Paris, May 4, N. S. 1728.

by force, and concur in the hostile designs of Philip against England and France. The glad tidings were received at Madrid with transports of joy; the sanguine imagination of Philip was inflamed, and he fondly hoped that the time was arrived to retaliate for past mortifications, and gratify his disappointed ambition. The treaty of peace was first published, that of commerce next divulged; the other engagements were, for a time, veiled in mysterious secrecy, and known only from the vaunts of Ripperda, and the exultation and imperious demands of the court of Madrid. The services of Orendayn, who had conducted the correspondence, were rewarded with the title of marquis de la Paz, and proofs of increasing favour; and Ripperda, immediately raised to the rank of a duke, was made a grandee on his return to Madrid.* CH. XXXVI. 1726.

The circumstances of this negotiation drew the attention of the powers more immediately interested. In consequence of the public boasts of Ripperda, that England should be compelled to restore Gibraltar and Minorca, Mr. Stanhope demanded an explicit avowal, whether this declaration was made by authority from the king of Spain. Philip and the secretary Grimaldo did not at first hesitate to disavow the minister; but at the moment when Mr. Stanhope was preparing to transmit the intelligence to his court, he received a note from Grimaldo, requiring the *immediate restitution of Gibraltar*, as the only expedient to avert a rupture. Astonished at such prevarication, he demanded an audience, respectfully remonstrated against the precipitancy of the demand, and represented that it was previously necessary to obtain the consent of parliament, which could not be assembled till the return of the king, then in Hanover. He was interrupted by the queen: "No!" she exclaimed, with her usual vivacity, "Then let Aug. 6, 1725.

* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 386.

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the king your master return instantly to England, and summon a parliament, a measure we have a right to expect, from his repeated offers of friendship. I am fully convinced that the proposal would not meet with a single negative in either house. To give more weight to the demand, let this short argument be used; either relinquish Gibraltar, or your trade to the Indies; the question will not admit of a moment's dispute or delay."*

In consequence of the information which the british court had already received, concerning the secret engagements between those of Madrid and Vienna, this imperious and insulting demand was repelled with proper dignity. An immediate declaration was also obtained from France, announcing a resolution to concur in proper measures for maintaining the british nation in the possession of Gibraltar, and the enjoyment of its commercial privileges.† Aug. 16.

Both Austria and Spain immediately made active preparations for war, and Philip flattered himself that this union would enable him to give the law to Europe. He encouraged his partisans in France, caballed against the duke of Bourbon, and joined with the emperor to form a party in favour of the Pretender, both in England and on the continent. They acquired a preponderance in the North, by gaining Russia; they hoped, by the treasures of Spain and the imperial influence, to obtain a majority in the empire; and the marquis of St. Philip was dispatched to secure the acquiescence of the Dutch.

The alliance of Vienna, joined to the active cabals, myste-

* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 34.——Mr. Stanhope to lord Townshend, Aug. 6, 1725.

† State of the Negotiations with Spain, from the Treaty of Vienna to December, 1727.

rious threats, and hostile preparations of the two powers, excited all the alarm which they expected to create, but did not, as they hoped, deter England and France from opposing force to force. Common danger produced an intimate union, and they were soon joined by many of the minor powers who were equally threatened or alarmed. The result of their concurring efforts and negotiations was the celebrated alliance of Hanover between England, France, and Prussia, which formed a counterpoise to the alliance of Vienna. The bond of this union was a defensive treaty for the mutual protection of each other's dominions and possessions; with a common engagement against the Ostend company, and the other commercial projects of Spain and the emperor, by a general renewal and confirmation of all prior treaties of commerce.*

Europe was now divided into two great parties by the efforts of the rival powers to increase the force of their respective alliances; and every court within the sphere of their influence was agitated by their intrigues and bribes, and other artifices of diplomatic warfare.

While the commotion was rapidly spreading around, the principal agent of this great political revolution emerged from his retreat, and assumed the state and honours of an embassador of the highest rank. Naturally vain and loquacious, his indiscretion was increased by the pride of success: even on the most public occasions, he expatiated on the mighty effects which would result from the formidable alliance of the two most powerful courts in Christendom.

His arrangements being completed, he left his son Louis, then only nineteen years of age, as chargé d'affaires; and quitted Vienna without deigning to take the customary leave of any of the public ministers. Accompanied by only a single

* Rousset, t. 2, p. 139.——Koch, t. 2, p. 20, 23.

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attendant, he hastened back to receive the honours and rewards which awaited him in his adopted country. Even on his journey, he could not refrain from indulging a vanity equally puerile and imprudent. At Genoa, he was received with unusual honours; and in the extravagance of his exultation, indulged himself in the same boasts as at Vienna.

On landing at Barcelona, he detailed to the officers of the garrison, who crowded to pay their respects, an ample account of his mission, and of its successful result. The emperor, he said, had an army of 150,000 men, ready to march without delay. At the moment of his departure from Vienna, prince Eugene bade him assure the king, his master, that in case of a war, as many more would be ready to obey the orders of Spain in six months; and the emperor himself in the strongest terms announced his resolution to support the king of Spain with his whole force, should he be reduced to declare war, in order to obtain the restitution of Gibraltar.* He spoke with the utmost contempt of the duke of Bourbon and the french government. "Should the Hanover allies," he exclaimed, "dare to oppose the designs of the emperor and Spain, that great grenadier the king of Prussia shall be driven from his throne; George the second stripped of his territories in the empire in a single campaign, and his english throne filled by the rightful heir, James the third. Never shall a reconciliation take place while I have any influence; and could I only live till that event, I should have no doubt of attaining an advanced age."†

Anxious to convey himself the grateful intelligence of his success, he rode like an ordinary courier, and arrived at

* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, 4to, v. 2, p. 580.

† Mr. Stanhope to lord Townshend, Dec. 27, 1725.——Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, 4to, v. 2, p. 275.

Madrid in the afternoon of the 11th of December. Conscious that he was authorised to overstep all the punctilios of spanish etiquette, after a momentary interview with his wife, he hurried directly to the palace in his traveller's apparel. On reaching the anti-chamber he was informed that the king and queen were engaged with Grimaldo. He expressed his impatience at this trifling delay; and when the secretary quitted the cabinet, he did not condescend to notice a man whom he had already doomed to disgrace. His arrival being announced to the king and queen, he was welcomed with unusual kindness; and in a long audience detailed his recent transactions, and developed his future designs.*

Honours and rewards now showered on our political adventurer. On the following morning he was declared secretary of state in the room of Grimaldo; and an order issued to the other ministers and foreign embassadors, to make their communications to him alone, announced that, like Alberoni, he was raised to the place of prime minister. It is needless to particularise the successive promotions which marked his rapid career. In the short space of two months he concentrated in himself not only the departments of war, marine, and the Indies, but even the revision and superintendance of the courts of justice.†

If the conduct and language of Ripperda were before equally unbecoming and indecorous, it will be easily imagined that he became still more insolent when basking in the full sunshine of royal favour. It was his favourite and almost continual topic of discourse to extol the strength of the emperor

* Montgon, t. 1, p. 205.

† Memoirs de Montgon, t. 1, p. 207.——Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 35.——Ortiz, t. 7, lib. 23, c. 10. Account of Ripperda, &c. by the Sicilian abbots.

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and Spain, which, if united, he said, would not only counterbalance all the other powers of Europe, but would suffice to chastise those who should presume to resist them. The Pretender, he repeated, should be established on the throne of England; weakness and divisions in the government would reduce France to neutrality; the parliament of England would never be induced to sanction a war with Spain, nor the Dutch to accede to the Hanover alliance; while his own superior credit and fertile resources would draw from Spain whatever sums he should want or desire.

The court easily caught the confidence and presumption of the minister, and announced the conclusion of an offensive alliance with the emperor, in terms which shewed its expectation of intimidating Europe.*

* Stanhope's Dispatches.——Moutgon, t. 1, passim.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1726.

Administration of Ripperda—His ineffectual attempts to intimidate and afterwards to divide the maritime Powers and France—Difficulties of his situation—Failure of his promises to the imperial court—Disputes with Konigseg the imperial Embassador—Attacks of his enemies—Loses the favour of the King and Queen—Disgrace—Takes refuge in the Hotel of the english Embassador—Discloses the secrets of the spanish Cabinet—Arrest and imprisonment in the Castle of Segovia—Subsequent adventures—Change of administration.

SUPPORTED by royal favour, and swollen with his native presumption, Ripperda prepared to carry into execution the splendid projects for which he had been chosen to guide the helm of state. The sanguine hope, which naturally attends a change of government, prevailed to a high degree both in the court and nation: the favourite of the day was hailed in the glowing language of spanish romance, as a new planet rising in the political horizon, as the harbinger of peace and prosperity to a troubled world. He himself flattered the general prepossession by his own confidence; by displaying the presumption of one who felt the vast extent of his own abilities and resources, who was fully assured of fulfilling all the promises which he had lavished on the sovereign

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and the nation. He represented himself as appointed to change the antiquated and defective system of spanish polity; to purge the courts of justice; to reform every department of state; to break the commercial fetters imposed on the country by the maritime powers; to revive the splendour of that people who had once given law to Europe, and whose energies had been depressed by the vices, ignorance, and misconduct of preceding administrations.

Elevated expectations are however inseparably united with disappointment and contempt; and never was an unfortunate projector more completely deluded by his own sanguine imagination than Ripperda. Amidst the illusions of extraordinary success and airy favour, he had not calculated the strength of interested opposition, even to the most beneficial designs; he had widely over-rated his own abilities; he had ill appreciated the obstacles arising from the character of the people, the circumstances of the country, and his own personal situation; he had fondly hoped to realise in an hour that which could only be attained by a long course of successful years. Above all, he little suspected, that even before his return from Vienna, effectual means had been employed to arm against him the prejudices of the king. The suspicious diffidence of Philip, who never gave his full confidence to any minister, induced him to submit the projects of Ripperda to the Sicilian abbots, and to others from whom he was accustomed to receive secret advice. This communication was fatal to their author. Besides exposing and exaggerating the defects and errors in his plans, these private advisers excited the jealousy which Philip entertained of his prerogative; and deterred him from confiding to the new minister that extensive power which was necessary for carrying them into execution.*

Account of Ripperda by the Sicilian abbots.

Ripperda had as widely mistaken the temper and principles of the queen. He was ill calculated and ill prepared to sway a princess, haughty and impetuous, who pursued her designs with inflexible perseverance; who spurned at delay or restraint, and would not suffer the most important considerations to interfere with her prejudices or personal interests.

Thus circumstanced, Ripperda, in assuming the government, was loaded with honours, titles, and all the external appearances of authority; but without the solid power possessed by Alberoni. He was suspected by the king, harrassed by the impatience of the queen, detested by the grandees, thwarted and exposed by those whom he had displaced, and surrounded by a host of enemies, without the means to baffle their vigilance or repel their hostilities.

In the very outset of his career he encountered an insurmountable obstacle to the discharge of the subsidies which he had promised to the emperor. By the constant drains of incessant wars, the great extent of the current expences, and the enormous sums already transmitted to Vienna, the royal treasury was completely exhausted. The salaries of the household and civil officers were in arrears; even the army, which had been augmented to 80,000 men, was ill paid, and in want of every necessary article of equipment. The people were oppressed with taxes which were difficult to be raised; while the trade and industry of the nation suffered under a general stagnation of credit, in consequence of the disputes with France and the maritime powers.

In the midst of these embarrassments, count Konigseg arrived at Madrid, as embassador from the emperor, and was welcomed with extravagant marks of favour and exultation. It was naturally supposed that the presence of an embassador from Vienna would consolidate the influence of the minister

CH. XXXVII. 1726. who had originally formed the connection between the two courts. But such was the situation of Spain and the emperor, and such the circumstances of Ripperda himself, that this very incident increased his difficulties; and, amidst the general joy which welcomed the arrival of Konigseg, the countenance of the minister was clouded with doubt and apprehension.*

In spite of the lavish promises of Ripperda and the artifices of the austrian court, it now appeared that far from being anxious to hasten the promised marriage, the emperor was deterred by the opposition of the german princes, and only sought to gain plausible pretexts for delay. It was likewise evident that his military preparations were far from being so extensive or mature as Ripperda had inconsiderately represented; and that instead of dictating to the Hanover allies in the empire and the north, he had the mortification to see their influence triumphant in every quarter.

Ripperda was irritated and harrassed by the incessant importunities of the imperial embassador for pecuniary assistance, to subsidise the catholic princes of the empire, and give energy to the preparations of the emperor. To elude these importunities, he was forced to allege excuses on excuses; to urge the impoverished state of the treasury; and with difficulty obtained a respite, till the arrival of the periodical supplies which were expected from America.

With these endless causes of discontent and irritation, the intercourse of the two ministers became daily less cordial, and finally terminated in a state of covert hostility. Still, however, the interest of both to deceive the queen protracted an open rupture. Konigseg amused her with professions and apologies on the part of his sovereign; while Rip-

* Memoires de Montgon, t. 1, p 290.

perda adopted the most vigorous measures to allay the cupidity of the imperial court. To obtain a temporary supply, he made a sweeping reform in every branch of administration, discharged hosts of clerks and officers, and levied contributions on the farmers of the revenue, the viceroys, and others who had filled lucrative offices, under the pretence of peculation. He raised the value of the gold coin, and recurred to a measure equivalent to that of closing the exchequer in England, the suspension of all pensions and payments. Such rigorous measures were sufficient to rouse the popular indignation at any period, and at the present they were more keenly resented, because they were introduced by an upstart foreigner, and appeared as the first fruits of that alliance from which such benefits had been expected, but which had proved the fertile source of innumerable mischiefs. CH. XXXVII. 1726.

Conscious of his difficulties, yet anxious to satisfy the expectations he had raised, Ripperda endeavoured to supply his want of strength by vaunts, threats, and ostentation. With this view, he induced Philip to address a letter to the states general, apprising them that he was obliged to assist the emperor in case of a war, and to avenge the wrongs he might receive from his enemies. That he would make a common cause with his imperial majesty in all things, and by all things, and declare war against all who should engage in hostilities against him, holding the enemies of the emperor for his own, and being fully assured of a return equally zealous on his part.* Jan. 23.

With a similar hope, Ripperda employed a different expedient to alarm England. With affected confidence, he communicated to the british minister a part of the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, relating to the engagement of Spain to support the company of Ostend, and the reciprocal promise of

* Historical Register, 1726, p. 40.

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the emperor to assist in recovering Gibraltar by good offices, or by force, if necessary. He detailed the means devised for carrying these designs into execution; he said the emperor was to send 30,000 men into Spain; and added, with an implied threat against England, that he would employ as many more, at the charge of the king, *wherever such a force was deemed necessary to promote the objects of the alliance.**

Not content with mere threats, he planned an expedition against the british isles, in favour of the exiled family. Affecting to apprehend an attack on the northern coasts of Spain, he collected 12,000 men in Gallicia, under the command of Don Louis de Cordova, equipped six men of war at Cadiz, under the pretext of a voyage to the West Indies, and ordered some russian ships, which had reached the coasts of Spain, to the northern ports, to concur in the enterprise.†

To supply the expences of the armament, he proposed to appropriate the charitable fund of St. Justus, amounting to 9,000,000 dollars, under the promise of future reimbursement. But even the sovereign of Spain could not venture to touch this sacred deposit, without the consent of the council of Castile; and accordingly the queen, by the agency of her confessor, endeavoured to gain the president, the bishop of Siguenza. The queen and minister were, however, too little beloved to obtain the support of a spanish minister, in such an open violation of the national feelings and principles. The president referred the proposal to his friends, the two sicilian abbots, and, in consequence of their dissuasions, not only re-

* Stanhope's Dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, Feb. 4, 1726.——Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, 4to. v. 2, p. 584.

† Stanhope's Dispatches.——Sir Robert Walpole to lord Townshend, London, Oct. 12—21, 1725.——Lord Townshend to the duke of Newcastle, Nov. 4—15, 1725.——Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, v. 2, p. 486—490.

fused his assent, but solemnly protested against a measure pregnant with such mischief and injustice.*

The queen and minister were equally confounded and indignant at this unexpected obstacle, and the queen in particular testified her resentment so warmly against the president, that he fell ill from chagrin and apprehension. The king, however, being deeply affected by the representations of the president, the expedient was necessarily abandoned. To save appearances, the minister employed the royal name in demanding from England and France a disavowal of any hostile design against the spanish coasts; and this disavowal being freely given, the troops were remanded to their former quarters.†

At the same moment, he turned his views to France, expecting to raise that jealousy or apprehension which he had failed to excite in England and Holland, and flattering himself that the court of Versailles might be lured with the hope of a reconciliation, or dazzled with the prospect of establishing a bourbon prince on the throne of the empire. With his characteristic presumption, he boasted that he was able at any moment to effect this reconciliation. He accordingly opened a secret correspondence, by means of the queen's confessor, Montgon, and other french agents, with Fleury, and endeavoured to gain him by offering to favour his design of supplanting the duke of Bourbon.

In all quarters, the sanguine minister was equally unsuccessful. His threatening mandate to Holland, and his attacks against their commerce in supporting the rival company of Ostend, weighed with many towns which were before adverse to the Hanover alliance, and weakened that influence from which Spain had hitherto drawn such advantage.

* Account of Ripperda by the two Sicilian abbots.

† Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, April 23, 1726, N. S.

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The british nation and parliament, as on every dangerous occasion, rallied round the throne. Contrary to the hopes of Ripperda, they not only supplied the means of fulfilling the hanover alliance, but testified their resolution to defend the german dominions of the king, if attacked, in consequence of the measures pursued by the british government.

These repeated disappointments induced him to change his tone, and he became as humble as he was before vain and insolent. Instead of the peremptory demand of Gibraltar, he now mildly assured Mr. Stanhope, that it should not be made the subject of a war; that, although the king would not relinquish his pretensions, he was ready to wait a twelve-month, or even a much longer time. He concluded with pressing for an amicable negotiation on this disputed point, pledging his head, that such an equivalent should be offered on the part of Spain as would be perfectly satisfactory to the british nation.*

Even the faint hopes which remained of detaching France from the Hanover alliance totally vanished. Fleury was too cautious, as well as too secure of his own personal influence with the young king, to employ the assistance of Spain against the duke of Bourbon. The duke himself, also, felt that the only chance of his continuance in power depended on the maintenance of the connection with England. Both courts accordingly presented a strong declaration, expressive of their cordial union, by the agency of Mr. Stanhope, who, from the absence of a french embassador, was charged with their public business at Madrid. On this occasion, the king and minister shewed their disappointment, in a manner conformable to their respective characters. When Mr. Stanhope presented the letter written on the occasion, by Morville, french secretary of

* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, Feb. 28, 1726.

state, the king cautiously read it over, and then sullenly observed, "By this it appears that the king your master, and the french court, are closely united: so am I with the emperor." Ripperda, on the contrary, whose feelings and character were more impetuous, displayed every symptom of extreme chagrin and agitation, and, to adopt the expression of the british minister, "appeared more discontented than he had power to describe."* CH. XXXVII. 1726.

Such sinister omens announced the approaching fall of this political meteor. He was overwhelmed with the multifarious business which flowed into his different departments, where his rigorous reforms had left him almost without assistance. He was perplexed and baffled even in the most beneficial designs, by the interested opposition of the councils and ministers; he was intimidated by the general clamour against the Vienna alliance.

Philip, who, amidst his hypochondriac melancholy, was not deficient in judgment nor in love of his people, at length truly estimated the extravagance of his visionary schemes, and encouraged the attacks of his enemies. He even repeatedly represented to the queen, that it was necessary to remove such a madman from power. For a time, however, Ripperda still maintained himself by the protection of this imperious woman, who reluctantly abandoned the hope that he would ultimately realise the promises with which he had flattered her ambition.

Confiding in her support, Ripperda endeavoured by confidence and presumption to overawe his enemies, and save his tottering authority. He even ventured to overstep the respect due to the princes of the royal blood. The game-keepers of the prince of Asturias having shot a dog belonging to his wife, were instantly arrested. When the prince appeared before the

* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, April 23, 1726.

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king to demand redress, the minister attempted to interrupt him. The prince, with castilian spirit and brevity, silenced him with the remark, "I am speaking to the king:" Philip nodded approbation, and the humbled pride of the minister was reduced to an apology.

In a public levée, he enjoined the confessor to confine himself to the spiritual concerns of the sovereign, and not to meddle in other matters. On another occasion, he no less publicly declared, "I know that the spanish nation hate me; but I despise their attempts while I am protected by the queen, to whom I have rendered the most important service." He once made use of the absurd and childish exclamation, "I have six good friends, God, the Virgin Mary, the emperor and empress, and the king and queen of Spain."

His vacillations, indiscretion, and absurdities, were, however, rapidly dissipating the favourable opinion which the queen herself had formed of his abilities and resources. Her pride, vanity, and ambition, for a time struggled against the general sentiment, and even against her own conviction: she passed whole days in alternate fits of tears and passion, when urged by the arguments of her consort.* At length means were adopted to overcome her infatuation, by persuading her that other ministers could be found no less capable of realising her darling projects than Ripperda, without his vanity and indiscretion.

The two brothers, the marquis of Castellar and Don Joseph Patiño, who had been removed from their offices, to make way for Ripperda, were the chiefs of the cabal which struck the death blow to his authority. They were assisted by Sopeña,

* "The king is extremely agitated and uneasy, and has daily disputes with the queen, who does nothing but cry from morning till night." Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, March 29, 1726.——Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, v. 2, p. 584. Correspondence.

Ariaza, and other discarded ministers, and still more by their relative Monteleon, who, since his return from France, had regained his former favour. But their chief support was the confessor of the queen.* CH. XXXVII. 1726.

This priest had been recommended to his post by Alberoni and d'Aubenton, from an opinion of his want of capacity and unambitious spirit. During the life of d'Aubenton and the ministry of Alberoni, he remained in the back ground; but he afterwards ceased to act a subordinate part; employed all the arts of petty cunning and an insinuating disposition, to acquire influence with his royal mistress, and succeeded by flattering her ambition, and affecting an entire devotion to her will. His ignorance of political affairs, joined to his anxiety to consolidate his favour, led him to form an intimate connection with the sicilian abbots, and particularly with the two Patiños,† who were capable of supplying him with that information which his confined understanding and professional occupations had not permitted him to acquire. By his channel, therefore, the Patiños found means to transmit such representations as were at once calculated to weaken the power of the minister, and bring themselves into notice. They applied with equal success to count Konigseg, by engaging to realise the promises of Ripperda, and, through his interposition, acquired the powerful assistance of the imperial court.

While this cabal was imperceptibly sapping the credit of the falling minister, he received a new shock from the members of the Hanover alliance. Without declaring war, France and England employed prompt and effectual measures to palsy the efforts of Spain. France menaced an attack by land, while England detached three squadrons, one to the Baltic, a second

* He had recently been raised to the rank of titular archbishop of Amida.

† Montgon, t. 1, p. 513.

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to the coasts of Spain, and a third to block up the galleons in the ports of America. By the former, the powers of the North were awed, and the attention of Spain called to her own shores; by the latter, the regular supplies were suspended, public credit destroyed, and the last resource on which Ripperda had calculated, snatched from his grasp.

At this crisis, the smothered enmity between the minister and count Konigseg burst into open hostility. Konigseg assailed him with incessant accusations, and charged him with deceiving the court of Vienna, by pretending that the king of Spain was richer than all the other princes of Europe, while, in reality, he was scarcely less distressed than the emperor himself. On the other hand, Ripperda complained to the english and dutch ministers, that the Germans were insatiable, and would not be contented till they had drained the king of his last pistole. These bickerings were followed by a formal complaint from the emperor himself, inveighing against the folly and imprudence of Ripperda, in revealing to the british minister the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, and exaggerating the fatal consequences of the disclosure. Such an attack was decisive. The queen herself joined with Konigseg in inflaming the displeasure of the king, employed all her influence to overthrow her own creature, and urgently recommended the Patiños, who had pledged themselves to discharge the subsidies, and fulfil the promises with which Ripperda had lured the imperial court.

Still, however, the fall of Ripperda was not sudden like that of Alberoni. He was first removed from the superintendence of the finances, and this partial disgrace was palliated with the pretence of relieving him from a part of the burthens of administration. Too well acquainted with court favour to mistake this prognostic of approaching ruin, he requested

permission to retire. But the arrangements of his enemies were not yet matured, or the effects of his despair and indiscretion were dreaded. His demand was refused; he was never permitted to make an apology for his conduct, and continued a few days in the regular transaction of business. On the 14th of May, as he was quitting the royal cabinet, he received a decree from the marquis de la Paz, announcing the acceptance of his resignation by the king; and the grant of an annual pension of 3,000 pistoles, for his past services. CH. XXXVII. 1726.

This spoiled child of fortune might probably have been permitted to retire from visionary power to substantial affluence; but the very apprehensions which had apparently delayed and softened his fall, were now realised. From resentment or fear he had for some time courted the british and dutch governments; and in the first emotions occasioned by his dismission, he hurried to the hotel of the dutch minister, Mr. Vander Meer, under the pretext of escaping from the indignation of the populace, who tumultuously assembled about his house. May 15.

Receiving however no encouragement from his own countryman, he took refuge in the hotel of Mr. Stanhope, who was then absent with the court at Aranjuez. On his return Ripperda betrayed the most abject humiliation, and purchased a temporary protection by disclosing all the secrets of the spanish cabinet, with the exaggerations natural to his disordered feelings and dangerous situation. Besides the secret articles which he had before communicated, he now mentioned the intended marriages of the two archduchesses with the two infants, developed the plans formed for the restoration of the pretender, and the schemes for dismembering from France, Alsace, Franche Comté, Burgundy, Navarre, Rousillon, and all the possessions which she had wrested from Austria and Spain; and concluded with adverting to the

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various projects for the eventual succession of Philip to the french throne. He accompanied the detail with signs of the utmost agony and contrition, and frequently interrupted his recital with groans and tears.

With the inconsistency of a weak mind, at the very moment when he had thus forfeited all claims to the royal indulgence, this singular and imprudent man made a final attempt to regain the partiality of his injured sovereigns. He wrote a letter expatiating on his past services, adding this expostulation, "Was it not I, who procured for your majesty the treaty of Vienna; was it not I, who concluded the marriages of Don Carlos and Don Philip with the two archduchesses?" He had even the folly to recommend the king to abandon the emperor and unite with England and France, from whom he might draw greater advantages for his children, namely, Italy for Don Carlos and the Netherlands for Don Philip. He concluded his rhapsody with requesting permission to retire into a convent.*

It was not to be expected that the sovereigns of Spain would tamely suffer their disgraced favourite to insult them under the protection of a foreign minister. They therefore demanded the surrender of his person, and this being declined, they sent a military force, and caused him to be seized and transported under a strong guard to the castle of Segovia. But these precautions were too late to prevent the effects of his treason. Mr. Stanhope found means to commit the detail of his discoveries to writing, and place it in the hands of a friend; and dispatched the english consul Keene, with a

* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, March 18, and July 2, 1726. Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, and Walpole Papers. And other details from a curious Dispatch written by Mr. Keene, June 15, 1726, who was selected to convey this important intelligence to London. Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, v. 2, p. 606.

verbal account to his court. He made a protest against the violation of the privileges attached to his residence; but as the conduct of Ripperda was in itself unjustifiable, the british court profited by his disclosures without descending to any efficient measure of resentment.

The caprices and favours of fortune, towards this singular man, were not yet exhausted. After a confinement of fifteen months, though crippled with the gout, he found means to escape by the assistance of a maid servant, Josepha Romero, whom he had seduced; reached Portugal in safety, and landed in England, where he was received in secret, but with respect. His presumption induced him to make an attempt to play the same part in England as in Spain;* but failing in the design he withdrew to his native country, where he again embraced the protestant faith. Being demanded by the court of Spain as a state criminal, and his resentment against Spain still rankling in his bosom, he entered into the service of the Moors, through the agency of Perez, a spanish renegado, then moorish resident at the Hague. He was honourably received by the emperor Muley Abdalla, filled the administration for several years, and commanded an army against the spaniards.† On the dethronement of Muley Abdalla, he obtained the protection of the basha of Tetuan, and closed his chequered life in November, 1737, whether as a christian or a mussulman is uncertain and unimportant.

In reviewing the transitory administration of Ripperda, we naturally draw a comparison between him and his predecessor

* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole.—Art. Ripperda.

† In consequence of this connection with the infidels, he was deprived of his rank of duke and grandee of Spain, July 16, 1732. Ortiz has, however, preserved a letter from Ripperda to his friend Mr. Troye, May 22, 1734, justifying himself against the accusation of apostacy. T. 7, p. 388.

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Alberoni. Both were men of abilities and extensive knowledge, and both the architects of their own fortune; Alberoni rising to power by the native energy of his character, Ripperda by dexterously availing himself of times and circumstances. One, however, seemed born to command, the other to figure in a secondary sphere. One always appeared superior to his situation, struck before he threatened, veiled his means and designs with a mysterious secrecy which redoubled their effect, rose with new vigour from defeat, and for a time balanced the combined efforts of the great powers of Europe by the vast resources of his mighty genius. The other was no less rash in his promises than defective in their performance, rendered his real power contemptible by vain menaces and empty vaunts, and degraded his person and office by needless falsehoods, pitiful evasions,* or alternate insolence and meanness. Both were equally impetuous and irritable, yet the hopes or apprehensions of Alberoni were never betrayed, even amidst the most violent ebullitions of his temper; while Ripperda discovered all the workings of his mind, by his looks and gestures, embarrassment and agitation. Finally, one was re-

* In proof of this remark it will be sufficient to quote a single passage from the correspondence of the british minister.

"Though I flatter myself with the hopes of being able to form a tolerably sure judgment of the disposition of this court, I have almost as little certainty from them of what they will be a fortnight hence, as I have of knowing what the wind will then be from seeing how it is at present. This uncertainty proceeds from having a minister at the head of affairs, upon whose veracity no sort of dependence can be had; and what is still worse, who acts upon no fixed scheme; but entangled in his rash engagements, which he finds himself unable to fulfil, from the disappointment of his vain hopes at home, and in most of the countries in Europe, *a perdu la tramontane, et vit au jour la journée.*"

Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, April 11, 1726. Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole.

spected and dreaded in his retreat, the other despised even in the height of his authority.

But while we place Alberoni in a rank far superior, it would be unjust to withhold from Ripperda the merit of having suggested many useful schemes which were executed by other ministers. He evidently projected most of the commercial regulations adopted by Alberoni; and the bare outline of the plans sketched in a preceding chapter, will suffice to prove how greatly his successor Patiño profited by his ideas and designs. Indeed Ripperda may justly be regarded as one of the principal authors of the new commercial system established in Spain, since the commencement of the last century.

The fall of Ripperda was followed by the re-appointment of most of the ministers whom he had displaced, though political power was transferred to other hands. Grimaldo was again named secretary for foreign affairs; but the conduct of the important communications with the court of Vienna was still confined to the marquis de la Paz. Don Francisco Ariaza was re-placed in the department of finance; and Castelar in that of war. Don Joseph Patiño, assuming the administration of the marine and Indies, and possessing the full confidence of the queen and Konigseg, now commenced the career of his ministry.*

* Memoires de Montgon, t. 1, passim.——St. Philippe, t. 4, passim.——Ortiz, t. 7, lib. 23, c. 10, 11.—Dispatches of Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Keene.—Account of Ripperda by the Sicilian abbots.—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 35, and of lord Walpole, ch. 14, 15.—Campbel has written a life of this singular man, which contains some truths, but overwhelmed with fictions proper only for the pages of romance.—Also a spirited sketch of his character and administration by G. Moore, esq. though in some instances he has been misled by the fables of Campbel.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1726.

Preponderance of the german Influence at Madrid—Disgrace of Grimaldo and change of Ministry—Rise of Patiño—Ineffectual attempts of the French Court to effect a Reconciliation—The Queen obtains the Disgrace of the Confessor and the Sicilian Abbots—Philip resumes his Designs on the French Succession—Instructions and Mission of the Abbot Montgon to Paris—Commencement of an Intercourse between the two Bourbon Courts—Montgon returns to Madrid—Temporary Hostilities with England—Siege of Gibraltar—Signature of the Preliminaries by the Emperor—Delays of Spain—Effects of the Death of George the First—Restoration of the Correspondence between France and Spain.

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THE fall of Ripperda gave additional strength to the german influence, and inflamed the hostile disposition towards England and France. With redoubled confidence, the court turned towards the emperor, as to a cordial friend and powerful ally, who was occupied in promoting the interest and glory of the spanish crown, by preparing the way for transferring to the family of Philip the vast dominions of the House of Austria. Such was the darling object which engrossed all the thoughts and hopes of the queen. The illusion of this agreeable perspective did not permit her to discern the slightest shade of difficulty, or anticipate the most trifling obstacle; it became an article of political faith at Madrid, that sincerity was no

where to be found but at Vienna, and insinuations contrary to this darling idea were not merely received with contempt, but drew down infallible disgrace on their authors.

Ripperda had suffered too severely for his want of complaisance towards the court of Vienna, to be imitated by the new ministry. At the very moment of his disgrace, 300,000 dollars were sent to the emperor, a loan of 2,000,000 more negotiated in the most pressing manner, and the principal part immediately transmitted to the same destination. The troops withdrawn by order of Ripperda, were again countermarched to the french frontier and the coasts of Gallicia, and ships equipped in the different ports. New marks of distinction were lavished on the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the rest of the exiled jacobites, both by the court and the imperial minister, and every proof displayed of an intention to prosecute the hostile designs so solemnly and repeatedly disavowed.*

An entire change took place in all the departments of state, and every minister was removed who was even suspected of partiality towards England and France. To use the expression of a writer engaged in the intrigues of the cabinet, every thing which did not bear the stamp of entire devotion to the court of Vienna, was stigmatised with a mark of reprobation.†

One of the first victims was the marquis of Grimaldo, so long the personal favourite of the kng, who had shared his retreat, and had been the depositary of his most secret counsels. His influence had resisted numerous attacks, and gained new strength by every victory. On the disgrace of Ripperda, he was indeed restored to office; but by the interference of the all-powerful Konigseg, he was excluded from any share in the communications with the court of Vienna, which were

* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, June 27, 1726.

† Montgon

CH. XXXVIII. 1726. confided to the marquis de la Paz. The jealousy excited by this exclusion in the breast of the minister, raised frequent disputes between him and his former dependant; and his enemies, profiting by his moments of spleen, and his avowed attachment to England, at length succeeded in obtaining his dismission. Ariaza, minister of the finances, shared the same fate, in consequence of his opposition to the enormous subsidies lavished on the court of Vienna.

Sept. 30. 1726. In announcing these incidents to Mr. Walpole, then minister at Paris, Mr. Stanhope observes, "Your excellency will doubtless be much surprised by the late changes at this court, as indeed every body here was, and still is, and none more than the persons themselves who have suffered by them. As to the marquis of Grimaldo, it is certain he expected no such thing yesterday morning. He was actually putting his papers into the bag to carry them to the king, (as it was dispatch day) when the order was delivered to him to resign his employment, and retire immediately to Madrid, with a pension of two thousand pistoles a year.* * * * * * * *

"Don Joseph Patiño seems to be the only gainer by these changes. He has the employments of president, intendant, and secretary of the *hacienda*, or finances, joined to those he held before, namely, superintendant of the marine, and secretary of the marine and Indies. As to the marquis de la Paz, he rather loses than gains by what has happened, being obliged to part with the secretaryship of the finances, for the addition of the few foreign affairs, which had been left in Grimaldo's hands, the greatest and most considerable part having been long since in his own.

"Patiño grows every day into the confidence of their

* Grimaldo lived for a few years at Madrid, in a state of dignified retirement, always respected, and frequently consulted by the king.

catholic majesties: if he once gains it, he is likely to preserve it long; because he is a person of great capacity and experience in affairs, and of wonderful application and dispatch."

But the most important of these changes was the removal of father Bermudez, the king's confessor, an avowed enemy to the German alliance, and a partisan equally zealous for a reconciliation with France. He was esteemed a man of strict integrity, and superior to the petty intrigues too common among those of his order; and he was endeared to Philip by his strict attention to his duty, and the confidence derived from his function. In vain the queen had hitherto laboured to procure his dismission, though she had so far prejudiced the mind of her suspicious husband, as to draw on him reproaches for treachery. When he offered to attest his innocence on the crucifix, the king snatched it from his hands, exclaiming, "I have too much respect for the image of Christ, to suffer you to perjure yourself." The confessor, however, found means to parry this blow, and even to regain his influence.*

Having entered into a secret correspondence with cardinal Fleury, he was employed to make a direct overture to the king for a reconciliation, without the knowledge of the queen. Bermudez availed himself of the opportunity of confession, to present a letter from Fleury, inclosing another from the king of France himself. Philip had scarcely cast his eye over these letters, before the queen, who never left him long alone with the confessor, entered the apartment. Perceiving the papers in his hand, and the confusion of the confessor, she affected to retire, expressing her concern for having interrupted business. This artifice produced its usual effect. "You may enter," said the king, "for we have no business. Father Bermudez is

* Memoires de Tessé.

CH. XXXVIII. 1726. speaking to me of a letter which he has received from cardinal Fleury, and has delivered me one from the cardinal himself." He then placed these important papers in her hands.

It is easy to conceive the indignation of this imperious woman on discovering such an attempt to subvert her favourite system. The humbled confessor was instantly commanded to retire; and before the evening received an order to return to Sept. 29. his college, without a pension, or the slightest mark of royal favour. His place was filled by father Clarke, a jesuit of irish extraction, and rector of the scottish college at Madrid, personally unknown to the king, and imperfectly acquainted with the french language; but principally recommended as a partisan of the Stuart family, and as confessor to the count and countess of Konigseg.*

Subsequent attempts only drew down similar disgrace on their authors. The Sicilian abbots, Platania and Caraccioli, had been long accustomed to furnish memorials to the king, and to give him advice in private audiences, conducted by means of his favourite valet, Valois. As they were men of great political sagacity, Philip at all times received their opinions with attention, though contrary to the predominant system patronised by the queen; and they had essentially contributed to the fall of Ripperda. They entered into a private correspondence with Fleury and the english ministers, and profited by their audiences and communications to expose the mischiefs resulting from the german connection, and the policy of a reconciliation with France. To these representations, we may attribute a part of that lukewarmness, and even

* These particulars are chiefly drawn from the Memoirs of Montgon, who received his intelligence from the archbishop of Toledo, and Bermudez himself. T. 2, p. 311, 317, and Stanhope's Dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, Oct. 7, 1726.

repugnance, which Philip occasionally expressed with regard to the Vienna alliance. For some time this intercourse was kept so secret as to escape the prying eyes of the queen, till in one of Philip's frequent indispositions, a letter found in his pocket led to a discovery of his advisers. So highly, however, were they respected by the king, that the queen did not make a direct attempt to procure their removal; but employing the agency of the inquisition, caused them to be seized on a religious accusation, without the knowledge of Philip, and ordered them to be transported to Italy.*

This therefore, like the preceding attempts, served only to fortify the authority of the queen, and to intangle Spain still deeper in the german connection. Count Konigseg, whose exaggerated promises had charmed her imagination, became the great channel of court favour, and the prime mover of the spanish counsels, and was permitted or authorised to receive from the chiefs of the different departments, the same communications as were made to the prime minister. Every thing bent to his powerful interference; even Monteleon, though related to the Patiños, and favoured with the royal confidence, was baffled in his attempts to obtain the embassy of Vienna, in consequence of his former connections with England.†

* From a curious letter of Mr. Walpole, Sept. 30, NS. 1727. These abbots afterwards repaired to Paris; and furnished much useful information to the british and french governments. In a visit to England they were received with great attention by the ministry, were gratified with pensions, and appear to have passed the remainder of their lives in France. So warmly were they persecuted by the queen, that, according to the information of Montgon, to whom they were recommended by Monteleon, one of the pretexts employed by Fleury to ruin his credit with the court of Madrid, was an accidental visit paid him by these priests on their arrival at Paris. Montgon, t. 3, p. 64. t. 5, p. 108, 134. In the Memoirs of lord Walpole, I have erred in attributing their banishment to the displeasure of the king. Ch. 14.

† Mr. Stanhope to Mr. Walpole, Madrid, July 2, and Segovia, Sept. 30, 1726.

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The queen, so agreeably flattered with the hope of realising her ambitious dreams through the Vienna alliance, persuaded herself, that little difficulty would arise in detaching France from England, or at least in palsying the efforts of the french government, by exciting civil troubles under the pretence of urging the claims of Philip to the eventual succession. These hopes, which were easily infused into the mind of her husband, were strengthened by the events in France since the fall of Ripperda.

We have already mentioned the contemptuous manner in which the catholic king rejected the letters of apology for the dismission of the infanta. Frequent overtures of the duke of Bourbon were repulsed with similar contempt, and even a declaration was made that no apology would be accepted, till the duke himself should repair to Madrid to solicit pardon on his knees. On a refusal to comply with such a degrading condition, both the king and queen forbade the very name of the duke to be mentioned in their presence.

Resentment and the desire of vengeance again induced Philip and his queen to employ the intrigues of their partisans in France, and to profit by the errors and abuses which disgraced the administration. The duke of Bourbon himself imitated the profligacy, without possessing the talents of his predecessor, the regent. He was governed by a rapacious mistress, madame de Prie; and she in her turn was directed by those low and greedy adventurers, the four brothers known by the name of Paris, who, deriving their humble origin from a petty inn-keeper at the foot of the Alps, had risen by chance, aided by their own talents and address, to the height of political power and affluence. Such a government, combining every species of immorality and peculation with weakness and imbecility, was contemned by every honest and discerning man, and found a powerful opposition in the

party of the duke of Maine, and the numerous adherents of the bourbon system of policy.* CH. XXXVIII. 1726.

In this disposition of the public mind the intrigues of the spanish court produced a considerable effect; but the fall of the unpopular minister was hastened by the ascendancy of bishop Frejus, preceptor to the king, afterwards well known under the title of cardinal Fleury. Disputes had continually arisen between the duke and the preceptor, each of which had only tended to strengthen the interest of the latter, till at length their rivalry terminated in the dismission of the duke. He was exiled to his residence of Chantilly; and Fleury, at the advanced age of seventy-three, ventured to assume the administration of affairs.

This change was hailed in Spain with scarcely less exultation than the conclusion of the alliance with the emperor. Besides the gratification of personal resentment, it was considered by the court of Madrid as a new æra in the policy of France: Philip and his queen confidently believed, that the new minister, an ecclesiastic, and a personal enemy of the duke, would signalise his accession to power, by breaking the alliance with heretics, and renewing the connection between the two branches of the House of Bourbon. It cannot, indeed, be asserted, that these hopes were totally unfounded; but France was still too much embarrassed by internal disorders, and too jealous of Austria, to take so abrupt and decisive a step.

The first measure, however, of the new minister, was an overture through the papal nuntio, to accommodate the family disputes, accompanied with the declaration, that he himself had no share in the dismission of the infanta. An imperious reply from Philip, for a time, cut off all hope of that

* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 12.

CH. XXXVIII. 1726. gradual reconciliation which it was the policy of the cautious minister to effect. Still dazzled with the splendid prospects of the Vienna alliance, he insisted that the emperor should mediate the arrangement; and reproached Fleury for his union with the enemies of God and of the catholic religion. Such a preposterous mediation was therefore naturally rejected, as insidious, and contrary to the faith of the treaties with England.

November, 1726.

All attempts to dissolve the connection between France and England proving fruitless, Philip endeavoured to accomplish by force what he was unable to effect by intrigue and negotiation. He matured his military preparations for the siege of Gibraltar, trusting that the emperor would adopt a part equally decisive, and give full employment to the Hanover allies in Germany. Indeed this expectation was partially realised, for the emperor induced Russia to accede to the alliance of Vienna; he detached the king of Prussia, whose interest preponderated in the north of Germany; and by the promise of liberal subsidies he obtained the support of the catholic states. To engross the whole attention of the british government, he intrigued with the jacobites both in England and on the continent, and caballed with the chiefs of opposition, who became the apologists and advocates of Spain and Austria.

At the moment when the two courts were thus deeply occupied in forwarding their common design, a report of the french king's declining health diverted the attention of Philip, and revived his darling hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors. He accordingly sent a confidential agent into France, who, under the hackneyed pretext of negotiation, was to consolidate an union of all parties in his favour; and either gain Fleury, or prevent his opposition by exciting internal troubles.

This agent was the abbot de Montgon, a native of France, who under the appearance of religious enthusiasm had won the confidence of the devout monarch and his queen. He was of noble descent, and brought up in the family of Condé, with the duke of Bourbon; but renounced his property in favour of his brother, and exchanged the military for the ecclesiastical profession. By the interest of d'Aubenton, he endeavoured to obtain an establishment in Spain; and appears even to have aspired to the office of preceptor to the prince of Asturias. Although the death of his protector frustrated his appointment, he was not discouraged; for, on the abdication of Philip, he requested, through the medium of the new confessor, to share his retreat, with no other view, as he said, than to become a near spectator of his virtues, and strengthen his own good disposition by so edifying an example. The resumption of the crown by Philip prevented the fulfilment of his request; but after a short delay, he was permitted to repair to Spain, with the promise of a post near the royal person. He was employed by his patron the duke of Bourbon to mediate a reconciliation; and though his endeavours proved unsuccessful, he continued to rise in favour, and was selected for the task of uniting and consolidating all parties in favour of Philip's pretensions to the eventual succession of France.

In the audience in which he received his orders, after some previous conversation on the delicacy of his commission, the queen said to him as he stooped to kiss her hand: "You are going into a country where I am little beloved; but you shall judge whether with reason. We were informed by a special messenger from the court of France, that as soon as my daughter had completed her seventh year, the betrothment should take place. Yet the very next post brought us word that she was sent back. Is it wonderful that the king and

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myself should resent an insult which would provoke the meanest individual?" "This insult," replied the abbot, "cannot be imputed to the french nation, which fosters for your majesties equal attachment and respect; for the departure of the infanta spread as much concern as her arrival had given joy. This last sentiment will readily be revived when your affection for the french nation returns. If you will permit me to be the bearer of this happy news, you will soon be apprised of the universal joy it will inspire in France." "It is not yet time to speak of that," interrupted the queen; "you know our sentiments on that article, and the king and I trust you will exactly follow our instructions. Confine yourself solely to the object of your mission; and you will receive my further orders from my confessor the archbishop of Amida."

Dec. 24, 1726.

Montgon afterwards received his instructions, written in the king's own hand. To use the words employed by the monarch himself; "If it please God that the king my nephew should die without male heirs, *I, the nearest relative, or my descendants, ought and will succeed to the crown of my ancestors.** For this purpose you will endeavour to discover and discriminate those who are attached to me, those who are attached to the House of Orleans, and those who are indifferent to both parties, and you will employ every discreet and secure means to augment the number of my adherents. You will not communicate this either to cardinal Fleury or to the count de Morville. Not to the former, because his devotion to the House of Orleans is known, and because, for some time, I have no reason to be satisfied with his conduct. You may,

* After the remarks we have made in regard to the views of Philip on the French crown, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to call the attention of the reader to this forcible expression.

however, visit him as a private man, and endeavour by his means to discover the true state of the court, and of affairs; but enter into no negotiation without my special permission. Morville is totally devoted to the English, and therefore you must distrust him; though you may likewise draw from him all the information you can.

"Give no umbrage to the ministers of the emperor, but by no means impart to them the slightest hint of your commission. Act in every thing as a private individual, avoiding the airs of a minister, and make no allusion to a reconciliation in the present state of affairs.

"Attempt particularly to gain the duke of Bourbon, by assuring him that if he will engage to favour my just cause, I will forget the past, and that he may expect from me every return of attention and friendship. This point requires your utmost secrecy, discretion, and address."

After pointing out the persons whom he was to consult, he observes, "I give you a letter of credence written with my own hand, which you are to present to the parliament, at the moment of the death of the king my nephew. *It contains orders to proclaim me king.* You will please to inform yourself what other letters are necessary to the different bodies of the state, and whether it will be proper to name a cabinet or regent, till my arrival, with the names of those you recommend for that appointment. Also, should the queen survive the king, whether means should be taken to ascertain her pregnancy.

"The moment the king is attacked with a dangerous malady, you will send me a courier, and in case of his death, you will take the same precaution to announce the event, and the measures you have adopted."*

* Montgon, t. 3, p. 70.

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But to avoid exciting the jealousy of the emperor, or to furnish a plausible pretext for the mission, Montgon, before his departure, received a memorial in the hand of the queen, from her confessor, without any specific address. It contained a positive denial that Spain was averse to a reconciliation with France, and a proposal of re-union, provided the king would accede to the Vienna alliance. This memorial was to be communicated to Fleury; but every precaution was adopted to evade any serious engagement, and many petty artifices were employed to give to Montgon's departure the air of a disgrace, at the instance of the imperial minister. Soon afterwards, a new hint was conveyed to Montgon by the confessor, to contrive that if Louis the fifteenth should die, Don Carlos should be appointed to succeed in France, and Don Ferdinand in Spain.* With these instructions Montgon departed on the 8th of January, 1727.

But the plan, matured with such art and caution, could scarcely have been confided to an agent less discreet. The abbot, vain of his address, and equally presumptuous, credulous, and loquacious, contravened every article of his instructions. He disclosed the proposal for a reconciliation to Morville, who was devoted to the alliance with England, and in the very first conference with Fleury, he suffered the insinuating minister to draw from him the whole design of his mission, and even to peruse the orders with which he was charged. By the connivance of the cardinal, he also obtained personal interviews with the duke of Bourbon, as well as with many nobles of the spanish party, and imparted the intelligence which he received from them, with the same indiscretion as his own commission and instructions. He was thus adroitly cajoled and made the channel of communication with all parties, until

* Montgon, t. 2, p. 366.

an intercourse of letters was established between the two sovereigns. CH. XXXVIII. 1726.

This point was no sooner gained, than Fleury endeavoured to free himself from the presence of an agent, who, besides his loquacious and meddling disposition, was a zealous adherent of the duke of Bourbon. He, therefore, treated him with studied reserve, and contrived to hasten his departure. Accordingly, Montgon returned to Spain, bearing letters of apology from the duke of Bourbon, and proofs of attachment from the adherents of Philip; but, at the same time, leaving in the hands of the french minister a clue to the machinations of his party, and the means of tracing and baffling their designs. The reports he was suffered to convey, flattered the hopes of the spanish court, and he was welcomed both by the king and queen with all the favours due to the most adroit and successful negotiator. May 15-27. Aug. 13.

In his first audience, Montgon delivered the letters which he had brought from France, and rendered an account of his mission. The queen alone maintained the discourse; for the king, absorbed in a profound melancholy, gave no other sign of attention, than an occasional nod or smile. After obtaining a promise to accept the apology of the duke of Bourbon, and promote his return to court, the abbot entered into a bitter invective against Fleury, and to use his own whimsical expression, *made an exact anatomy* of his designs and injustice. The queen, listening complacently, enquired with a smile, "How did you take leave of each other?" To his reply, "With indifference on his part, and without chagrin on mine;" the queen rejoined, "I believe what you say; do not trust that man." She then reverted to the situation of France; and, after expatiating on the advantages to be expected from the reconciliation, concluded with an earnest wish to reward

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his meritorious services, and with assuring him of the protection of the king against the resentment of the cardinal.*

In the midst of these transactions, the king of Spain commenced hostilities against England. By his order, the Prince Frederic, a trading ship belonging to the south-sea company, with a rich cargo of merchandize, was seized at Vera Cruz. He threatened an invasion of the british isles, and collected an army of 25,000 men in Andalusia, for the siege of Gibraltar. In vain the most experienced of his generals remonstrated; in vain the marquis of Villadarias, who had conducted the attack in the war of the succession, represented the impracticability of the attempt while the english remained masters of the sea, and preferred the resignation of all his employments to the conduct of so hopeless an enterprise. Philip found a general inspired with his own sanguine hopes, in the marquis de las Torres, who presumptuously boasted, that in six weeks he would deliver Spain from this noxious settlement of foreigners and heretics. The siege was vigorously commenced; and it was hoped that such promptitude in undertaking hostilities, and the speedy reduction of Gibraltar, would at once remove every pretext for the interference of France, and stimulate the emperor to measures equally decisive in Germany. To alarm the court of Versailles, the king of Spain threatened to confiscate the property of the french merchants on board the flota, which soon after arrived from America.

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These sanguine hopes were dissipated by the spirit and resources of the british nation. The parliament, roused by the machinations and hostilities of Spain and the emperor, sup-

* Montgon, t. 4 & 5, passim.——Mr. Walpole's Dispatches from Paris, during, and after the mission of Montgon.——Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 14.

ported the government with unusual grants of men and money. Gibraltar was supplied with continual succours, the jacobites were awed by vigorous measures, and the imperial minister, count Palm, was disgracefully dismissed, for appealing to the nation against the conduct of the king. Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, acceded to the Hanover alliance. A french army was collected on the frontiers of Germany, and a subsidiary force of Danes, Swedes, and Hessians, taken into pay. The death of Catherine the first deprived the emperor and Spain of a powerful ally in the north, the king of Prussia began to waver, and the failure of the subsidies from Spain threatened to rob the emperor of that support in Germany, in which he had vainly confided. Instead of becoming the assailant, he was menaced in his turn. After a short negotiation, commenced by the pope, and continued under the mediation of France, he sacrificed Spain to his own safety; and his embassador signed the preliminaries of peace at Paris, on the 31st of May, 1727. These preliminaries were formally ratified; and, after considerable reluctance, accepted by the duke of Bournonville, the spanish minister at Vienna, in the name, though without the express authority of his sovereign.* CH. XXXVIII. 1726.

By the first article, the Ostend company was suspended for seven years. By the second, the rights and pretensions of the contracting powers were to remain on the same footing as before the year 1725, or if infringed, the question was to be referred to the decision of a future congress. The third contained the stipulation, that the commercial privileges enjoyed by the maritime powers and France, should be restored, as before the same period. According to the fifth, the king of Spain was to cease

* House of Austria, v. 2, c. 8.——Preliminaries of Vienna in the collections of public Papers, and particularly in Rousset, t. 3, p. 382.—404.

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hostilities within eight days after receiving the preliminaries; the ships of the Ostend company, included in a particular list, were to complete their voyages, or if taken, to be restored, and any which might have been seized, were to be faithfully delivered, with their cargoes. The galleons * were also to be permitted to return, in the full trust that the king of Spain would distribute the american effects, both in them and the flota, as in time of peace. In consequence, the british squadrons were to quit the blockade of the american ports, and withdraw from the coasts of the dominions belonging to Spain and the emperor, and the british commerce was to be exercised according to former treaties. By the eighth article, the ratifications were to be exchanged within two months, and a congress assembled within four, at Aix la Chapelle.

In virtue of this engagement, the king of England issued orders to the governor of Gibraltar, and the admirals in the West Indies, to cease hostilities, to restore the prizes taken during the war, to permit the return of the galleons, and to raise the blockade of the spanish ports and coasts. These orders were transmitted to Mr. Vandermeer, the dutch minister at Madrid, who, in the absence of the regular embassadors, was charged with the affairs of France and England. He was directed to communicate them to the court, and obtain the ratification of the preliminaries, with reciprocal orders, for raising the siege of Gibraltar, and restoring the ships detained or captured, particularly the Prince Frederic.

* The galleons were the vessels charged with the riches and merchandise of the western districts of South America, which rendezvoused at Carthagena, or Portobello; the flota, those which were charged with the productions of the eastern, and which rendezvoused at the Havannah; the flotilla was a light division detached to announce their arrival, and carry a statement of their respective cargoes.

But the allies of Hanover had ill calculated on the captious and vindictive spirit which animated the spanish cabinet. Philip, still hoping for a favourable change of affairs, delayed the ratification of the preliminaries, and continued to temporise until the death of George the first. ch.xxxviii. 1726. June 22.

This event again awakened his hopes. He renewed his intrigues with the jacobites, ordered his embassadors and agents in foreign courts to encourage them with promises of support, and instigated the pretender to proceed to a port in the Netherlands, that he might be ready to pass over to England on the first signal. Philip was even persuaded that France would seize so favourable an opportunity of deserting England, and returning to that system, to which she was bound by the ties of blood, religion and policy.

He was encouraged by the emperor, who fostered a similar resentment against the british government, and resumed his design of carrying his arms into the electorate of Hanover and the United Provinces. The expectation of a new revolution in England produced an equal change in the interested sentiments of the german princes. The king of Prussia renewed his alliance with Austria, Saxony became neuter, Bavaria, with the electors on the Rhine, concurred in favouring the emperor. The possession of Mentz and Erfurth furnished the means of an attack against France; and a negotiation was commenced with the duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, for the occupation of Brunswick, which would open a similar road into the dominions of Hanover and the United Provinces.*

But the sanguine hopes which both powers had founded on this change of government, were as rapidly dissipated, as they were suddenly conceived. The french government not only resisted all the lures and threats of Spain, but Fleury himself wrote

* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 33.

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to the new king, deprecating a change of administration.* George the second took quiet possession of his throne, retained the ministry, and adopted the system of policy pursued by his father. The temporary ascendancy of the emperor in Germany again yielded to the prevailing influence of british subsidies, and the attacks which he meditated against France, the United Provinces, and Hanover, were frustrated by the defection of his most valuable allies. His inaction, therefore, now became a motive with the court of Madrid to imitate his example, and purchase the most favourable terms by a separate accommodation.

As the prelude to this arrangement, Philip and the queen endeavoured to accelerate the reconciliation between the two bourbon crowns. We have already noticed their refusal to accept any apology, however humble, from the duke of Bourbon, and the extreme joy which they manifested at his disgrace. So great an obstacle being thus removed, they employed the agency of Montgon, who was then at Madrid, to testify their satisfaction, and their wish for a renewal of the former correspondence, provided the king of France, for the interests of their common religion, would embrace the catholic cause, and accede to the alliance of Vienna. This overture produced an amicable reply from the minister of foreign affairs, representing the dismission of the duke as a measure calculated to facilitate a reconciliation; but expressing the regret of his sovereign that any proposal should be made to him, derogating from the fidelity due to his allies. When Fleury announced his elevation to the purple, the ministerial communication was made in the same style.

Still, however, the king of Spain hoped at once to reap the advantages of a connection with France and Austria: he

* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 15.

declined a reconciliation except by the mediation of the emperor, and on the condition that the british squadrons should be withdrawn from their coasts. This determination therefore suspended the attempts to effect a more cordial union. CH. XXXVIII. 1726.

But an accommodation was so popular in France and so advantageous in itself, that Fleury renewed his efforts to promote so desirable an object; and the situation of Spain, as well as the changeable temper of the sovereigns, at length were propitious to his design. After the first emotions of resentment had subsided, Philip gave way to his inherent affection towards his family and native country; and had his will been uncontrolled, the remaining obstacles would have been speedily removed. But the resentment of the queen, naturally more vindictive, and personally averse to France, derived additional strength from her anxiety to aggrandise her children; and the flattering prospects derived from the Vienna alliance, joined to the continual lures of the emperor, for a long time contributed to keep this passion alive.

Fleury, having in vain endeavoured to conciliate the queen through the agency of Donna Laura and the duchess of St. Pierre,* attempted to work on the mind of Philip without her knowledge. For this effect he employed the intervention of the confessor, father Bermudez, to which we have already alluded as the cause of his disgrace.

One of these letters, communicated to Mr. Walpole, may serve to give an idea of the style and arguments adopted by the sagacious minister.†

* Sister of Torci, and one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to the queen of Spain.

† Mr. Walpole to Mr. Stanhope, Fontainebleau, Sept. 15, 1726.——Mem. de Montgon.

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"It is not long since," Fleury observed, "I acquainted father Bermudez, that I was tempted to inform your majesty of some particular matters of great secrecy and importance, which I now do, in order to discharge my conscience, as well as to satisfy my duty and attachment. I rely on your known piety, and the inviolable secrecy of confession, which I exact from you, not to disclose what I reveal.

"Upon the report of your majesty's design to abdicate the crown, and of some free expressions used by the prince of Asturias against the excessive power of the germans at your court, a project has been contrived at Vienna equally diabolical and ridiculous, as if England and France had framed a conspiracy, by means of Mr. Stanhope, to shut up your majesty and the queen in a convent, and proclaim the prince of Asturias. This project was sent to count Palm at London, to communicate it to Pozzobueno. But Palm, who had not well learnt or understood his lesson, or with the absurdity inseparable from falsehood and calumny, has thought fit to embellish this scheme with circumstances so extravagant as to deprive it of all appearance of probability. Should this account therefore reach your majesty, I have too good an opinion of your understanding and integrity to doubt that you will in a moment detect the imposture.

"God forbid that I should lay so wicked a thing to the emperor's charge. I know his religion and integrity too well to suspect him; but his ministers are less scrupulous. We have too recent proofs of their machinations to suppose them incapable of such calumny, however unworthy of ministers and christians. I will not take upon me to name any of them, although they are not difficult to guess; but I dare assert, that prince Eugene is not one of them. Their chief aim is to embroil your majesty and France, and to render the misunder-

standing so great as to leave no hopes for a reconciliation. The most shameful artifices are employed to compass this design. CH. XXXVIII. 1726.

"I should do the french injustice, should I for a moment attempt to vindicate them from so black an aspersion. Your majesty knows the genius of the nation too well to entertain such a suspicion. They are indeed deeply touched at your late indifference to them, and at your repugnance to be reconciled to the king your nephew; but they are incapable of conceiving so diabolical a plot, and their concern arises from no other motive than their respect for your majesty.

"I can as little believe that the English would be guilty of engaging in so chimerical a scheme; for had they any such intention, they would have communicated it to us; and I know so well the virtue and uprightness of the king and his ministers, that I can answer for them. Difference of religion does by no means authorise views contrary to all probity and honour.

"The motive which has induced the imperial ministers to invent this fable is probably the general discontent among the people of Spain at the great remittances of money to Vienna; and the apprehension that this may induce your majesty to relent towards France.

"I think myself obliged to inform your majesty of another particular of great importance. I do not presume to inquire into the secret engagements between your majesty and the emperor; but one of them is become too public to be doubted, namely, that the emperor has agreed to give the two archduchesses his daughters in marriage to your sons, Don Carlos and Don Philip. I say, I do not presume to enter into this mystery; but I think myself obliged to acquaint your majesty, that the emperor has given a written declaration in his own

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hand to the elector of Bavaria, denying that he has made any such agreement; at your command I will produce a written proof of it, though I impart this under the inviolable secrecy of confession, not to expose the elector of Bavaria to the resentment of the emperor. He has also given the duke of Loraine the most solemn assurances, that the two archduchesses shall never espouse any other princes but his two sons; and though I can give no written proof of this, it shall be testified on oath. I thought it my duty to communicate these circumstances, because probably the promise of these marriages made by the emperor to the queen of Spain, has induced her majesty to enter into all the views of the imperial court.

"I shall only add another remark, the truth of which your minister at Florence is best able to inform you. The imperial ministers are making the strictest search to procure registers and documents for many ages of all the fiefs in Tuscany, which ever depended on the empire, to appropriate or sell them; that if Don Carlos should succeed to those dominions, it will be as to a carcass mangled and torn.

"Your majesty may perhaps imagine that I am actuated by an earnest desire of a reconciliation between Spain and France; but I can assure you I have no other motive than my duty and attachment to you, and my concern for your interest, honour, and dignity.

"We are just informed that count Palm has spoken of the pretended conspiracy against you, and that you intend to demand the recal of Mr. Stanhope. You may easily see in this the views of the imperialists to remove from you the minister whose vigilance they dread; that they may become masters of your court."*

* Contained in Mr. Walpole's letter to Mr. Stanhope, Fontainebleau, Sept. 15, NS. 1726.

The preceding failures, and the disgrace which this attempt drew on the confessor, convinced the cardinal that all further efforts would be fruitless without the co-óperation of the queen. He therefore changed his battery; employed the agency of Montgon to open a direct correspondence with her confessor, whom he lured with a cardinal's hat; and at length induced her to enter into an intercourse of letters with the king of France. The dismission of Morville, and appointment of Chauvelin, which was the necessary prelude to a change of policy, was represented as a mark of deference to the court of Spain; and after the agency of Montgon was superseded, the intercourse was continued by means of the papal nuntios at Madrid, Paris, and Vienna. CH. XXXVIII. 1726.

The effect of Fleury's representations was strengthened by the compulsory desertion of the emperor, and the embarrassments of Spain. The queen now looked with a favourable eye towards France, and nothing but form, and a remnant of political jealousy, prevented an open and permanent accommodation. Such an opportunity was adroitly improved; and at length an acknowledgment drawn from the court of Madrid, that the reconciliation should be publicly announced, provided the king of France would prepare the way by a letter of compliment and excuse. This arrangement produced an affectionate letter from Louis, both to the king and queen.

"I have learnt by a letter from the nuntio Aldobrandini, that you no longer object to our reconciliation; and are willing to forget the circumstance which has occasioned an interruption of the good intelligence natural between princes of the same blood, and so nearly related. No news can ever give me greater pleasure than I feel from this information. I am unable to express my joy, and shall never forget this mark of your affection. You know with what eagerness I Aug. 2.

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have ever sought a reconciliation; not only because it is necessary for the common interest of our families and kingdoms, but from my tender friendship for you. I desire you to give me yours, which I have so earnestly solicited, such as it should always subsist between an uncle and nephew, and you may rely on my readiness to oblige you in all things. I send this by a common courier, with which it appears from the nuntio's letter, your majesty will be satisfied for the present, and shall defer nominating an embassador, till I know your intentions, to which I shall willingly conform myself."

In his letter to the queen, he observes:

"After expressing to the king, my uncle, my acknowledgments for the consent he has given to our reconciliation, I could not forbear returning my thanks to your majesty, being persuaded that you have much contributed to it. There is such a tender union between you, that he can have no sentiment but what is yours. I beg you to entertain for me, such as a nephew may expect from an aunt, and you may be assured of a perfect friendship on my part. I pray earnestly to God, that you may be soon and happily delivered, and I wish you in particular every thing which may promote your felicity."

A letter from Fleury himself was less satisfactory. After some general expressions of his joy at the restoration of harmony, and his zeal for the union of the two crowns, he suggested that only one thing was wanting to complete his satisfaction, a reconciliation with the king of England, which was the principal means of promoting a general pacification.*

* Walpole Papers, Aug. 1, 1727.

This account of the reconciliation is principally drawn from Montgon, and from a Narrative of the Transactions between France and Spain, MS. in the Walpole and Orford Papers.——Memoires de Villars, t. 3, passim.——Mem. of lord Walpole, ch. 16.

But, notwithstanding the damp which this unwelcome hint threw on the ardent hopes of the two sovereigns, the overture was received with complacency: the queen, deceived by the apparent facility of Fleury, flattered herself, that she might yet be avenged on England, and render Spain the bond of union between France and Austria.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1727—1728.

Cavils and delays of the Court of Madrid in regard to the execution of the Preliminaries—Hostile preparations of England—Mission of Mr. Keene and count Rottembourg, as English and French Plenipotentiaries to Madrid—Audiences of Rottembourg—Spirit and resentment of the Queen—She induces Rottembourg to accept a modification of the Preliminaries in favour of the Spanish demands—Acquiescence of the English and Dutch Ministers—Effects of this supposed accommodation—England persists in rejecting the proposed modification of Spain—Extorts the concurrence of France—Remonstrances and threats of the Hanover Allies—Chicanery and obstinacy of the Queen—Motives which induced her to recede—Illness of the King—Act of the Pardo.

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THE sovereigns of Spain accepted the preliminaries, merely to avoid immediate hostilities from the squadrons which hovered on their coasts, and interrupted the communication with America. But no form of words could be devised sufficiently explicit to curb that spirit of chicanery which marked all their proceedings; and therefore they employed endless quibbles to elude the execution. They made the cessation of the attack on Gibraltar depend on the actual departure of the british squadrons from their coasts; they retained the Prince Frederic, not as a prize taken in actual war, but as a

reprisal for damages, or as condemned for an illegal commerce; they refused to distribute the effects of the flota, under the pretence that the preliminaries had not been executed on the part of England. CH. XXXIX. 1727 | 1728.

The emperor, whose subsidies were to cease on the opening of the congress, omitted no art or machination to prolong the dispute; while the quibbling spirit of the court of Madrid was encouraged by the secret intimations of Chauvelin, and the general disposition of the whole french cabinet. Even Fleury himself was not disinclined to gratify Spain, if means could be found to soothe the jealousy of England.

Various circumstances contributed to favour this temporising system. The only channel of public intercourse with the court of Madrid, was Mr. Vandermeer, the dutch embassador, who besides wanting personal weight and influence, was perplexed by the want of concert, and even by the contradictory orders from France and England.

To complete this series of difficulties, the king, afflicted with his hypochondriac malady, was incapable of serious application. The queen was also confined by her recent delivery, and would permit no business to be transacted till she was sufficiently recovered to resume her usual controul. Konigseg usurped the controul over every operation of government. La Paz was his creature; and the changeable Monteleon, who without being a minister possessed considerable influence, was too dexterous a politician not to bow before the idol of the day. Though Patiño, as minister of the finances, was disgusted with the insatiable avidity of the court of Vienna, he also was too sensible of the frail tenure by which he held his office, to oppose the ruling passion of the queen, and the power of the german party.

Much time was passed in this uncertainty. As Vander-

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meer was referred from minister to minister without obtaining a decisive answer, and prevented from appealing directly to the sovereign under various pretences; as an actual war was scarcely more burthensome than such a delusive truce, the british government assumed that decisive tone which in former instances had overborne the lukewarmness of their friends, and the opposition of their enemies. The british squadrons were reinforced; the harbour of Cadiz blockaded; vigorous measures were adopted for striking that blow which had been suspended by the hope of peace. To give an authentic expression to their sentiments, a national representative was sent to Madrid.

From punctilio or policy the example was imitated by France. The recent birth of the infant *Don Philip* was taken as the motive for announcing the public reconciliation of the two bourbon courts, and deputing a regular embassador, to convey the order of the Holy Ghost to the new born infant, and to compliment the queen on her delivery.

The representative of England was Mr. Keene, who had long resided in Spain as agent to the South Sea Company, and had acquired the confidence of the government by his intelligence, capacity, and perfect acquaintance with the language and country. The mission from France was filled by the count of Rottembourg, a nobleman of great talents, and suavity of manners; but a partisan of the old court, and selected for the office at the suggestion of the king and queen of Spain. To preserve the requisite cordiality and union, the general instructions of the two ministers were reciprocally communicated, and they were enjoined to act in perfect concert and confidence. They were ordered to require that the court of Spain should raise the blockade of Gibraltar, restore all captures without reserve, and distribute the property brought by the flota.

The instructions of Rottembourg, in addition to the general orders, which he received in common with Mr. Keene, contained particular directions regarding the relative situation of the two bourbon courts. Besides the usual information concerning the characters and views of the different ministers, particular stress was laid on the language and conduct which he was to hold towards the queen, as the main spring of all political transactions.

"You shall not enter, of your own accord, into any detail at the first audience; but shall ask the king and queen when you may discourse with them upon some points, which relate to the interests of the two monarchies, hinting, that notwithstanding your earnest desire to treat directly with so intelligent a prince and princess, who have so much friendship for the king their nephew, yet you will willingly open yourself to any minister whom their majesties shall please to appoint. At the same time, without evincing any distrust of any of the ministers, you will intimate that there are some things not to be confided but to the king, and to another-self. For those, the king of France will be gratified if his majesty has no other minister but the queen his consort. This manner of flattering the queen is necessary, because she is not ignorant that her designs have been much suspected; and she has often affected to treat those well, who, by birth or any other tie, are thought to have an affection for this country. It must not likewise be omitted, that, though the queen has great influence over her husband, yet she is occasionally obliged to yield, in things which are repugnant to his sentiments in favour of France. Hence, great caution must be employed not to induce her to suspect that endeavours are used to lessen her influence, or the confidence which the king reposes in her."*

* Instructions of the king of France to count Rottembourg, Sept. 16, 1727, NS. Official Translation—Orford Papers.

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The two plenipotentiaries arrived at Madrid nearly at the same time, but experienced a different reception. From the inveterate resentment of the queen against England, as well as to mark a decided preference for France, Mr. Keene was not permitted to deliver his credentials for several weeks, and consequently the whole negotiation was thrown into the hands of Rottembourg, who was honoured with all the privileges of a family embassador. The views of the court of Spain were likewise facilitated by this expedient. Rottembourg, zealously attached to the old bourbon principles, and looking forward to the blue ribbon which was to reward the successful result of his embassy, gradually became a lukewarm advocate for what, in his confidential correspondence, he called "the petty interests of England."* The french court, however, as well as its embassador, professed the most perfect cordiality towards England, and in the early period of the negotiation, not only a mutual confidence was maintained on both sides, but the official dispatches of the two ministers were reciprocally communicated. From these we are enabled to trace the progress of this singular negotiation, and to exhibit the haughty, acute, and impetuous temper of the queen, who usurped the whole management of the transaction.

In the first audience, Rottembourg experienced a proof of that pertinacious resentment which marked her character. When introduced into the royal apartment, after the usual compliment, he intreated their catholic majesties to forget the injuries they had sustained from the former government in France. The queen, purposely employed in a work of embroidery, did not deign to honour him with an answer, nor even with a look. Philip was moved with affection towards his nephew, and his native country. He welcomed the embassador with the

* Mem. de Villars, t. 3, p. 362.

kindest expressions; and, presenting him to the queen, entreated her to entertain no other sentiment towards France, than regard for the king his nephew, and solicitude for the union which ought to subsist between the two crowns.

After some hesitation, the queen began to assume an air of cordiality. But, unable to restrain her resentment against England, she reprobated the alliance of France and England, as equally unfeeling and impolitic. Twenty times, in the course of this short audience, she repeated with emphasis, "You have sold yourselves to the english, who lord it over you as your masters!" Rottembourg had scarcely quitted the apartment, before a warm altercation took place between the two sovereigns; and the queen was heard repeating in a loud and angry tone, "Will your majesty again trust your family, who have so often deceived you?"*

The first audience being a mere form, the transaction of business was reserved till the second. As the principal points in dispute were on this occasion brought into discussion, and as the description of the embassador is a correct and curious picture of the manner and character of the queen, we present it to the reader, as nearly in his own words as a translation will permit.

"I had reason to believe from my first audience, that the only way to move the king of Spain was to employ arguments founded on his tenderness and regard towards his

* Keene's Dispatches.

Duclos, the only author who has given a specific account of this first audience, asserts, that the embassador threw himself on his knees, and solicited forgiveness for the affront which their catholic majesties had received from the former government. We entertained too much doubt of this fact to insert it in the text, though from so respectable an authority, because it is not in the slightest degree alluded to in the Dispatches of count Rottembourg and Keene, or the Memoirs of Montgon. Duclos, t. 2, p. 384.

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nephew and native country, rather than on political considerations; since I could not speak of these without adverting to the engagements between France and England, and the queen always testified her anger at the bare name of the english. Before I went to the audience, I endeavoured to engage in my interest several persons who I believe have credit with their catholic majesties, namely, the two confessors, the marquis de la Paz, and Castelar, the last of whom not only promised his own good offices, but those of his brother Patiño. All concurred in assuring me that every thing would be done for France, and nothing for England. * * * * *

" I began my audience by expressing to their catholic majesties my great concern at the report which had been spread, that I was come to hold the knife to their throats, and to declare war against them, if they would not blindly submit to the orders of the english. In France, I said, neither harshness nor ill humour was shewn, when a negotiation with their catholic majesties was the object: ' Sometimes, sometimes!' interrupted the queen, smiling on the king. ' Nothing,' I continued, ' was further from it than my present mission, and the orders with which I was charged. First, to express the king my master's regard for their catholic majesties, and his great joy at the reconciliation; secondly, to intreat them to execute the preliminaries; and thirdly, to assure them of his readiness to concur in the establishment of their family.'

" The queen again hastily interrupted me, ' It is not now the time to speak of this. I have no other interests than those of my husband.' As I replied with an apology, ' Well,' she added, ' what is required from us? Are we still accused of delaying the congress? Has not the king sent his ratifications to Vienna above a month ago? Has he not ordered his plenipotentiaries to repair instantly to France?'

" I replied with a smile, 'The congress would sooner have opened, had the preliminaries been executed. The arrival of the plenipotentiaries would have been more patiently expected.' 'What,' she asked, 'do you mean by the preliminary points?' 'The restitution of the Prince Frederic,' I answered, 'and the distribution of the effects of the flota.' 'Well,' was the answer, 'did I not say so? See these english, these masters of the world, how they explain all things as they will.' 'This explanation,' I said, 'is signed by his majesty. It is the letter of the preliminaries, and the king, my master, desires nothing more.' 'If the ship was his own,' she rejoined, 'it should be instantly given him; but the english shall not have it.' 'Well, madam, the king, my master, will be more obliged to you, than if you gave it to him. The merit will be the same. He desires nothing more than to see a reconciliation established, which is dear to him, and cannot take place but by procuring satisfaction for his allies according to his engagements.' 'Well,' she said, 'who is to judge of this satisfaction? The king claims the vessel as his, for a thousand contraventions of the Asiento; the English pretend that it belongs to them; let the congress decide!' I replied by an explanation of the article in question.

" The king then repeated twice or thrice, 'there is contraband.' I answered, 'the ministers have never alleged this reason among those which the preliminaries have obviated, nor is it adduced in the letters of the marquis de la Paz.' 'You know,' said the queen, 'that if this reason was forgotten, it is not the less cogent.' As I combated the argument of contraband, the queen again interrupted me. 'We will give you,' she said, 'a memorial.' This I accepted, with the hope of embarrassing them.

" 'But if nothing more was necessary,' she continued, 'than to ask, give us Gibraltar, and we will give the vessel.'

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Smiling, I said, 'if Gibraltar was in the hands of the king, my master, I am persuaded he would sacrifice it; but it is not the time to stipulate new reciprocities, after the signature of the preliminaries, which restored all things to the same situation as before 1725.'

" 'Sir,' she asked, " do you know why we acquiesced in this date of 1725?' To the remark, 'for no other reason than to facilitate the peace, by suspending the difficulties which had troubled it till the congress of Cambray could effect an amicable arrangement, 'I shall give you, 'she rejoined, 'other reasons.' She asked the king for the key of his casket; he gave it her, and she went towards the head of the bed to open it.

" I took this opportunity to press the king, from a tender regard to his nephew and country, to shew such condescension as would pacify matters; and urged that a prince so generous and disinterested, the depositary of all the riches in the world, should not incur the reproach of provoking a war for the sake of a single vessel. The queen, instantly turning, interrupted me, 'Is it not just that the english, who are so affluent, should give a few millions to the king? If we were foolish enough to be thrown off our guard, we should be laughed at. True, the riches of the world pass through the king's hands, but the smallest part, nevertheless, remains in Spain; and this you would wrest from us, to give to your good friends the english.'

As I attempted to advert to the fidelity due from the king to his allies, she resumed her discourse, still searching in the casket. 'You in France are nothing but english. You were not enemies to the emperor, till since his alliance with my husband. Before, he was your great friend. Do you remember that, during the congress of Cambray, we pressed you to procure satisfaction to Spain from the emperor? Yet you

never would. There was, however, nothing to fear. But we no sooner had made peace, than you joined against us, from caprice, and without knowing why.'

"At length she found a letter from the king of England, promising the restoration of Gibraltar, and dated the first of June, 1721.* While I was reading it, she observed, 'perhaps it is forged.' Answering that I believed it original, 'I was glad,' she rejoined laughing, 'to furnish you with such an excuse. See, sir, the principal reason for admitting the term of 1725. Let your allies fulfil their part, we will fulfil ours. Let them restore to us what they have. With what right do they come to blockade our ports!' Thinking she had silenced me, she turned towards the king.

"As, however, I adduced proofs, that their engagements were intended to trouble Europe, 'If we had wished to trouble it,' she observed, 'we had a fine game. We had a powerful army in Catalonia; and all your places on that side were unprovided.' I urged this circumstance as a proof of our confidence in their catholic majesties. 'You ought not, however,' she continued, 'to have so much, after the example you have given. You, who supplied the imperialists with money, to rob us of Sicily! You who took Fuenterrabia and St. Sebastian! You, who joined the english to destroy our marine, to burn our ships in our very docks! You, lastly, from whom we can expect no other treatment, while the king, your master, places no dependance on the counsels of his uncle, and listens to people sold to the english! Mr. Walpole is your master in France. I wish I had Mr. Walpole and the cardinal here. We would dispute of religion and policy; we would see whether my arguments would not preponderate.'

"To end a conversation growing too warm, I lamented

* See ch. 31. And Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 34.

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my ill success; and after touching on the affection of the king towards my master, affected to retire. The queen, resuming the discourse, asked if I had no expedient to propose. As I replied in the negative, and continued to retreat, she stopped me with the question, 'Suppose we put the vessel in sequestration till the congress shall decide?' I coolly asked, with whom? She added, 'with the king your master.'

"I endeavoured to shew the inconveniences and inadequacy of this expedient; but the queen persisting, I turned towards the king, and observing that equivocations were dangerous, asked, if he commissioned me to make the proposition? I was interrupted by the queen, who added, 'Yes, and let the king your master agree not to restore it without the consent of the king my husband.' On which the king said '*Yes.*'

"I then proceeded to ask the king if he would cause the effects of the flota to be distributed. The queen again resumed the discourse. 'Yes,' she said, 'when the english have quitted the coasts of America and Spain.' 'It should be done,' I observed, 'at the same time, for it is not just that every thing should be fulfilled on one side and nothing on the other.'

"'Well,' she continued, 'if the king, your master, will himself become a guarantee for the retreat of the english squadrons, we will consent to give up the effects of the flota; and when the english ships have retired, we will withdraw the troops which from a point of honour are kept before Gibraltar.'

"I distinctly recapitulated these three propositions, stating that there was no reason to expect they would be relished; and even hinted at the impolicy of shewing so little consideration towards the english, who were joint guarantees of the succession to the italian states in favour of Don Carlos.

'You are come again,' exclaimed the queen, 'to your successions! I voluntarily abandon them, if Gibraltar is restored to the king. You see by what I say in his presence, that it is his glory and his interests only which affect me.' CH. XXXIX. 1727 | 1728.

"As the conversation had lasted above an hour and a quarter, I made my bow to retire, and the queen dismissed me with a compliment, saying 'Come and see us when you will without ceremony. We shall be glad to chat with you.*'"

This account will suffice to shew the general tone which prevailed in the audiences of the french minister; for the same propositions were repeatedly brought forward with different modifications, and supported with all the arguments which the pertinacity, acuteness, and resentment of the queen could suggest. On one hand she spared no effort to weary the patience or work on the feelings of the french ministry; on the other she caught at every pretence to gain time, that she might regulate her conduct by the suggestions of the austrian cabinet. Count Konigseg was permitted to guide or influence every step of the negotiation; while the spanish ministers who were not blindly subservient to him, were reduced to mere cyphers, and scarcely intrusted with a knowledge of the transaction.

The proposal to sequestrate the Prince Frederic being transmitted to Versailles, drew from the king a letter containing a positive refusal to admit this expedient. This was accompanied with a gentle complaint against the antipathy and suspicion manifested by the queen towards the english, and concluded with an affectionate appeal to the king of Spain, for the prompt and absolute execution of the preliminaries, as the

* Lettre du Comte de Rottembourg à Monsieur Chauvelin, Oct. 16, 1727. Orford Papers.

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surest means to preserve tranquillity and maintain the union of the two crowns.*

Nov. 15.

"I read this letter," says the embassador, "to their catholic majesties. The queen made some grimaces when I came to the part which spoke of her resentment; but at last she smiled. The king seemed much touched by the affectionate passages which it contained. He listened to it with extreme attention. When I had finished, the queen said, 'well, we have done all they wished; they will be satisfied.' I hinted that this new guaranty was useless, and would, in some degree, invalidate the first, which was comprised in the other articles. 'Why,' asked the queen, 'do you refuse us a satisfaction which will cost only a sheet of paper? If you gave ten synonymous guaranties, you would execute them all in fulfilling one?' I replied, smiling, that it required much trouble to root out her suspicion of the english, who in reality were not such people as they had been described to their catholic majesties. 'Perhaps,' I added, 'what I said might not please at the present moment; but having bound myself to their majesties to speak the truth, I should on a future day have the satisfaction to know that they approved my freedom. An alliance with the english has this advantage, peculiar to that nation; they subject their allies to no inconvenience by attempting to extend themselves abroad, and *their continent* is easily guarantied.' Turning to the king, I continued, 'Your majesty will acknowledge that, if at the death of Charles the second, we had had the english on our side, the monarchy of Spain would not have been dismembered. The time might come when the english would not be useless to repair these

* Translation of the French king's letter to count Rottembourg, Fontainbleau, Nov. 3, NS. 1727.

losses. Besides, we were about to form a congress for a pacification which it would be advantageous to hasten.'

"Seeing that their majesties listened with satisfaction, I assured the queen, that if Mr. Walpole were known to her, he would deserve her esteem by the moderation and respect with which he always spoke of their catholic majesties. I did not even despair of seeing the time when her majesty would approve and profit by the union which she suspects between the cardinal and Mr. Walpole. The queen laughed and said, 'You are too charitable.' Finding her in so good a humour, I recalled to her recollection her warmth in my first audiences, adding, 'Madam, employ your endeavours, that the king may place himself at the head of my master's allies; you will then see the cardinal at least as intimately connected with the spanish embassador as with Mr. Walpole.'"*

From the apparent complacency which prevailed on this occasion, and the precise orders given to the french minister, it might have been imagined that this complicated negotiation was drawing to a conclusion. On the day preceding this audience, a discussion had taken place between the embassador and the secretary la Paz, though with the invariable intervention of count Konigseg. The result of this conference was a memorial in the form of a letter, addressed by la Paz to Rottembourg, stating the question of sequestration under another shape; and changing the whole article relative to the Prince Frederic in such a manner as to justify the claims of Spain for an indemnification of the damages to their commerce by the blockade of their ports and coasts. With an inconsistency which we can only attribute to the private intimations of Chauvelin, Rottembourg received and trans-

* Lettre du Comte de Rottembourg à M. Chauvelin, l'Escurial, Nov. 15, 1727.

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mitted this memorial to his court; though he at the same time solicited an ostensible letter of recal, in case the king of Spain should refuse the unconditional acceptance of the preliminaries.

Meanwhile new offers were transmitted by the king of England, in a letter from count Broglio the french embassador at London, to Chauvelin. The substance of this proposition was the execution of the preliminaries in general, and the restitution of the Prince Frederic; but the question of contraband was to be referred to the congress; and with full confidence in the honour of the king of Spain, that he would distribute the effects of the flota, the british squadrons were recalled. The contraventions of treaties and agreements public or private, before the year 1725, were to be remedied in a similar manner at the congress; and finally, the guaranty of the king of France was admitted for the execution of these articles.

This proposition was communicated by Rottembourg, with an eulogium on the sincerity and good faith of the king of England, and the confidence he had shewn towards their catholic majesties at the very moment when they evinced their diffidence of him by demanding new guaranties from France and the emperor. The king was struck with surprise at this instance of generosity, and even the queen herself appeared highly pleased. "I shall," she said, "no longer doubt the truth of any thing you may say. Hitherto I have considered your discourses in favour of the english, as proceeding from your desire to forward a reconciliation. But I am now fully satisfied."

Rottembourg replied, "As the chief articles are now settled, there is no need to wait the return of the courier, with an answer to the proposition of your majesties. I hope I may

be permitted to dispatch a courier with the welcome news to my court." The queen gave signs of embarrassment at this request, and, after some hesitation, replied, "Before we adopt a final resolution, you must consult the marquis de la Paz, and count Konigseg." He was graciously dismissed, and as he quitted the apartment, the queen in a tone of complacency said, "I wish every one was like you, for you always bring good news."*

A conference was accordingly held with la Paz and Konigseg; at which Mr. Keene was present in his private capacity. To the surprise of the french minister, the dispute was revived on the very same points as before. It was, however, finally decided, that Rottembourg should state the last proposition in an official note, which was to be accepted and approved by la Paz in the name of his sovereign. Instead, however, of this simple approbation, la Paz drew up a new recapitulation, repeating the propositions of the king of England in general, but changing the article relative to the Prince Frederic to the same terms as had been already rejected. It was to be restored, but the congress was to decide whether it ought not to be pledged as an indemnification for the damages done to the spanish commerce by the presence of the british squadrons in the american seas.

Without a moment's hesitation, the french embassador accepted the document thus modified, although he already received the orders which he had solicited for his recal. His asseverations that no other terms would satisfy the queen, and the confidence inspired by his plausible manners and apparent candour, joined to the authority which he assumed as the only channel of direct communication with the spanish sovereigns, extorted the reluctant acquiescence of his colleagues,

* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Dec. 3, 1727.

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Keene and Vandermeer. It was transmitted to the different courts as an advantageous and satisfactory arrangement. To give it the stamp of authority, Mr. Keene was relieved from the political interdict to which he had been subjected, and apprised that he should shortly be admitted to the privileges of his public character.

The spanish court had not widely miscalculated on the effect which this apparent accommodation would produce in France. Although these terms had been already rejected, it is a remarkable circumstance, that the order of reçal to Rottembourg was accompanied with a counter-order to protract the negotiation, and doubtless with private intimations to seize a favourable opportunity of satisfying Spain at the expence of England. It was therefore welcomed by the partisans of the old court as the harbinger of returning tranquillity, and the prelude to a more intimate connection with Spain; while the trading and mercantile classes, whose interests had suffered by the suspension of commerce, were elated with the hope that the returns of the flota would at length be faithfully distributed. "We must," was the general expression, "speak clearly to England. We must declare that we are satisfied with the offers of Spain; that those who are not content can only wish to involve Europe in a general war."*

In London, however, the sensation was far different. Large sums had been already expended in hostile preparations; the fleets had mouldered away from inactivity and disease; the lucrative trade with the spanish dominions in Europe and America was suspended, without the slightest of those advantages which would have flowed from open war. Such a mortifying uncertainty could not fail to rouse the public indignation. The national outcry was, "give us either war or peace;

* Memoires de Villars, t. 3, p. 360.

but let us not spend our blood and treasure in mere preparations and temporary expedients, which damp the public spirit, and disgrace the honour of the crown." Parliament was daily expected to meet; and the ministry, instead of declaring the re-establishment of tranquillity, could not venture to announce this doubtful truce to an impatient and indignant people. CH. XXXIX. 1727 | 1728.

However anxious for peace, the government could no longer venture to temporize. The most vigorous measures were instantly adopted. The meeting of parliament was deferred. An appeal was made to the french court to fulfil its engagements, in enforcing the execution of the preliminaries, except those concessions which the king of England had made from mere complaisance. Either, it was observed, France must disavow count Rottembourg, or the alliance of Hanover is broken, and the ties dissolved which united the two countries to their mutual advantage.

The french court and cabinet were thunderstruck with this decisive demand: there was scarcely a nobleman or minister who did not urge that it was more becoming the national honour to adhere to Spain, than to submit to the dictates of the british cabinet. Even Fleury wavered, in the hope of inducing England to relax in her demands. But, finding the british cabinet inflexible, he prudently decided to preserve peace and the connection with England, rather than sacrifice the welfare and tranquillity of the nation to the punctilios of romantic honour, and the imperious cupidity of the queen of Spain.*

* In Mr. Walpole's Papers are several curious dispatches on this subject, shewing the energy and effect with which he supported the demands of his court, and extorted the consent of Fleury to a cordial co-operation with England, particularly the Dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, Paris, Dec. 17, 24, and 27, 1727.

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Accordingly, a letter was sent to count Rottembourg, in the name of the king, insisting, in the strongest terms, on the prompt and literal execution of the preliminaries. "I am," he observes, "concerned and astonished at these new conditions, which can produce no other effect, than to embarrass the execution of what should precede the opening of the congress, and which tend to annul the preliminary articles, or at least to gain time for new interpretations. It would be dishonourable and shameful to my allies, and consequently to myself, should I accept them, and I should justly incur the reproaches of all Europe." This letter was accompanied with an ostensible order of recal, and a memorial to the same effect from the secretary of state.

Great as was the sensation occasioned by these propositions in France and England, the rejection of them excited a still greater at Madrid.

"I found M. la Paz," says Rottembourg, "who is usually very phlegmatic, in a ferment of rage, in consequence of the letter which he had received from Paris. As he spoke without an interpreter, I comprehended little of what he said, except that he was going to revoke the orders which he had expedited in conformity with his letter, and to prevent the introduction of Mr. Keene, who was to have his first audience at four in the afternoon. Finding my arguments fruitless, I only told him that his impetuosity would spoil more in a quarter of an hour, than he would ever be able to remedy.

"To prevent the ill effects of his passion, I called on the archbishop of Amida, and persuaded him to charge himself with the office of procuring the promised audience for Mr. Keene, which took place at the appointed hour, and in the most gracious manner.

"Yesterday I was admitted to the presence of the king and queen, on their return from shooting. I delivered to them the

letter of the king, and told them that, without entering into the reasons which had induced his majesty to disapprove the conditions proposed by M. de la Paz, I should only observe, that I had faithfully communicated to them his majesty's orders of the 3rd and 10th of November, and the letter from M. Broglio, which must form the foundation of our proceedings. The extension of the conditions in the letter of M. de la Paz, I said, was laid upon me, in consequence of the declaration that, without this extension, their catholic majesties would never comply with the demands.

"I added, 'I now find from the remarks of M. Chauvelin, that the extension of the second article will never be admitted.' I then produced the memorial, and read that clause, and the other relating to impartial powers.

"The queen asked me if the satisfaction required for the king of Spain was not stipulated in the second article. I answered, 'equally to all the contracting parties.' 'We are then,' she rejoined, 'included. If your intentions are upright, you ought not to reject this explanation; if not, we have nothing to do with the congress, because it is only to judge of reciprocal infractions. We do not demand an uncertain compensation; we only require it to be taken into consideration, whether we ought to have a compensation or not.' To my remark, 'that one party had no right to explain preliminaries settled by several, and that the additions to the letter of count Broglio were not made with the consent of France and England,' she interrupted me, 'True, but Bournonville, you will recollect, signed the preliminaries without our knowledge.' I replied, 'M. Bournonville signed for his master, I for a foreign king.' 'Mr. Keene was present,' said the queen. I answered 'yes, but accidentally. He had only appeared as a visitor to

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M. de la Paz, and had done nothing but interpret and translate, without speaking a single word from himself. Besides, he had not delivered his credentials, and had not affixed his signature.' The king remarked, 'You are right.' I then took the whole blame on myself for exceeding my instructions, on an occasion when it was signified to me, on the part of her majesty, that nothing less would terminate the negotiation. I did not hesitate to say, 'I had wofully deceived myself, because this unfortunate addition might occasion a war.'

"The queen said, 'There will be no war. The allies of Hanover will never incur such a disproportionate expence, while five or six millions will suffice to defend the spanish frontier. If we should lose a few places, they will be restored at the peace, and we have effects enough in our hands to render the allies accountable for that sum.' 'Well,' I rejoined, 'the emperor will not be quit on such easy terms; and we have sufficient proofs that the court of Vienna raises all these difficulties?' 'No,' she replied, with emphasis, 'It is I who ordered the explanatory article to be inserted. If France and England acquiesce, well; we shall deem them sincere in their professions to satisfy Spain. If they reject it, they design to deceive us. Besides, we demand no preference, we only require others to submit to the same laws as ourselves.'"*

After some further conversation in the same tone, the embassador was dismissed without satisfaction.

His representations were accordingly supported in the strongest manner by M. Vandermeer, who had not waited for orders to retract, and by Mr. Keene, who now assumed the functions of a public minister. They all concurred in announcing, that further delays would give rise to immediate hostilities.

* Lettre du Comte de Rottembourg à M. Chauvelin, Madrid, Dec. 20, 1726.

Indignant and disappointed, the queen appeared inclined to risk the fortune of war, and demanded of Patiño whether the country was in a state to maintain a contest. The minister did not venture to give a direct negative, but hinted that the effects of the flota would only be sufficient to supply the expences of a defensive war, without furnishing subsidies to foreign princes. She then ordered a heavy indulto to be laid on these effects; and to the remonstrances of Rottembourg, she replied, "The king is master in his own dominions, and may lay what tax he pleases on his own subjects. Besides, what have foreigners to do with our flota."

While she yet hesitated, the first parliament of George the second assembled in England. The speech from the throne expressed a hope of a final and satisfactory accommodation; but recommended proper measures of precaution. The appeal produced an unanimous and liberal grant of men and money; and immediate reinforcements were accordingly dispatched to the squadrons stationed off the coasts of Spain.

The allies, however, did not solely rely on the effect of public menaces, but omitted no endeavour to work on the temper of the queen, and influence those about her person. Bribes were lavished on her attendants, and menaces were not spared to her confessor, that her refusal would be imputed to his instigation, and that his family, to whom he was affectionately attached, would suffer for his indiscretion. The impending danger did not fail to alarm even the ministers who had been promoted by the german interest. All joined in representing the fatal consequences of delay, and deprecating a war, for an object so comparatively trifling as the Prince Frederic.

Even the emperor himself was at length intimidated by the strength and aspect of the Hanover allies, and the lukewarm-

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ness of his own adherents. Conscious that the principal burthen of a conflict would fall on Austria, he ordered Konigseg no longer to foment the resentment of the queen, but to join in recommending the prompt acceptance of the proffered terms. This sudden change of conduct only served to inflame her resentment. She turned her indignation against the emperor, and publicly stigmatised Konigseg as the advocate of England.

The real cause which vanquished her pertinacity, was the uncertain health of the king, who, at this particular moment, was reduced to the most alarming state. She removed him from public observation to the royal residence of the Pardo; but his incapacity for business daily increasing, she first admitted the prince of Asturias into the council, and finally procured the signature of a royal decree, constituting her governess of the kingdom. She now became seriously apprehensive, lest the death of her husband should frustrate her favourite project of an establishment in Italy, and reduce her to the melancholy fate which awaits the queen dowagers of Spain. She, therefore, employed the powers with which she was vested to accelerate an accommodation. At length

March, 1728.

Philip, by the act of the Pardo, announced his absolute and unequivocal acceptance of the preliminaries, modified according to the concessions of Great Britain, and under the guaranty of the king of France. This act was accepted by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, and Holland, at Madrid, and by count Konigseg, on the part of the emperor. The intended meeting of the congress was transferred from Aix la Chapelle to Soissons, for the convenience of cardinal Fleury, on whom, in quality of french plenipotentiary, the principal conduct of the negotiation devolved.*

* Act of the Pardo, in the collections of public papers.

The commission of Rottembourg being thus fulfilled, he returned for a short time to France, and in the interval was replaced by the marquis of Brancas.

The king having soon experienced a favourable turn in his disorder, the queen induced him to announce his recovery by returning with regal pomp to Madrid, re-establishing his residence at the Buen Retiro, and ostensibly resuming the reins of government. By persuading him frequently to appear in public, she likewise endeavoured to remove the impression made by his recent malady, as well as to allay the general suspicions of a relapse. To give, however, additional effect to these exhibitions, which were intended to satisfy the public mind the queen herself, in gratitude for his recovery, made a nine days pilgrimage to the chapel of our lady of Atocha, the peculiar object of royal devotion as the patroness of Spain; and wore the franciscan habit for a twelvemonth, in compliance with a vow made to St. Anthony of Padua.*

* Mr. Keene's dispatches, April 19, 1728.

CHAPTER XL.

1728—1731.

Tardy and inefficient Proceedings of the Congress of Soissons—Obstructions to the execution of the Preliminaries by Spain—Hypochondriac Malady of Philip, and power of the Queen—His ineffectual attempt to abdicate—Illness of Louis the Fifteenth, and new hopes of Philip to succeed to the French Crown—Secret Plans of the Courts of Madrid and Vienna—Double Marriage between the Families of Spain and Portugal—Establishment of the royal Residence at Seville—Increasing Malady of the King—Separation of the Courts of Spain and Austria—Treaties of Seville and Vienna—Disgrace of Montgon—Death of St. Philip.

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THE congress of Soissons was opened on the 14th of June, 1728, for the termination of all the disputes which had so long agitated Europe; and as the alliance of Vienna had apparently left no point of contention between Spain and the emperor, it was hoped that a speedy arrangement might be effected. But the same jealousies and bickerings which, in the preceding meeting at Cambray, had frustrated all efforts to mediate an accommodation, were now renewed, and produced a similar effect. The interminable disputes between the emperor and the maritime powers, relative to the barrier treaty * and the

* House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 3.

Ostend company, were again revived with redoubled acrimony. Spain also brought forward the demand of Gibraltar, and mutual accusations were respectively produced by England and Spain, relative to the english settlements, and contraband trade carried on with the coasts of South America.

England and France, though apparently united in the same design of separating Spain from the emperor, and hastening a general pacification, were actuated by different interests. France secretly wished to effect a cordial union with Spain, and to oppose the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. England was anxious to secure the renewal of her lucrative commerce with Spain, and to revive her antient and popular connection with the House of Austria. The only obstacles to such a reconciliation, were derived from the refusal of the emperor to suppress the Ostend company, and to comply with the demands of George the second, as elector of Hanover.

The personal friendship and confidence which long habit had produced between Mr. Walpole and cardinal Fleury; and the pacific principles which reigned in the french cabinet, suspended the actual dissolution of an alliance founded on mutual, but temporary interest, till long after the operation of that interest had ceased. But it could not be expected that personal regard would continue to outweigh political principle and national sentiment. Consequently, those jealousies, and that contrariety of opinion, which afterwards occasioned its dissolution, began to manifest themselves during the congress of Soissons.*

These discordant interests, and the pertinacity of the contending parties, particularly of Spain, rendered the proceedings of the congress a mere routine of forms, and a repetition of memorials and counter-memorials without leading to the deci-

* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 16.

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sion of a single contested point. At length the Hanover allies, to terminate such fruitless, irritating, and inconclusive discussions, proposed to draw up a provisional treaty, comprehending the principal points relative to the re-establishment of peace on the same foundation as before the year 1725, and referring all inferior questions to the examination of commissioners, who might proceed in the arrangement without interruption to peace and commerce in general.

This proposal was accepted by the imperial, and after some delay even by the spanish plenipotentiary. But the project itself experienced the most pertinacious opposition from both the courts of Madrid and Vienna. The king of Spain endeavoured to renew the former discussions under another shape, by insisting that many points should be introduced into the provisional treaty, which in the project had been referred to commissioners. The interests of the queen now began to predominate: the demand of Gibraltar, with the commercial disputes, were superseded by instances for the introduction of spanish, instead of neutral garrisons into the fortresses of Tuscany and Parma. To prevent, however, the further progress of this negotiation, Philip recalled his plenipotentiary, the duke of Bournonville, under the pretence of rendering an account of his proceedings, and refused to give a definitive answer relative to the provisional treaty, before his arrival at Madrid. Bournonville accordingly departed in October, and after being detained at Paris by real or affected illness appeared at Madrid in December. From the period of his departure, the court of Vienna also suspended all intercourse with the congress.

During these transactions, new agitations filled the court of Madrid; and new interests and projects engrossed the attention of Philip and his queen.

The first event was the temporary illness of Don Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, who was seized with the small pox; and whose death, by opening the succession of Spain to Don Carlos, would have changed the views of the queen with regard to an establishment in Italy. May, 1728.

The hypochondriac malady of the king continued to increase, and occasionally gained an empire over his reason. Sometimes he passed whole days in bed, inverting the ordinary habits of life, and changing night into day and day into night. He gave midnight audiences to foreign embassadors, detained his own ministers in the transaction of business till the dawn, and at other times did not admit them into his presence for several weeks. In these paroxysms he reverted to his former scruples. He not only expressed his resolution to abdicate, but made various attempts to escape from the palace and carry it into effect. Every precaution was taken to seclude the doting monarch; no person was admitted to his presence without a special order; the queen herself watched all his motions; the locks of the apartments were frequently changed; the guards were strictly enjoined to prevent him from quitting the palace. But all these precautions were not sufficient. He profited by the moment when the queen, fatigued with watching, had retired into another apartment, wrote a decree with his own hand, and sent it by his favourite valet to the council of Castile, with the injunction to notify his abdication, and proclaim his son Ferdinand.*

The queen, soon discovering what had passed, sent the marquis de la Roche, secretary of the cabinet, to prevent the proclamation, and if possible to recover this dangerous document.

* Mr. Keene's dispatches, June 1728. Memoires de Montgon, t. 6, p. 273. —Villars, t. 3, p. 394.—Duclos, t. 2, p. 57, erroneously places this incident in 1729.

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Fortunately the president, the archbishop of Valencia, to whom it was carried, was her creature, and had delayed the execution under the pretence of form. Her messenger therefore arrived at the moment when the council was on the point of fulfilling the order. The dangerous paper was destroyed; redoubled precautions taken to prevent the repetition of a similar scene; and, to vanquish one scruple with another, an oath extorted from the king, that he would not again renew his clandestine attempts to abdicate.*

As his bodily health was not impaired by his mental disorder, the queen did not, as before, publicly assume the government, but with the assistance of the ministers, directed all operations in his name, and sanctioned the public acts with the stamp which was employed to spare the royal hand the labour of signing the numerous acts which occur in the ordinary course of business.

The power which this seclusion of the king threw into her hands, enabled her to pursue her designs with less obstruction than when he retained his faculties unimpaired; for, with frequent incapacity, and general aversion to business, Philip was peculiarly jealous of his authority, and on the slightest suspicion of a design to deceive or biass his judgment, sunk into a state of sullen obstinacy. With this temper, notwithstanding the means which the queen possessed to influence his conduct, it required consummate art and self command to disguise her wishes, and make her suggestions appear as his own reflections. She constantly assisted at the audiences of foreign ministers, and generally engrossed the discourse; yet she always affected a perfect submission to the king, and indignantly repelled the slightest allusion to her own advantage,

* Mr. Keene's dispatches.——Memoires de Villars, t. 3, p. 397.——Montgon, t. 6, p. 273.

declaring that she had no interest but that of her husband; no glory but that of Spain. But with this exterior of docility and disinterestedness, she was indefatigably vigilant to prevent any other person from influencing the mind of the king; she frequently conquered his obstinacy by superior address and perseverance; and gave private audiences, or received private communications through the channel of the marquis de la Paz, and her confessor. CHAP. XL. 1728 | 1731.

The malady of the king liberated her from these restraints. She now gave public audiences, became the principal or only channel of communication with the king, and acted as the minister in obtaining his approbation or signature to the acts of government. To her predominant influence, we may justly attribute the conduct of the spanish court, since the opening of the congress of Soissons, and the increase of the austrian influence, which daily acquired strength at Madrid.

Before the return of the spanish plenipotentiary from Soissons, Philip was roused from his morbid melancholy by the illness of the king of France, who was attacked with symptoms of the small pox, on the 26th of October. Though the disorder was slight, yet, from those accidents which frequently attend such moments of anxiety, a temporary suspension took place in the regular communication between Paris and Madrid. This incident was sufficient to cause the strongest agitation in the minds of Philip and his queen, who anticipated the death of Louis, and considered themselves as already in possession of the french throne.

Mr. Keene has preserved an account of their behaviour on this trying occasion, communicated by one of their familiar attendants.

"They expressed great uneasiness at not having news from France, and concluded from thence that the king was dead, Nov. 9, 1728

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and the communication between the two kingdoms was stopped. The queen asked him what he designed to do upon this important accident? he replied, he would go into France with her and the rest of the royal family, leaving Don Carlos in Spain. That if he was invited by France, there would then be no difficulty. If he was not, he would set out without delay for the capital, and, presenting himself where he knew he should be well received, would proceed to the first parliament to have himself acknowledged king, and they who refused it would deserve chastisement. The queen proposed to have the *officiers de la Bouche* advertised to keep themselves in readiness. But he refused, and told her that some of them had already rode post with him, and that when they should arrive in France, they would not want servants to attend them.

"There were several other circumstances passed between them, as that if he was once in France he should be easy; that business was dispatched in a different manner in that country to what it is in this; that there was much more magnificence; but there was one party of which he was apprehensive, which was the jansenists. And they had reason to be against him, for if ever he came to be in possession of the crown of France, he would drive them out of the kingdom."*

In this crisis the queen sent for Montgon, and gave him a private audience at midnight, to consult him on the momentous question which was now in agitation. But instead of the information which was expected from him as an agent of the duke of Bourbon, he detailed his past grievances and representations, and concluded with an ill timed demand of the post of counsellor of state or foreign embassador. He was accordingly dismissed with vague offers and promises of protection. He, however, informs us that the journey to France engrossed the

* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle.

public conversation, describes the exultation of the french partisans at Madrid, and observes, that a suspense of twenty four hours longer would have hurried Philip and his queen into some desperate measure.*

The arrival of a courier speedily dissipated their hopes and fears, by bringing intelligence of the french king's recovery. This incident, and the struggle of contending passions which it occasioned, were sufficient to rouse Philip from a long fit of apathy and dejection. He quitted his bed; permitted his beard of eight months growth to be shaved; returned thanks at the chapel of our lady of Atocha, and resumed his ordinary mode of life, and the exercise of the chase.†

October to December.

Meanwhile some new scheme appears to have been planned between the restless courts of Vienna and Madrid. On the part of the emperor, hopes were held forth to the queen of a prompt and satisfactory arrangement of the Italian successions; and she was again tempted with the lures which had first induced her to form the Vienna alliance. On that of Spain, the most active preparations, both military and naval, were made; a fleet of twenty four ships of war was already stationed in the american seas; and twenty four sail of the line were ready for sea, or in a forward state of equipment. The most studied indifference and contempt were shewn towards France and England, every overture was evaded under the pretence of waiting the return of Bournonville; and the arrival of the galleons, which were on their way from America, was expected with an impatience which marked the anxiety of the queen to secure funds for the execution of the projects now in agitation.

To this scheme we may also attribute the resumption of a design at first formed with warmth and precipitation, and

* Montgon, t. 7, p. 68, 75. † Mr. Keene's dispatches.

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since suspended. This was the conclusion of the double marriages between the prince of Asturias and the infanta of Portugal, and the prince of Brazil with the infanta of Spain; the object of which was evidently to withdraw so important an ally as Portugal from the scale of the maritime powers.

In the depth of winter, and shortly after the recovery of the king, to the astonishment of all, he acceded to the instances of the portuguese court; and fixed the 7th of January for his departure to the frontier, to make the formal exchange of the future brides. Every expedient was adopted to render the cavalcade worthy the magnificence of the respective sovereigns. They were attended by a numerous train, as well as by all the foreign ministers; considerable bodies of troops were drawn to the frontiers, and no expence spared to decorate the theatre of the intended ceremony. The two courts arrived at Badajos and Elvas; and the place of meeting was a temporary pavilion on the bridge over the Caya, which divides the two kingdoms.

After some ludicrous altercations for precedence, which diminished the harmony and grandeur of the scene, the two monarchs, accompanied by their respective families, at length met on the 20th of January. The contracts of marriage were formally executed, the princesses mutually exchanged; and after a short and formal interview, they separated with great marks of friendship and cordiality; but with tears of affection and regret on taking leave of their children. Mr. Keene, who witnessed the ceremony, thus describes the bride of the prince of Asturias, and future queen of Spain.

"I had placed myself very conveniently yesterday to see the first meeting of the two families; and I could not but observe, that the princess's figure, notwithstanding a profusion of gold and diamonds, really shocked the prince. He looked

as if he thought he had been imposed upon. Her large mouth, thick lips, high cheek bones and small eyes, afforded him no agreeable prospect; but she is well shaped and has a good mien."*

After a second and third interview, less marked by the restraints of etiquette, the two courts separated, with proofs of affection and regret. The king and queen of Spain made a progress through Estremadura; and directing their route by Seville to witness the arrival of the galleons at Cadiz, they spent some months in examining the state and improvements of that great commercial and naval station. As the queen dreaded another clandestine attempt to abdicate, and consequently was anxious to cut off all immediate communication with the council of Castile,† she induced her husband to establish the royal residence at Seville. Feb. 1729.

In consequence of the preceding causes and pretences for

* Mr. Keene to Mr. De la Faye, Badajos, January 20, 1729.

† "No one ever doubted," observes Mr. Keene, "that the queen of Spain's design in carrying the king her husband into Andalusia, was both to divert him from the thoughts of a second abdication, which he had unsuccessfully attempted in the year 1728, or at least to render the execution of such a design extremely difficult, by the distance he was then removed to from the council of Castile. Whilst he remained in Seville, nothing could be transacted upon that point with such secrecy and expedition but that she must come at the knowledge of it, and have time enough to prevent it; but the case was quite different at Madrid. That council was always at hand, and in virtue of their employments had a right to an audience of the king every Friday in a body, after which, by the laws and customs of Spain, the president retired into a dark room with the king alone; and made such representations, and received such directions as his duty obliged him to, or the king thought fit to give him. It is true that she made a proper choice of persons to be intrusted with these privileges; but as the matter was of the greatest importance to her, it was prudent to put it out of the power of any one to hurt her, which was effectually done by fixing her residence at Seville."

Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Segovia, Aug. 1, 1733.

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delay, the Hanover allies were still left in the same uncertain and irksome situation as before the act of the Pardo. The season had passed without effect; the different plenipotentiaries had gradually withdrawn from the ridiculous farce of negotiation at Soissons; the court of Madrid maintained an obstinate silence in spite of repeated representations. Not only were the same depredations continued on the subjects and commerce

March. of the Hanover allies, but new vexations daily added, and new artifices employed to revive the discussion relative to a compensation for the blockade of the spanish ports and harbours.

The Hanover allies were thus once more compelled to resort to acts of vigour, in order to put a period to those prevarications with which the court of Spain sought again to wear away the season for action. The decided devotion of the queen to Austria rendered France less scrupulous than on preceding occasions. As the prelude to decisive measures, the three ministers of France, England, and Holland, joined in a common remonstrance to the spanish government, demanding the immediate execution of the preliminaries, and announcing that delay or refusal would be considered as a motive for hostility.

It is impossible to divine to what new schemes and troubles these singular and contradictory proceedings might have given rise, had not a sudden change of policy taken place in the court of Madrid. The queen had indeed accepted the preliminaries, but with a determined resolution to evade their execution. Her conduct had shewed that she still fostered her implacable resentment against France and England, and her devotion to the austrian alliance, to which she yet clung with infatuation. The subsidies to the emperor were continued; the influence of Konigseg predominated in the councils, notwithstanding the murmurs of the nation, the opposition of the mi-

nisters, and the multiplied embarrassments in which the country was involved. Nothing indeed could dissipate the illusion but the conduct of the emperor himself, and, fortunately for the public tranquillity, an event occurred to put his sincerity to the test.

April, 1729.

In consequence of the death of Francis, duke of Parma, the emperor instigated his successor Anthony to espouse a princess of Modena, in the hope that the birth of an heir would annul the investiture which he had reluctantly granted to an infant of Spain. Notwithstanding his repeated professions, he made endless objections to the introduction of spanish garrisons into the italian fortresses. He sent his agents into the petty courts of Italy, to counteract the spanish interest; and spared no research to trace out and revive obsolete pretensions of the empire to fiefs in Parma and Tuscany, in order to diminish as far as possible the value of that inheritance. He alternately made overtures to France and England, and insinuated that his desertion of Spain might be purchased by the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. These intrigues were discovered, and communicated to the queen by Monteleon, who, at this period, was again sent into Italy, on the mission to which we have before adverted.

Patiño also found, from fatal experience, that the finances were unequal to answer the continual demands of the emperor; and that this drain, if not checked, would frustrate his great design of restoring commerce, and reviving the marine, which had so long been the darling object of the nation. He, therefore, began openly to express his disapprobation of the Vienna alliance, and found little difficulty in adducing proofs of insincerity on the part of the emperor. This opposition excited a bitter enmity between him and Konigseg, and led to frequent altercations, which hastened the decline of the austrian

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interest. He publicly attributed all the obstacles which had delayed an accommodation to the insatiable cupidity of the imperial court, and in answer to a formal accusation presented against him by Konigseg, replied, "The king, if he pleases, may send me to Italy; but while I remain in his service, I will never submit to concessions unworthy a minister of Spain."* Even the very courtiers discovered the change which was taking place, and raised a clamour against the mischiefs of the German alliance, which, as Mr. Keene justly observes, a few weeks before, would have been considered a species of political blasphemy.†

The multiplied proofs of the emperor's insincerity, which appeared from every quarter, and the representations of a minister who possessed her full confidence, made a gradual impression on the queen. Of this disposition the Hanover allies did not neglect to profit. By their ministers, Keene and Brancas, they expressed the utmost readiness to gratify their catholic majesties in all things which might contribute to the establishment of Don Carlos in Italy, and testified their willingness to concur in the admission of spanish garrisons, provided Spain would execute the preliminary articles.

These considerations fixed the decision of the queen. On one side, suspecting the emperor, on the other, dreading to lose by delay the advantages tendered by the allies, she made a direct application to the court of Vienna, either to bring its sincerity to the test, or obtain a pretext for a rupture. She demanded a prompt and explicit declaration, in writing, of the emperor's intentions with regard to the marriage of his daughter to a spanish prince, and to the introduction of spanish garrisons into Parma and Tuscany. An evasive answer con-

* Mr. Keene's dispatches.

† Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Dec. 20, 1727.

vinced her that she had nothing to expect but equivocation and delay, and she instantly turned to the Hanover allies. She did not, however, act with weakness or precipitation, but, with all her impatience, displayed the consummate address of her nation. She played off the emperor against the allies, and the allies against the emperor; she even made an effort to separate France from England; by the means of Chauvelin, she brought forward a scheme for an accommodation, conceived in vague terms with regard to the interests of England, and leaving the privileges of trade, and the right to Gibraltar and Minorca, to the decision of neutral powers. Even the cardinal accepted the proposal; but on this, as preceding occasions, he was over-ruled by the energetic remonstrances of Mr. Walpole.* Lastly, after a long delay, she made an appeal to the gratitude and generosity of the french and english nations, by distributing the effects of the flota and galleons.

Aug.

While she was yet cavilling and caballing, and employing all the resources of a consummate statesman, to extort more advantageous terms, the birth of a dauphin, by diminishing the chances of an eventual succession in France, raised the value of a more certain, though less splendid establishment in Italy. Accordingly, these long pending negotiations were closed by a treaty signed at Seville, November 9, 1729, which instantly broke the connection between Spain and Austria.

Sept. 4, 1729.

The treaty of Seville was a defensive alliance between Spain, England, and France, to which Holland afterwards acceded. After the usual guaranties and stipulations of reciprocal assistance, and the confirmation of preceding treaties, Spain revoked all the privileges granted to the subjects of the emperor by the treaties of Vienna, re-established the english commerce

* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 16.

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in America on the former footing, restored all captures with reparation for damages, and promised to prevent future depredations. Commissaries were also to be appointed to settle the disputes between England and Spain, concerning the american trade, and decide on the claims of Spain for the restitution of the ships taken off the coast of Sicily in 1721. The pretensions to Gibraltar were again passed over in silence.*

Regulations were made to secure the succession of Parma and Tuscany, and the attention and minuteness with which they were framed, prove the solicitude of the queen, and the anxiety of the allies to meet her wishes. The allies took on themselves the introduction of spanish garrisons, and formally engaged to defend Don Carlos against any power who might attempt to disturb him in the succession. Separate articles were also added, to render more prompt and effectual the intended abolition of the Ostend company, together with the restoration of commerce, and the confirmation of the asiento with England.

The court of Madrid vainly imagined that the emperor would be awed by this alliance, and that the italian successions would be secured without further difficulty or delay. But the sovereigns of Spain had ill calculated on his firmness and perseverance. Personally offended by their desertion, disap-

* Philip now evidently relinquished all hope of recovering Gibraltar; for, to cut off its communication with the interior, he constructed the strong lines of San Roque, across the isthmus, and invited inhabitants to settle in the neighbouring town of Algeziras, by extraordinary privileges. Mr. Keene, who was charged to remonstrate against the construction of these lines, observes, "As to the demolition of the works before Gibraltar, I was assured, if the whole universe should fall upon the king to make him desist, he would let himself rather be cut to pieces, than consent, since he had maturely considered his right to the ground; and we might as well pretend to Cadiz, in virtue of our treaties, as to the spot where the line was. It was far out of point-blank cannon shot, which was all we could justly ask." Seville, May 20, 1731.

pointed in the hopes of obtaining the guaranty of his pragmatic sanction, indignant at the forcible abolition of the Ostend company, and the loss of the spanish subsidies, he surpassed even the queen herself, in his artifices and intrigues to prevent, or at least to suspend, the execution of this obnoxious treaty. He inveighed by turns against the court of Spain and the allies, recalled his embassador from Madrid, and poured troops into the Milanese to give law in Italy. He endeavoured to rouse the states of Germany, and the powers of the north, and displayed an invincible resolution, rather to risk a war with all Europe, than accept the conditions imposed upon him. For a time, the want of concert between the allies, arising from their own discordant interests, encouraged and enabled him to persevere. On the death of Anthony, duke of Parma, he therefore pushed his troops into that duchy, and retained it in his possession under pretence that the widow was pregnant.

The delays and inactivity of France and England, and the obstinacy of the emperor, roused the irritable court of Madrid. The queen gave way to her indignation against the cardinal minister, and did not hesitate to tell the french embassador in a public audience, "I am the wife of a king of the House of France, yet deserted by France. We must adhere to our friends, not to our relations."* At her instigation, Philip, by his embassador, declared himself free from all the engagements contracted by the treaty of Seville.

This prompt and decisive measure produced an instantaneous effect; for the british nation was alarmed by the prospect of again losing their commercial advantages. The king applied to the emperor, and at length purchased his accession to the treaty of Seville, by guarantying the pragmatic sanction, on the condition that the Ostend company should be

March 16, 1731.

* Memoirs de Villars, t. 4, p. 205.

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abolished, and that his heiress should not be given to a prince of the House of Bourbon, or any sovereign so powerful as to endanger the balance of Europe. The spanish declaration was accordingly revoked, and a second treaty, concluded at Vienna on the 22nd of July, once more terminated the disputes between Philip and the emperor.

Soon after these treaties Don Carlos took possession of Parma and Placentia, with the approbation of the emperor and empire. He was also acknowledged successor to the grand duke of Tuscany. Spanish troops were conveyed by an english fleet to occupy the fortresses of that duchy, with no other opposition than a protest issued by the pope, for the sake of form, to preserve the obsolete rights of the church.

Thus these tedious negotiations, which had kept Europe in a state of alarm and commotion for twelve years, and had broken all the antient bonds of policy, terminated in arrangements which left the balance of power nearly in the same situation as before their commencement. The maritime powers and Austria were again united against the two branches of the House of Bourbon.*

The reconciliation of Spain with France was followed by the disgrace of the abbot Montgon, who had so essentially contributed to the renewal of the union. After his return from France, his plausible manners and devout exterior preserved the favour of Philip, and for some time the good will of the

* Dispatches of Mr. Keene from Madrid; Mr. Walpole from Paris, and the duke of Newcastle from London. Account of the negotiations from the opening of the congress of Soissons to the conclusion of the treaty of Seville by Mr. Robinson, MS.—Considerations on the Introduction of spanish garrisons.—Grantham Papers, MS.—Memoires de Montgon, passim.—Villars, t. 3 and 4, passim.—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 33, 35.—Lord Walpole, ch. 16.—House of Austria, v. 2, c. 9.—Treaties of Seville and Vienna in Rousset, Dumont, and other Collections of public Documents.

queen. But his mysterious connection with the court, and the general homage which he consequently received, both from natives and foreigners, filled his sanguine mind with the most aspiring designs, and dazzled him with the hope of becoming another Alberoni. While he deluded himself with these fantastic expectations, he was assailed by all the influence of Fleury, who could not, without alarm, see the elevation of an irreconcilable enemy and a zealous partisan of the duke of Bourbon. The vain, officious, and meddling character of the abbot, gave full scope to the machinations of his adroit antagonist, and drew on him the displeasure of the queen. He at length discovered her secret opposition to his advancement, and, persuading himself that his influence with Philip was too firmly established to be shaken, attempted to brave the effects of her dislike.

With this view he presented several memorials to the king, expatiating on his sufferings and services; and inveighing against the queen's confessor, the Patiños, cardinal Fleury and the french embassador, whom he considered as the advisers of the queen, and his own personal enemies. A favourable attention from Philip, who never forgot his services in promoting the reconciliation with France, and a gratification of 2,000 pistoles, filled him with the highest exultation. Proud of this distinction he considered his victory as complete, and anticipated the ruin of his opponents. "The confessor," he says, "has already taken a house at Madrid, Rottembourg* is preparing to quit Spain, under pretence of indisposition, and Patiño hourly expects the news of his dismission."†

Finding, however, that his hopes were still deferred; and pressed by mortified vanity and pecuniary distress, he made a

* He had recently resumed his embassy in Spain.

† Montgon, t. 8, p. 437.

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more direct attack, and prepared a new memorial in the stile of the preceding. After sedulously watching an opportunity to present it, he intruded himself into the inner apartment where the king was about to hear mass. As he advanced with his memorial, the queen entered, and confounded him with a look of indignation and contempt. "Retire, retire!" she exclaimed: "No one must enter here but the grandees and gentlemen of the houshold." Montgon retired; but after the ceremony, he again penetrated into the apartment, with the duke of Ossuna and the other attendants; and, having presented his memorial to the king, withdrew. The queen, who had observed his return, exclaimed, "this is too impudent!" and on the following morning, he received an order to quit the court in a week, and the kingdom in twenty days.*

This mandate was rigorously enforced. The abbot, after finding a temporary asylum in Portugal, returned to close his days in his native country and in his original obscurity; leaving in his Memoirs a monument of disappointed ambition, hypocritical piety, and overweening confidence, accompanied, however, with curious and valuable anecdotes of the two courts in which he had once acted so important a part.†

In closing our narrative of this period, it would be a species of ingratitude, to pass unnoticed the death of that spanish writer, from whom we have drawn such valuable materials for the preceding pages. Don Vincente de Bacallar y Sanna,

* Mr. Keene's dispatch, March 21, 1732.

† The overweening vanity and loquaciousness of the good abbot rendered him the object of ridicule to the whole *corps diplomatique* long before his disgrace. Many anecdotes occur in the letters of our ministers at Paris and Madrid of the derision in which he was held; and the intelligence which they drew from him relative to the personal sentiments and conduct of the sovereigns who honoured him with their temporary confidence.

marquis of St. Philip, was a native of Sardinia, and descended from an antient spanish family settled in that island. He received an excellent education, distinguished himself in various branches of learning, filled some important offices in his native island; and on its capture by the partisans of the archduke, persisted in his attachment to Philip. Repairing to Madrid, he was created marquis of St. Philip, much employed by his sovereign, and distinguished his diplomatic talents in the embassies of Genoa and the Hague. He died at the Hague, on the 11th of June, 1729, leaving in manuscript a *History of the Hebrew Monarchy*, and *Commentaries on the War of the Succession under Philip the Generous*: a work which has entitled him to a place among modern historians. It was composed from original documents and actual observation, and written with such freedom, that it was not permitted to be printed during the life of Philip the fifth. This very circumstance enhances its merit. We have however to regret the complaisance of the editor, who changed and softened many parts where he considered the character of Louis the Fourteenth as treated with too much severity. According to the spanish critics, the style of the original is harsh, and vitiated with the author's native idiom; but, though it is written with castilian prejudices, its authenticity and exactness are uncontested, and its tone of candour and freedom cannot fail to interest the reader. From the close of this narrative in 1725, there is a sad chasm in the History of Spain, which no succeeding author has yet supplied.*

* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 399.——Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 1, Discours Preliminaire. The title of the work was likewise changed to Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Espagne sous le Regne de Philippe 5.

CHAPTER XLI.

1732—1736.

Continuance of Philip's Malady—Successful Expedition against Oran—Return of the Spanish Court to the Capital—Machinations of Spain against the Emperor—Negotiations with France—War of the Polish Succession—Campaigns in Italy and Germany—Conquest of Naples and Sicily—Don Carlos proclaimed King—Division in the Bourbon Alliance—Preliminaries of Vienna concluded between France and Austria—Indignation of the Spanish Court—Their reluctant accession to the Preliminaries—Dispute with the Pope—Temporary rupture with Portugal, and acquisition of the colony of Sacramento.

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AFTER Philip had established his residence at Seville, his mind again sunk into a state of apathy for want of interesting objects to rouse his attention. He soon relapsed into a still more deplorable state than before his departure from Madrid; and though without the ability to hold the reins of government, he was not sufficiently docile to commit them as before to the queen. Frequently he would neither transact business himself, nor suffer it to be transacted by others; and at one period the queen, notwithstanding her jealousy of the prince of Asturias, was obliged to employ his intervention to recal her husband to the ordinary habits of life.

The regular avocations of business proving ineffectual, another expedient was employed to stimulate his apathy. Advantage was taken of a vow which he had made to recover Oran from the Moors, and an appeal was made to his conscience to fulfil the sacred obligation. The bustle of war was now, as before, successful after other means had failed.

Having obtained from the pope the usual grants on ecclesiastical property for a war against the infidels, Philip issued orders that the troops collected to assert the rights of his son in Italy, should be employed to vindicate the honour of the christian name against the Moors in Africa. Twenty-five thousand men, convoyed by forty-five ships of war, commanded by the duke of Montemar, landed near Oran, routed a tumultuary army of 40,000 Moors, and laid siege to the place. The attacks were pushed with such vigour, that the fortress, though defended by a garrison of 10,000 men, surrendered, and the general, leaving 8,000 men to secure his conquest, returned to Spain.

1732. On the departure of the army, the Moors recovered from their panic, and attempted to dislodge the christians from both Ceuta and Oran. At Ceuta, a body of spaniards made a vigorous sally, under the command of the duke of St. Blas; but falling into an ambuscade were cut to pieces. The garrison, not disheartened by this reverse, repeated the attempt under the count of Cecil, and drove the Moors from their lines. A similar reverse was followed by similar good fortune at Oran. A sally was made under the command of the marquis of Santa Cruz, the celebrated tactician; but the chief falling in the moment of victory, the troops were panic struck, and driven back to the walls. While, however, the enemy were tumultuously celebrating their success, they were again attacked by the spaniards, and driven from their entrenchments. They several times renewed the conflict, and were as often repulsed, till at length they were totally routed, their camp taken, and their works levelled. The marquis of Miromenil, who directed this attack, received a mortal wound; but the vigorous defence of the garrison and the success of their sally threw the enemy into consternation: they abandoned their inauspicious

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enterprise, leaving the spaniards in tranquil possession of the two fortresses which they had so bravely won, and so gallantly defended.*

After the expedition to Africa, Philip found sufficient occupation in Europe during the remainder of his reign. At the instigation of his consort, he was involved in a war for the ostensible purpose of assisting France in restoring Stanislaus to the throne of Poland, but with the real design of obtaining new establishments for her sons in Italy.

It was not to be expected, that the accession of Spain to the treaty of Vienna should at once terminate the long pending disputes with the emperor; for many causes of irritation still subsisted which it was impossible to remove by treaties. The ambition of the queen was rather inflamed than gratified, and the breach of the recent connection had excited the highest personal resentment on both sides. The emperor accumulated obstacles on obstacles to delay the establishment of a bourbon prince in Italy. Even when it had actually taken place, he produced new complaints against the form in which Don Carlos had taken possession of his dominions, and received the homage of the Tuscans, as an infraction of the feudal rights possessed by the head of the empire.† The consequences of these contentions were mutual appeals to England as the principal mediating power; but no decision would satisfy both parties.

The sovereigns of Spain caught the alarm at the military preparations of the emperor to extort the consent of the german states to his pragmatic sanction; and at his design to

* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 429.——Desormeaux, t. 5, p. 418, 422.—Pol. State for April 1733.

† Disputes and negotiations relative to the possession of Parma and Tuscany in 1732.——Rousset, t. 6.

give his eldest daughter to the duke of Loraine, and unite, in the person of his destined son-in-law, the crown of the empire with the austrian territories. They were jealous also of his returning confidence in England; and of the alliances which he was now negotiating with the northern powers.

With England likewise, innumerable causes of irritation still remained. The spanish government, which had incessantly struggled since the peace of Utrecht to evade the performance of their commercial engagements, were not better disposed to fulfil them than before. They employed every artifice to obstruct the british trade in America, deferred the nomination of commissioners to arrange the disputes; and not only encouraged the depredations of their officers on those who carried on an illicit traffic with the colonies under the protection of the asiento; but even on those who frequented the west indian seas, for other traffic.

With a navy which under the skilful management of Patiño had risen from its losses, with the finances improving under his administration, and an army of 80,000 men, flushed with the recent victories in Africa, it scarcely admits a doubt that the queen was eager to renew the war, in order to obtain more honourable and advantageous terms than those of the recent treaty But she had felt also, that the strength of Spain was not sufficient to resist alone the combined powers of Europe; and her continual efforts, though assisted by the co-operation of the partisans of Philip in France, had failed in the attempt to draw Fleury from his pacific system. The Memoirs of Villars, and the dispatches of our ministers, furnish innumerable proofs of the incessant endeavours of Spain to renew hostilities; and the no less incessant artifices of Fleury to maintain the connection of the two Bourbon courts,

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at the same time that he endeavoured to moderate the counsels of the restless and irritable sovereigns.

Indefatigable in her efforts to extend the power of her family, the queen attempted to extort from France a promise to enter into a war against Austria, on the side of Germany, while Italy was overrun by the spanish forces. She pressed the cardinal also to thwart the establishment of the pragmatic sanction by subsidizing the elector Palatine and the elector of Bavaria, who had pretensions to the austrian succession. She even opened a negotiation with Charles Emanuel, who had succeeded his abdicated father on the throne of Sardinia; and endeavoured to gain a prince who, with the abilities, possessed all the cupidity and ambition of his predecessors.*

Sept. 3, 1730.

While Philip and his queen were fluctuating between an eagerness to declare war against the emperor, and an unwillingness to engage without the co-operation of France; while they were temporising with the maritime powers, and even listening to overtures from the emperor himself to renew the former connection, an event happened in the distant regions of the north, which occasioned an union of views and interests between France and Spain. This event was the death of Augustus the third, elector of Saxony, and king of Poland.

Feb. 1, 1733.

During the attempts of the emperor to obtain the guaranty of his pragmatic sanction by the princes of Germany, the polish monarch, in virtue of his family pretensions,† stood forward as his principal opponent, entered into a compact with the elector of Bavaria, and was secretly encouraged by France. As his health was rapidly declining, it was easy to foresee that the

* For an account of the abdication of Victor Amadeus, and the accession of Charles Emanuel, see House of Austria, v. 2, p. 111.

† For the various pretenders to the austrian succession, and their respective claims, see House of Austria, v. 2.

approaching vacancy of the polish throne would give rise to commotions in Europe, from the natural solicitude of Louis the fifteenth, to revive the pretensions of his father in law, Stanislaus, and the equally natural interest of the emperor and Russia to prevent the accession of a prince dependent on France. These clashing views and mutual jealousies, occasioned active preparations for war among all the powers interested in the result.

The great object of Augustus was to secure the reversion of the polish crown to his son. Hence he entered into secret connections with such of the european powers, as were able to forward his design, and hastened in the depth of winter to Warsaw, to obtain the consent of his subjects. But, in consequence of his opposition to the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, he was opposed by the emperor, who, drawing his troops from Italy and the Netherlands, collected a considerable army in Silesia, and negotiated a treaty with Russia and Prussia, to give a king to Poland, in the person of Emanuel, prince of Portugal. Before, however, Augustus could convene a diet, he fell a sacrifice to his solicitude for the advancement of his family, and died of a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by an accident in his recent journey. Feb. 1, 1736.

His decease at once changed the plan of the emperor. The new elector of Saxony, hopeless of support from France, and conscious that he could not succeed to the vacant throne without the assistance of Austria and Russia, entered into the views of the emperor, and gained his patronage by guarantying the pragmatic sanction. Russia readily concurred in a measure which was calculated to exclude an adherent of France, and joined with Austria in supporting his pretensions.

Numerous candidates started for the vacant throne, and, as usual in this elective government, two were chosen by op-

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posite parties. Stanislaus, by a singular series of adventures, traversed Germany, appeared suddenly at Warsaw, and was elected by acclamation in a diet of his adherents held in the plain of Vola. But a few days afterwards, he was expelled by the austrian and russian armies; and a new diet, assembled under their auspices, chose Augustus king.

Sept. 12.

The intelligence of the king of Poland's decease excited a deep sensation at Seville; because it was justly considered as an event which would fix the wavering inclinations of France, and prove the signal of hostilities against the emperor. It was therefore no sooner communicated to Philip, than he started from his bed, in which he had long continued, under the influence of his hypochondriac malady, without attention to business, or regard to his personal comforts. He resumed the duties of government, gave general audience to persons of all ranks and descriptions, entered minutely into the transaction of affairs, and ordered immediate preparations for an approaching war.

The queen did not suffer this temporary ebullition of spirit to subside. As the residence of Seville exposed him to the machinations of the king of Portugal, who was naturally anxious to hasten the elevation of his son in law, the prince of Asturias; as the grandees were incessantly caballing for a change of government; and as the different courts of Europe unequivocally hinted the necessity of a new abdication, she now deemed the residence of Madrid preferable to that of Seville, and was anxious to give a public proof of his returning health. She adroitly hinted that, like his grandfather, he was become the terror of Europe, and that it was necessary to disappoint the expectations of his enemies, who were anxious for his return to a private station. By similar arguments, she induced him to break off the familiar intercourse of the prince

of Asturias, with the grandees and foreign ministers, under the pretence of reviving the national etiquette; and she persuaded him to remove his residence to the neighbourhood of the capital, because the moist air of Seville was unfavourable to his constitution.*

Philip started at once from sluggish indolence to extreme activity. Though he suffered a temporary indisposition from the exertions of his journey, he soon recovered, and repaired to his favourite residence at St. Ildefonso. "The moment," says Mr. Keene, "he arrived, he called for the directors of the works, and gave them his orders. At the same time, he declared his intention to have a regular despacho the next morning, when he disposed of several military employments. He has continued to apply to business ever since, so that the government is now upon a regular footing, and as to his health, I never saw him look more cheerful and more free of speech."† Thus, after an absence of five years, Philip again cheered the capital with his presence.

Anxious for occupation, Philip, in announcing to the court of France the capture of Oran, had made proposals to form a closer connection, and turn their united force against the emperor. Fleury was too sincerely devoted to peace, to excite the alarms of England, by shewing hostile designs against Austria; but the overture gave rise to a negotiation, which continued during the whole of 1732, and great part of the succeeding year. The conclusion of a treaty was for a time obstructed, by the refusal of Fleury to join in the designs of the queen against the austrian possessions in Italy; but the death of Augustus gave a new direction to the views of both powers. The queen, as an argument for immediate aggression, urged

* Mr. Keene's dispatches.

† Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Segovia, July 20, 1733.

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that the spanish navy was sufficiently powerful to transport an armament into Italy, expatiated on the strength and discipline of the army, and in reply to the cautious suggestions of the cardinal, exclaimed, "The king and I are not children of fear, great enterprises do not embarrass us.*"

Even the moderation and timidity of Fleury were tempted by the favourable juncture which now presented itself. The british ministry, on the eve of a general election, and embarrassed with the popular discontents occasioned by the attempt to establish the excise, were only anxious to prevent the subjugation of the Netherlands, and contented themselves with a vain offer of mediation.† Holland also, unwilling to encounter the strength of France without support, adopted a neutrality.

Secure on the side where France had learnt to dread an attack, Fleury in his turn solicited the co-operation of Spain. At the moment when both courts continued to amuse England with vague professions of their pacific views, and denials of any specific engagement, a triple alliance was
Oct. 25. already arranged between France, Spain, and Sardinia.‡ This was the last political act of the marquis of Castellar, brother of Patiño, who had exchanged the department of war for the embassy at Paris. The change of system was instantly announced by Montijo, spanish embassador in London, who in an audience of the king declared that his catholic majesty was under an obligation of taking new measures, and joining his arms with France against the emperor.§ This communication was the prelude to a declaration of war, in which the three courts recapitulated all their grievances and complaints against Austria since the peace of Utrecht.

* Villars, t. 4, p. 341.

† Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 43.

‡ Ortiz, t. 7, p. 436.

§ Conduct of England in the Polish affairs.——Walpole Papers, MS.

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At the same moment a french army under Berwick passed the Rhine, and a second, under Villars, the favourite general of the court of Madrid, traversing the Alps, united with the Sardinians. Sixteen thousand spanish infantry, convoyed by twenty men of war, were transported from Barcelona and Alicante to the coast of Genoa, while five thousand horse, crossing the Pyrenees, embarked at Antibes for the same destination. The disembarkation being completed, these forces, under the command of Montemar, directed their march into Tuscany, and established their head quarters in the vicinity of Sienna. During these movements, Don Carlos, declaring himself of age, assumed the government of Parma, and fixed the majority of the future dukes at fourteen. He soon afterwards quitted Parma, and, as if secure of a higher distinction, stripped the ducal palace of the most valuable moveables and curiosities. Repairing to Sienna, he assumed the title of generalissimo of the spanish army in Italy.

Nov. 1733.

Dec. 19.

Feb. 24, 1734.

The French and Sardinians hoped that this army was destined to co-operate in reducing the Milanese; but Philip, unwilling to share his anticipated booty with his allies, meditated an acquisition of far higher importance, long the object of his desire.

Among a people so changeable as the Neapolitans, and so averse to a regular government, however constituted, it was as easy to conquer, as it was difficult to retain the throne.

From the difference of language, manners, and national character, the german government became highly obnoxious: the new modes of taxation, and the military regulations, if not oppressive, were at least odious from their novelty, and offensive to the irritable temper and peculiar habits of the people. Under these impressions, the remnant of the spanish party gained continual accessions of strength, and made earnest representations to the court of Madrid to deliver them from

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the german yoke. An object so tempting, and apparently so easy in the attainment, outweighed the general interests of the alliance of which Spain formed a part; and the remonstrances of marshal Villars, who himself repaired to Sienna to procure the co-operation of the Spaniards, produced no effect. Don Carlos left the French and Sardinians to pursue their own plans in Lombardy, drew the spanish troops from the Modenese, and, traversing the states of the church by permission of the pope, was received by the papal ministers with real or feigned respect, though without the honours of a crowned head. While he directed his march towards the neapolitan frontier, a powerful squadron, under the count of Clavijo, having a detachment of 8,000 troops on board, skirted the coast, and opened the way for the attack of the capital by the occupation of Ischia and Procida. The infant himself, passing by Capua, crossed the Valdarna, and united all his forces at St. Angelo di Rocca Canina. He published a manifesto to the Neapolitans, in the name of the king his father, declaring in the usual language his satisfaction with their past fidelity, and announcing his intention to deliver them from the german oppression; and, what was more likely to captivate this capricious people, promising to enlarge their privileges, and deliver them from all kinds of taxation, particularly those imposts which owed their invention and establishment to the cupidity of the german government. This paper was accompanied by a declaration in the name of the infant himself, confirming the promises of his father in general, and asserting his resolution to permit the introduction of no new tribunal, either civil or ecclesiastical, a promise deemed necessary to relieve the dread which the Neapolitans entertained, lest the establishment of the inquisition should be the consequence of a spanish government.

March 15.

These tempting offers, with the national love of novelty, produced a great sensation. Fortunately also for the success of this enterprise, the viceroy, Visconti, as if anticipating the fatal event of the contest, had retired to Rome, and the austrian generals, Caraffa and Traun, disagreed in their plan of operations. After a violent dispute, they resolved to remain on the defensive, diminished their disposable force to garrison the principal fortresses, and divided the remainder into two bodies, one to guard Apuglia, while the other took post opposite St. Angelo della Canina, to cover the northern frontier.

The spanish army forced the position of the imperialists at Angelo della Canina, drove them into Capua and Gaeta, and, leaving a detachment to blockade them, advanced towards Naples. At Aversa, the infant received a deputation from the capital; on the 10th of April 300 of his troops were admitted without opposition; and in a short time all the forts commanding the city and port of Baia, were occupied by the Spaniards. May 10. In consequence of this success, the infant made his triumphal entry, and published a decree in the name of his father, declaring him king of the two Sicilies, and renewing the promises made in the former proclamation.

While the infant was conciliating his subjects, and establishing the government of his newly acquired dominions, Montemar followed the remnant of the german troops, who, May 25. to the amount of 9,000 men, retreated through Bari, and took up an advantageous position under the walls of Bitonto. But the strength of their post did not compensate for inferiority in number. The veterans of Spain, directed by the skill and enterprise of Montemar, forced their intrenchments with a dreadful carnage, and compelled those who escaped into Bitonto to surrender prisoners of war. Nearly 2,000

CHAP. XLI. 1732 | 1736. November.

men were left in the field, 6,000 taken, with their tents, provisions, and stores, and of the whole body only 400 hussars escaped into the mountains of Calabria. This victory decided the fate of the kingdom. Before the close of the year, the conquest was completed by the reduction of Gaeta, which Traun defended for several months with extraordinary resolution.

Don Carlos received the crown at Naples, amidst the acclamations of the people, who rejoiced to exchange a viceroy for a sovereign. The first act of his reign was to reward the services of Montemar with the title of duke of Bitonto, an annual pension of 14,000 ducats, and the perpetual custody of Castello Nuovo. To these rewards, the king of Spain added the honours of a grandee of the first class.*

As the imperialists were totally dissipated, even before Gaeta Pescara and Capua surrendered, measures were taken for the reduction of Sicily. Strengthened with considerable succours from Spain, Montemar landed at the head of a considerable force, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, was immediately welcomed as viceroy to the new sovereign, and before the middle of the ensuing summer reduced the whole island. Trapani, the last fortress held by the austrians, surrendered on the 21st of June.

The king himself passed over, and was crowned at Palermo, with great magnificence, on the 3rd of July. Nothing, indeed, was wanting to establish the sovereignty of Don Carlos, but the approbation of the pope, as liege lord of the two Sicilies; and, though he could not obtain the actual investiture, yet the spanish court so far intimidated the pope, as to induce him to maintain a neutrality, and refuse the customary tribute of a hackney, and purse of money, when offered by the emperor.†

* Muratori Ann. 1734.——Beccatini Storia di Carlo Terzo, ibid.

† Political State for July, 1735.

During this rapid conquest, the allied arms were crowned with no less splendid success in the north of Italy. Count Mercy, the most enterprising of the austrian generals, was defeated and killed in a desperate attempt to penetrate into the country south of the Po, at the bloody battle of Parma. Reinforcements were poured in to the imperial army to replace its losses; the veteran Staremberg, who had succeeded in the command, made repeated efforts to pass the Po; but he experienced the same ill success as his predecessor, and before the close of the campaign was circumscribed to the possession of Orbitello, Mirandola, and Mantua with its territory. CHAP. XLI. 1732 | 1736. June 29.

On the return of the season for action, powerful reinforcements arrived from France and Spain. The reduction of the two Sicilies being completed, a body of spaniards, under the conqueror of Bitonto, landed on the coast of Tuscany, and occupying the fortresses, joined the allies to gather new laurels in Lombardy. With this accession of strength, Orbitello was reduced by the spaniards, the imperialists were driven into the Trentin; and Mantua, the key of Lombardy, was closely blockaded by the united armies.*

Meanwhile the operations in Germany, though less brilliant, were scarcely less favourable. The duchy of Loraine was occupied without opposition, and an army of 100,000 french troops, after reducing Kehl, advanced beyond the Rhine. In the ensuing year the country watered by the Moselle was secured by the capture of Treves and Traerbach, and a way was opened into Germany by the reduction of the strong fortress of Philipsburgh, the siege of which was rendered memorable by the death of the veteran marshal Berwick, who fell before its walls. The imperial army, though commanded by Eugene, was too inferior in force, too deficient in discipline 1733. 1734.

* Muratori.

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and appointments, and too much divided by the intrigues of its chiefs, to act on the offensive, and passed the whole campaign of 1735 in merely witnessing, without attempting to obstruct the triumphs of the enemy.*

In the midst of these events, Philip was engaged in a dispute with the pope; and notwithstanding his attachment to the church, and his title of catholic king, he resented the insults of the roman see, with a spirit and dignity becoming a successor of Charles the fifth. Some of his officers, endeavouring to enlist recruits at Rome, were massacred in a temporary commotion by the populace. A similar tumult arose at Velletri, in consequence of the exactions of the spaniards; and a body of their troops were obliged to quit the city, and fall back towards Rome. The satisfaction required not being given by Clement the twelfth, the spanish and neapolitan ministers withdrew from Rome, commanded the subjects of their respective sovereigns to quit the city; and the papal nuntio was dismissed from Naples. At the same time the spaniards returned with an accession of force to Velletri, erected gibbets in the market places, imprisoned many who were engaged in the recent commotion, and after committing various outrages levied a contribution of 8,000 crowns as a compensation for exemption from military execution. Another detachment committed similar exactions in Ostia; and a third, under a trifling pretence, extorted 5,000 crowns from the inhabitants of Palestrina. The court of Madrid also displayed no less resentment against the pope. The nuntio was dismissed, his tribunal closed, and all payments and contributions to the roman see were suspended. These vigorous measures reduced the pope to submission. He not only gave

Dec. 19. the required satisfaction, but purchased a perfect reconcilia-

* History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 11.

tion by conferring the cardinal's hat on the infant Don Philip, then only eight years of age, and appointing him administrator to the archbishopric of Toledo.*

In this favourable situation of affairs, Elizabeth Farnese already anticipated the expulsion of the austrians from Italy, and the establishment of a new sovereignty for her second son Don Philip. But her sanguine hopes were frustrated by those divisions among the members of an extensive combination which are the natural consequences of success. France having secured Loraine, the possession of which she had coveted for more than two centuries, was unwilling to confer new power in Italy either on the king of Sardinia or on the spaniards. The cautious Fleury was also alarmed by the threats and preparations of England and Holland; both now fully sensible of their impolicy in permitting the degradation of the House of Austria. But the king of Sardinia in particular, who had greatly contributed to the success of the late campaigns, was alarmed at the progress made by his own allies; and determined not to suffer the establishment of another spanish prince in Lombardy on the ruins of the austrian dominion. These jealousies and jarring interests led to mutual opposition and separate negotiations: France and Sardinia, in secret understanding with England, obstructed the blockade of Mantua, and prevented its reduction particularly by refusing to supply the battering artillery for a siege.†

All the efforts of the different parties were now turned to

* Muratori Annali d'Italia, anno 1736.——Beccatini Storia di Carlo Terzo. ——Ortiz, t. 7, p. 448.

† The correspondence of lord Waldegrave, british minister at Paris, presents numerous proofs that France employed every expedient to obstruct the reduction of Mantua; and that having secured her own objects in the cession of Loraine and Bar, she was anxious to reduce Spain to favourable terms of peace.

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negotiation; while the maritime powers, pressing their mediation on all, prepared to support their instances by an appeal to arms. But France with her usual address artfully profited by the displeasure which the emperor felt at the lukewarm support, or rather the desertion of the maritime powers, to open a secret negotiation. La Beaume, a confidential agent of the cardinal minister, repaired to Vienna; and with the same mystery and the same success as Ripperda, concluded the pre-

Oct. 3. liminaries of a general pacification without the participation of any other power.*

The substance of these preliminaries, after they were finally arranged and modified, was: Stanislaus to renounce the crown of Poland, retaining the title of king; and to possess during his life the duchy of Loraine, which after his decease, was to revert to France. In return, Tuscany was entailed on the duke of Loraine, as a compensation for the loss of his paternal dominions. France guarantied the pragmatic sanction; acknowledged Augustus king of Poland, and acquiesced in the intended marriage of the eldest archduchess with the duke of Loraine. The emperor ratified the cession of Loraine and Bar, renounced Naples and Sicily in favour of Don Carlos, and in return was to receive Parma and Tuscany, with the territories conquered during the war in the north of Italy.†

These preliminaries were followed by a suspension of arms for the conclusion of a definitive peace.

This accommodation, effected without that participation with Spain which was due by the bonds of alliance, roused the indignation of Philip, and still more that of his consort.

* History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 11, 12.——Conduct of England in the Polish affairs.

† Preliminaries of Vienna in Rousset and other Collections of public papers.

He felt the want of confidence manifested towards him by his nephew; but she was deeply mortified at the compulsory cession of her paternal inheritance, the utter failure of her long cherished hopes of an austrian alliance, and the loss of that establishment in Lombardy which she considered as already secured to her second son. The manner in which they received the first intelligence sufficiently marks their wounded pride and indignation. CHAP. XLI. 1732 | 1736.

"I never," said Mr. Keene, "saw the king more gay nor so talkative as he has been since he first knew of this transaction. They have found means to make him over act his part. The queen's behaviour requires a stronger term than affectation. Patiño keeps the best countenance he can. But it is not to be doubted that the king suffers extremely from the treatment he has met with from his nation; the queen from being disappointed in her ambition; and Patiño from finding himself a dupe, he who thought himself capable of duping the rest of mankind by his superiority of genius. I have yet heard nothing of what has fallen from the queen, but what she told a friend of mine yesterday, that as long as she breathed she would have nothing to do with France. Nov. 21.

"The french embassador goes to court as usual, but the cool reception he meets with does not encourage him to repeat his visits. Their catholic majesties in his presence redouble their civilities to the other *ministre de famille*, the duke of Sora.*

"When the embassador received his first orders to speak of this affair to the court, Patiño told him his excuses were so light and trivial, that he advised him not to open his lips upon it to the king, to avoid the disagreeable incidents which might happen in such conversation, where the queen might be less

* The neapolitan embassador.

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mistress of her temper than when she was by herself. This advice has been observed.

* * * * * * * * *

"In his conversations with me, Patiño said, 'the queen foretold to Rottembourg all which has happened when he pressed them to enter into the war.' They have paid, he says, two millions and a half of piastres on account of subsidies to the french, who have likewise demanded half of what was to have been given to Sweden by the late treaty. They have constantly sent 600,000 piastres a month into Italy; and they were yet in a condition to carry on the war two years longer; and would have done it, had they not been abandoned."*

Both sovereigns made the most vehement complaints to the french court. "Tell the cardinal," said the indignant queen to Patiño, "that nothing but his decrepitude is capable of committing such follies, and receive the french embassador no more in your house."†

Philip likewise expressed his chagrin in the strongest terms which courtly decorum would permit, in the letter written to the king of France, acknowledging the reception of these unwelcome preliminaries. "The embassador of your majesty has delivered to me your letter of the 29th of November. By its contents, I learn that your majesty is persuaded you have had powerful motives for concluding without my knowledge, and in the midst of signal victories, a particular treaty with the emperor. My love towards the person of your majesty, and my attachment to the honour of the french nation, do not permit me to investigate these motives. I can only believe, they must have been of the most weighty nature, to

Jan. 7, 1736.

* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Nov. 21, 1735.

† Mem. de Richelieu, t. 5, p. 386.

be preferred to those which arise at all times from our intimate connection by blood, my own desire of an union, and my blind submission to the wishes and instances which your majesty has repeatedly expressed in your letters. However, I flatter myself that the engagements contracted by your majesty will never lead so far as to the abandonment of my son, the king of the two Sicilies, to the ambition of the enemy, nor of my troops to their good fortune. This I expect from the invariable affection I bear your majesty.*"

Thus mortified and disappointed, they employed the intervention of England to make an overture to the emperor, and resolving to prosecute the war alone, declined ratifying the preliminaries. But this imprudent delay placed their troops in an alarming and critical situation. Montemar, who proved himself worthy of his past successes, and was eager to add new splendour to his reputation, had of his own accord refused to accept the armistice without the express orders of his court. But his troops were dispersed over a great extent of country, and intermixed with the french and sardinians, from whom it was in vain to expect support. Far from being in a condition to act offensively, they were in hourly danger of being cut off by the austrians, and not without apprehensions of an attack from their own allies. In this situation, Montemar had no other alternative than to extricate himself from the immediate danger to which he was exposed, and fall back behind the Po. From hence he retreated to Bologna, hoping that the respect due to the church would secure him in the papal territories. While, however, he was giving a public entertainment to the principal nobles of the place, he was surprised by an incursion of the german hussars; and deeming them the advanced guard of the imperial army, he suddenly directed

* Pardo, Jan. 7, 1736.——Private communications in the Keene Papers.

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his march to Tuscany, harrassed in his retreat by different parties of these irregulars, who plundered his baggage, made the stragglers prisoners, and took possession of his hospital at Bologna with 1,500 sick. During this perilous march, the duke of Noailles with difficulty persuaded him to accept the armistice for two months, as the only expedient to save his troops, and prevent the loss of his recent conquests.*

In this extremity, Philip, deserted by his allies, threatened by the hostile preparations of the maritime powers, and alarmed by the appearance of a british squadron on his coasts, reluctantly acceded to the preliminaries of Vienna on the 18th of May 1736. His acceptance was preceded by that of Don Carlos, as king of the two Sicilies, on the 1st of May.†

Before, however, this accommodation was concluded, a new and distinct dispute arose between Spain and Portugal, the real motive, or at least the final result, of which was a hostile design against the colony of Sacramento, on the Rio de la Plata, so long coveted by Spain.

John the fifth, king of Portugal, united by the bonds of marriage with the austrian family, and with the maritime powers by interest, fostered an inveterate jealousy of the House of Bourbon, which was too deeply rooted to be eradicated by the double marriage lately concluded. A jealousy no less inveterate was fostered against Portugal, by the rival court of Madrid. In this temper, a diplomatic dispute of the most trifling kind threatened the renewal of hostilities, and led almost to an open rupture between two princes equally punctilious and irritable.

* Noailles, t. 5, p. 258, 278.——Muratori.

† Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 44, 45.——House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 12, 13.——Tindal, v. 20, ann. 1735—6.——Hist. Register and Political State from 1733 to 1739.——Rousset.——Koch. Hist. des Traités.——Conduct of England, &c. MS.

The servants of Don Cabral de Belmonte, the portuguese minister at Madrid, having rescued a malefactor from the officers of justice, were all arrested and imprisoned by order of the court. The spanish minister at Lisbon also demanded satisfaction for this outrage to public justice; but had the mortification to see nineteen of his own domestics seized in his house and conveyed to prison. Mutual complaints were made, and as neither party shewed the slightest disposition to retract, the two ministers retired from their respective embassies, and both nations made preparations for hostilities.

The king of Portugal appealed to the maritime powers and the emperor, complained of the ill treatment which his daughter received from her mother in law, and represented that the slightest hope of foreign support would induce the disaffected party in Spain to shake off the tyranny of the queen, and place the government in the hands of the prince of Asturias. This appeal drew liberal promises of assistance from the emperor, who hoped to renew hostilities, on the same principle as in the war of the succession. But the maritime powers were too zealously inclined for peace, to give ear to these extravagant plans, and the british government only sent a squadron of twenty-five sail, under sir John Norris, to secure the return of the merchant fleet from the Brazils, and repress any enterprise on the part of Spain. At the same time, they disclaimed all hostile views, and offered their mediation to terminate the dispute.

This measure, though qualified with every mark of consideration, produced the customary remonstances and extravagances from the court of Madrid. Philip rejected any other mediation except that of France; but while a negotiation was pending in Europe, he made an attack in America, against the

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obnoxious colony of Sacramento, and succeeded in driving the Portuguese from their incroachments on the spanish territory. Having attained this object, and dreading the injury which the american trade would sustain from the hostility of England, in resentment for this aggression, he shewed more disposition towards an accommodation, and was induced to refer the dispute to the maritime powers and France. The mediating powers not being averse to the partial exclusion of the portuguese from the Rio de la Plata, the consent of Portugal was extorted. After a quibbling negotiation, a convention dictated by the mediators was accepted by both courts, and a treaty signed at Paris terminated this dispute, which, however apparently frivolous, might have again involved Europe in a general war.*

July, 1736.

During the negotiation, the queen did not manifest her resentment with more decorum than on preceding occasions. To the french embassador, she observed, "if we do not handle that fellow the king of Portugal pretty roughly, nothing can be got out of him." The king then asking if it was not an easy matter to treat Portugal in the manner the queen had mentioned, the embassador replied, "it is but too easy, but these affairs are in the hands of the mediators, and what has happened is to be laid to their account." "That is true," interrupted the queen, "yet in the mean time nothing is decided." Changing her voice, she continued, "You all spoil that court by your complaisance; and I assure you if it was not for the little one, (alluding to her daughter), the king of Portugal should already have had a box on the ear."†

* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 5 ——Mr. Keene's Correspondence from Madrid, and lord Tyrawley's from Lisbon.

† Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Segovia, Sept. 24, 1736.

CHAPTER XLII.

1736—1739.

Reluctance of Spain to accede to the definitive Treaty, and attempts to renew the War—Death, Character, and Administration of Patiño—Account of his Successor, La Quadra, and the new Administration—Signature of the definitive Treaty.

UNWILLING to relinquish Parma and Placentia, and to resign Tuscany in favour of the House of Loraine, the spanish cabinet started innumerable objections in the course of the negotiation, and repeatedly appealed to France and the maritime powers, as guaranties of those successions. But as France would not interfere, and as the maritime powers insisted on the evacuation of Tuscany, Philip and his queen next brought forward claims to the rich allodials of the deceased duke. They temporised till the imperial troops were withdrawn from Italy, in consequence of the war between Russia and Turkey, and then, suddenly resuming their preparations, appeared determined to renew hostilities, under the pretext of these allodials, though with the hope of a favourable opportunity to appropriate the whole inheritance.

But at this moment, their plans were disconcerted by the death of Don Joseph Patiño, who has been termed the Colbert of Spain, and was perhaps the most able minister, who, since the accession of Philip, had directed the helm of state.

Patiño was of noble birth, and, if we may credit the information of Montgon,* commenced his youthful career in the

* T. 1, p. 507.

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order of the jesuits. He became the sole confidant and principal coadjutor of Alberoni, contributed to the fall of Ripperda, and afterwards shared with La Paz the royal favour. His superior talents however soon gained the ascendancy, and the death of his colleague in 1733, left him without a competitor in power. He possessed all the qualities which were requisite to manage a suspicious and hypochondriac monarch like Philip, and an artful impetuous and interested woman like the queen. He was equally master of every branch of policy, clear and prompt in the transaction of business, and combined uncommon address, subtilty, and suavity of manners, with the firm and persevering spirit of a spaniard. Like his able predecessor, he threw off the trammels of office imposed by the councils, suppressed the endless discussions by memorials and reports, which had rendered the tardiness of the spanish government proverbial, and united in his own person the principal management of every department in the administration.

In the midst of perpetual avocations and interminable disputes, the ministry of Patiño was marked by continual, though silent efforts to increase the strength and promote the welfare of Spain. Duly appreciating the high importance of the american colonies, he directed his earliest attention to the exclusion of foreigners from the lucrative traffic of those regions. He completed a plan which appears to have been almost the last act of Alberoni, for concentrating the whole american trade, exclusively at Cadiz, and rendering the intercourse with the colonies direct, systematic, and safe.

In promotion of this design, he laboured to raise the spanish marine, and silently to station an efficient force in the seas of America. As early as 1728, his exertions awakened the jealous vigilance of England. "Ever since," says Mr. Keene, "I returned to this country, I observed, with the greatest con-

cern, the progress Patiño was making towards a powerful marine, and I have repeated it in most of the dispatches I have had the honour to write. That idea is so strong in him, that neither the subsidies paid to the emperor, nor the misery of the spanish troops, nor the poverty of the household and tribunals can divert him from it. He has the finances at his command, and the money which is not sent into Italy for the queen's use, is all applied to the building of ships. He supports himself with the king by giving him hopes of being great at sea, and independent of all other nations; and with the queen, by taking care of her private interest.

Aug. 23, 1728.

" In carrying on this scheme, I have likewise observed, that he has endeavoured to do it with as little noise as possible, not to awaken the jealousy of the maritime powers. For this reason, his ships are built and kept in different ports, that they may depart two or three at a time, and escape inquiry and observation. The three ships which were last dispatched to the Indies, were an instance of this way of proceeding. It was given out that they were to cruize in the Mediterranean, and provisions accordingly collected for such an expedition. But as soon as they arrived in a certain latitude, and opened their instructions, they were ordered to the Indies, and were to touch at the Canaries, and take in a fresh supply of necessaries. So that I have not yet found that this design was to send a number of vessels at once to the Indies, but by degrees; and I only mention with certainty those that were at Cadiz, because I was assured by one of the contractors for victualling them, that provisions were ordered for no more than the eight ships at that port. By the list of the ships inclosed in my letter of the 26th past, it will appear that nine were to be built in the Indies. But as they will want several materials which must be procured from Europe, I imagine such materials and stores

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are to be sent by the first ships to those parts. Some have been already transported, as I gather from Patiño's frequent assurances, that the South Sea company's factors will not fail to find all sorts of materials at Vera Cruz."*

Without adverting to inferior regulations, which it would be tedious were it practicable to detail, it will sufficiently shew the spirit of Patiño's ministry, to call the attention of the reader to those plans and establishments which he formed in imitation of the great trading companies in other countries. During the reign of the german influence, when it was proposed to transfer the Ostend company to Triest, he projected a plan to unite the trade of the austrian and spanish monarchies, by means of this company, and render Cadiz the center of commerce with the North, the Netherlands, Germany, the Levant, and the East Indies, as well as the West.† When this design was frustrated by the abolition of the company, he formed another establishment, to draw to Spain the cocoa trade, and diminish the contraband, carried on by the subjects of England, Holland, and France, with the countries and islands of the bay of Mexico. This was the company of Guiposcoa, the object of which was partly commercial, partly to increase the marine. It was yearly to furnish two ships of 40 or 50 guns each, which were to be laden at Port Passage, and San Sebastian, with native productions and commodities, and to dispose of their cargoes, in exchange for cocoa, and other
1728. productions of the Caraccas, Venezuela, Cumana, Margarita, and Trinidad. Both in their departure and return they were peculiarly favoured with regard to duties and privileges, and in the intervals of their voyages, were to cruize as guarda costas, keeping a constant watch on the shore between the river

* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, Aug. 23, NS. 1728.

† Account of Ripperda by the Sicilian abbots.

Oronoco and the Rio de la Hacha, and capturing all vessels engaged in illegal traffic.* CHAP. XLII. 1736 | 1739.

The success which attended this first essay, soon afterwards encouraged the minister to realise the plan of a company trading through the Philippines with the East Indies, an idea originally suggested by Ripperda. This company was no less favoured in its privileges than that of Guiposcoa. In opposition to that jealousy which the spanish monarchs had always manifested of their sovereign rights, it was empowered to form military establishments, and acquire territories in such parts of the east as were calculated to improve its commerce, and consolidate its strength. 1733. It naturally awakened umbrage in the trading nations, and appears to have silently sunk under the weight of their superior capital, power, and influence.†

Philip respected and listened to Patiño, though without bestowing on him his affection or confidence. The address of the queen, and the abilities of the minister, were often called forth to parry the effects of his morbid irritability and constitutional distrust. One instance in particular is recorded in the correspondence of Mr. Keene. Some of those secret counsellors to whom Philip constantly recurred for advice, suggested accusations against the minister, which made a deep impression on the mind of the melancholy and suspicious monarch. The queen, perceiving the effect of these insinuations, instead of irritating her husband by a direct opposition, affected to acquiesce in the charge, and hinted the

* Octroy de la compagnie de Guiposcoa, Rousset, t. 5, p. 239.——Keene's dispatches.

This company long continued to the advantage of the colonies, as well as of the mother country; but incurring heavy losses in the american war, and abuses creeping into its administration, it was suppressed. The trade was afterwards carried on by individuals.

† Historical Register for 1733.——Rousset, t. 8, p. 369.——Ulloa, t. 2.

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propriety of calling on the minister for a defence of his conduct. This pretext enabled Patiño to present an able and eloquent memorial, in which he did not fail to expatiate on the deplorable state of affairs when he entered on his office, and to draw a flattering picture of the benefits derived from his administration. With affected modesty he appealed to the king to shew the faults of his system, and solicited his majesty in his superior wisdom to point out alterations and improvements. Such a detail was suited to the taste and principles of Philip, who was equally gratified by the prospect of the national improvement, and by an appeal to his judgment. The queen, never neglecting to seize the favourable turn of her husband's disposition, affected to be influenced by his conviction, and concluded with lamenting the unjust prejudices which she had permitted herself to foster against Patiño.*

Notwithstanding the triumphant result of this trial, Patiño had other difficulties to contend with, besides the suspicions and prejudices of his sovereign. It required all his abilities to find resources for maintaining those hostilities which the queen meditated in Italy and Portugal; for, though he proudly boasted that he had means in reserve to protract the contest for two years, the pay of the troops was considerably in arrears, and no less than four years' salary was due to the royal household. Even the mechanical operations of his various offices were become a burthen far superior to his strength. Mr. Keene gives a picture of his embarrassments in the early period of his ministry, before they were increased by the difficulties arising from the italian war. "It is scarcely possible for me to lay before the ministry the extreme disorder into which the king's way of life throws business, and those who are to transact it. * * * For several

* Mr. Keene's dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, April 30, 1736.

months, nothing has been thought of but equipping the spanish fleet, and sending away the infant to Italy. Patiño, who is charged with the whole, loses four hours every day in mere attendance at the palace, and I lose as many in looking after him. His nights from two till six pass in conversation with their catholic majesties, and when he has time, it is employed how he can bring them to agree in sentiments with each other, and how he can preserve his authority with both. He has scarcely time to eat or sleep. But I would not be understood by this to make his apology; for no one can be more certain than I am, that he is an enemy to all foreign commerce, and as he has more knowledge of trade and of the abuses in the customs than any minister had before him, he will make us more uneasy than any has yet done. We had formerly to complain of delays and *la lenteur Espagnole;* now there is a share of malice in his resolution to reform and new model what he thinks prejudicial to Spain."*

Patiño doubtless fell a sacrifice to his violent and continued exertions both of body and mind. He was seized with a mortal disorder, and, after lingering a month, died on the 6th of November, 1736, in his 70th year. Devoted to his sovereigns to the latest moment of his life, he transmitted his secret papers to the king, and sent his dying advice on the critical state of affairs with the same judgment and perspicuity which he had displayed while in perfect health. Philip received the news of his decease with his characteristic phlegm; but the queen felt the deepest concern for the loss of one, who, as Mr. Keene observes, was a minister after her own heart. From respect, however, for the king, she suppressed her concern in public, under an affectation of indifference, and flattered him by repre-

* Mr. Keene to Mr. Walpole, Nov. 25, 1731.

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senting the deceased statesman as his scholar. "The king and I," she said to Mr. Keene, "formed him to foreign affairs; we can transact our business ourselves, and form other ministers."

Notwithstanding this affectation of dignified pride, no testimony of regret and regard was omitted either during his illness or after his death. Philip soothed his dying hours by creating him a grandee with reversion to his heirs, and granting a considerable pension to his niece, the countess of Fuenclara. The charges of his funeral were defrayed by the treasury; the ceremony was attended by the royal officers and the corregidor of Madrid; and he was interred with scarcely fewer honours than a prince of the blood.*

After the preceding detail, little remains to be added to our account of this able minister. Exposed to the shock of clashing interests, surrounded by multiplied embarrassments, obliged at the same time to consult the prejudices of the king, and bend to the passions of the queen, his character and conduct have been unfavourably represented by foreigners. He was said by Fleury, "to speak as well as write in cypher;" he has been accused of prevarication, duplicity, want of faith, of personal and national prejudice. Possibly these charges are not totally unfounded. But, in judging him as a minister, some allowance should be made for the difficulties of his situation; and the concurring testimony of friends and enemies, proclaims his superior merit and talents. It was the confession even of a political rival, that his loss was irreparable to Spain.†

By the death of Patiño, the administration again reverted

* Mr. Keene to Mr. Walpole, Nov. 6, 1736, and dispatches about the same period to the duke of Newcastle.

† Mr. Walpole's Narrative of the conduct of England in the Polish transactions, MS.

into the hands of the king, and the consequent changes called forth a new set of actors on the political theatre.

The chief of the new ministry was Don Sebastian de la Quadra, originally page to Grimaldo, with the marquis de la Paz, and like him gradually advanced in office. At his death, he was the first clerk in the department of foreign affairs; and, after a service of thirty years, was appointed secretary of state. He was a man of limited capacity, conscious of his want of talents, and so far inferior to his predecessor, that it was maliciously said, Patiño had recommended him to render his own loss more sensible and more regretted. Unlike Patiño, who ruled his sovereigns even while affecting to bend to their wishes, and flattering their ambition, La Quadra possessed all the timidity and irresolution of a weak and contracted mind, and aspired no higher than to become the mere agent of the king and queen.

Mr. Keene wrote at the moment of his nomination, "La Quadra will place his utmost merit entirely on his resignation to their orders, without prompting them to any party, or making himself responsible for the least imaginable accident. His fear of speaking more than he should will keep him from talking as much as he ought, and he would as soon discover to a foreign minister the most important secrets of his court, as tell the place from whence he received his last courier. As for the rest, he passes for a very honest man, has no sort of bias for one country more than another, nor any private views to engage him to give any other turn to the instances that pass through his hands, than the natural one in which they are made to him. He will be slow in his operations, and will demand informations and reports upon any trivial matter of commerce, in the same manner as the marquis de la Paz,

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and as was constantly practised here till Patiño broke through those tedious formalities."*

Another of the ministers recommended by Patiño, was the marquis of Terranueva, who had been brought up under him in the management of the finances, and succeeded as secretary for that department. The marine and Indies were confided to Don Francisco Varas, who had long filled the place of one of his agents at Cadiz.

The only person of note in this new ministry was the duke of Montemar, who, after his return from Italy, was intrusted with the war department, a post for which he was well qualified by his experience and military skill.

Thus, almost for the first time since the accession of Philip, the direction of affairs was wholly confided to the hands of Spaniards. But the loss of the late active and able minister, and the inability of his successors to supply his place, joined with the increasing deficiency in the finances, and the lukewarmness of France, induced Philip to relinquish his plans of aggression, and listen to the instances made him for the conclusion of a general peace.†

England and France, both equally interested in the restoration of tranquillity, continued to press the arrangement of a definitive treaty on the basis of the Vienna preliminaries. At length, after all those contests, quibbles, and evasions, and those discordant interests which never failed to arise whenever the courts of Madrid, Vienna, and Turin, were jointly concerned, the definitive treaty was signed between France and Austria on the 8th of November, 1739. The king of Sardinia acceded on the 3rd of the ensuing February, and the kings of

* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle.

† Mr. Keene's dispatch, Nov. 6, 1736.——Mr. Walpole's deduction of the negotiations from 1733 to 1736. Walpole Papers, MS.

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with nd Naples, on the 21st of April. The king of Spain
whic w his troops from Parma, Placentia, and the places
ackno hey still held in Lombardy. Don Carlos was formally
vestitu ledged king of the two Sicilies, and received the in-
had dre from the Pope. As the great duke of Tuscany
into ied in July 1737, the whole arrangement was carried
to Fr complete execution by the absolute cession of Loraine
Lorraince, and the occupation of Tuscany by Francis, duke of
daugine, who had recently espoused Maria Theresa, the eldest
hter of the emperor.*

* Peac esormeaux, t. 5.——Ortiz, lib. 24, c. 4.——Rousset.—Treaties of from 1736 to 1739.——Tindal, 1736—1739;—And the dispatches of Mr. for the same period, besides those already quoted.

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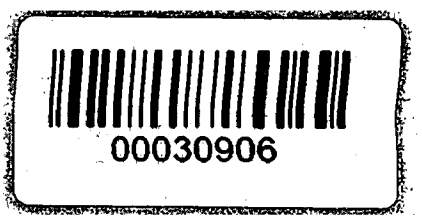
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